WILLING AND ABLE:
Investigating Factors that Contribute to Success Among JTPA-IIA- and
ESP-Funded Trainees in the Boston SDA

by

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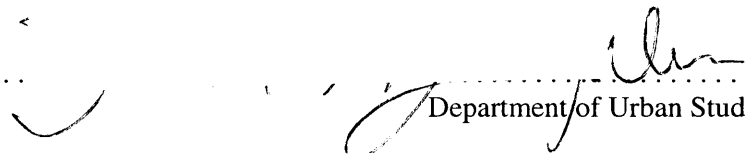
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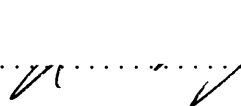at the

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ABSTRACT

The Adult Basic Education, Pre-Vocational, and Occupational training programs in the Boston Service Delivery have performed well in delivering training to their students. However, the programs collectively fail to successfully terminate just over 25% of their students each year. This research examines the factors underlying these failed terminations and provides recommendations for how programs may improve their work.

I maintain that motivation, organization, and an ability to learn relevant academic and occupational skills are essential factors to the success of trainees. Investigating the reasons underlying the failed terminations of 262 students also reveals an adequate coping structure; a specific set of life management skills; and a competency in the post-graduation search process as critical elements of a student's advancement.

Services to cultivate the development of the factors important in positively terminating are also considered. Potential activities include maintaining high classroom expectations; establishing attractive and feasible benchmarks; creating peer support groups; and utilizing academic or skills-focused tutors. Mechanisms may also focus on designing a more formalized and structured job search process.

Acknowledging some limitations to the analysis, programs that carry out many of the identified services tended to have lower negative termination rates than programs which did not. Adoption of these services also offers benefits not captured in the measure of a negative termination. One additional outcome includes the creation of a training environment that facilitates the growth and success of students in activities extending beyond the classroom and the work setting.

Thesis Supervisor: Frank Levy
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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At age twenty-eight, unemployed, without a high school degree, and with little work experience, Jerome[1] initiated a process that would lead to his enrollment in a Boston-based building trades job training program. Described as "sincere and motivated" Jerome was well-liked by his instructors and classmates. He encountered some academic difficulties while in the program, finding it necessary to take his safety test three times before achieving 100% and being asked to resubmit four assignments before earning marks of at least 80%. His academic troubles, however, were not his primary obstacles. Just over one month into the training cycle, Jerome was evicted from his home. Missing only two days of classes while he sought housing, Jerome ultimately secured a bed in one of Boston's homeless shelters. After an approximate stay of three weeks in the shelter, Jerome moved in with a relative in Brockton. He lived with this relative for just over a month before the rent they were asking him to pay became overbearing. He again missed several days of classes and found new residency with another relative. It was through the influence of this relative that Jerome found himself returning to his abuse of crack cocaine. Recognizing his impending fall, Jerome voluntarily entered a six-day intensive detoxification program. Having missed over a full week of class, Jerome found himself building a case for why he should not be terminated from his training program. Given the center's strict attendance policy, a student missing as much time as Jerome normally would have been asked to leave. Jerome, however, was allowed to return and was placed on two-weeks probation. Achieving perfect attendance and avoiding any tardiness demerits during his probation, Jerome enthusiastically completed all missed work and appeared to be on track for a successful completion. In early February, 1997, Jerome disappeared. Instructors and counselors had no success locating him. In late February, a student reported that he had seen Jerome on a street corner "zooted up" or high on crack. The training center in which Jerome had been enrolled entered him as a *Negative Termination -- Didn't Complete* in the city's computerized management information system.

Jerome encountered many problems while working to complete his program. Jerome's experiences, however, are not foreign to all low-income, low-skilled adults who enroll in a training center. Interviews with staff in some of these centers indicate that a substantial number

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[1] To respect individuals' privacy, I have substituted a false name in all instances where a name appears.

of students similarly confront serious challenges in completing their activities. Discussions also revealed that many students who finish their training also face obstacles in trying to secure employment or additional training. Frequently-cited hurdles include failures in childcare arrangements and health-related problems. Closer inspection unveils a complex and varied list of additional obstacles.

In all cases, the barriers students face in their training experience do not lead to an unsuccessful effort (or Negative Termination[2]). In many instances, such students encounter and successfully manage obstacles. Evidence for these observations comes from data maintained by the Boston Redevelopment Authority/Economic Development & Industrial Corporation (BRA/EDIC). BRA/EDIC serves as the central coordinating and administrative body for a number of publicly-funded training programs in the City of Boston (or Boston Service Delivery Area[3]). Records indicate that approximately 25-30% of students who enroll in a BRA/EDIC-administered training program in the Boston Service Delivery Area (SDA) end in a negative termination. Thus, just over 1 out of every 4 students who begins training is unable to complete and advance into employment or into an additional training program.

A natural question emerging from these findings is *Why do some students successfully terminate while others do not?* My research represents an effort to respond to this question. It seeks to foster an understanding of the events and circumstances that contribute to a student's failure. It also strives to provide insight into activities training institutions could carry out to

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[2] Negative terminations are students failing to successfully complete the full program of activities for which they had enrolled, or who complete a program but fail to advance to employment. For cases in which the student is enrolled in an Adult Basic Education or Pre-Vocational training center, such students must not only fail to enter employment, but also fail to gain entry into an occupational training program. See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion.

[3] The Boston Service Delivery Area represents those areas encompassed in the "City of Boston" which include Brighton, Allston, Roxbury, Jamaica Plain, Charlestown, South Boston, Brookline, East Boston, Dorchester, and Hyde Park.

reduce their frequencies of negative terminations. The ultimate aim, however, is not only to highlight operational steps that may reduce rates of negative terminations. Rather, the interest is also to identify the broader set of services trainers could utilize to promote the success of all students who confront barriers to advancement.

More formally, this research pursues an investigation of the factors that underlie positive terminations from BRA/EDIC-administered Adult Basic Education, Pre-Vocational, and Occupational training programs in the Boston SDA. The realization of this objective begins first with identification of the skills students must develop to succeed in training, and ultimately in the work place. I develop these skills by drawing primarily from insights offered by training providers.

With a recognition of these essential skills, the task then becomes one of understanding the barriers or obstacles that might impair them. Again, interviews with staff provided some indications of the potential hurdles. I develop a more detailed understanding, however, by investigating the experiences of students who negatively terminated from a training program in the Boston SDA during Fiscal Year 1995 and Fiscal Year 1996.

Finally, the discussion turns toward program activities. A particular interest centers on identifying services that may promote: (1) the development of the essential skills for success and (2) an avoidance of the barriers that frequently degrade those skills. If appropriately formulated, the provision of these services should enable programs to create a system of training that not only allows for a reduced rate of negative terminations, but also a more enriched training experience for all students. In the final analysis, I consider evidence of whether the identified services in fact achieve these outcomes.

CHAPTER 2

THE JOB TRAINING ENVIRONMENT

In the past several decades, considerable attention has centered on the potential of basic education and skills training programs to provide Americans with the abilities necessary to obtain employment. Efforts did not focus on servicing low-skilled and low-income populations until the mid 1960s. Though still a relatively young effort, the federal government's programs to train the "disadvantaged" have since undergone a number of transformations. The experiences of these programs have helped to shape the framework of the center of our present-day skills and education training system --the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) Program.[4] An historical understanding of the efforts which led to the development of JTPA and JOBS can provide insight into past challenges in working with the "disadvantaged". Such a discussion may also help to identify program or policy responses of relevance in the present-day context.

2.1 Evolution of JTPA and JOBS

The "work relief" programs of the Great Depression represent the first systematic federal effort to train the unemployed or to create jobs for them (Currie 1980, p. 9). Prior to the development of these programs, the government had primarily adopted a "hands off" approach of managing unemployment. The increasingly volatile conditions of 15 million unemployed workers resulting from the Depression, however, forcefully prompted the federal government to

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[4] The term "ESP" or Employment Services Program represents the title given for students receiving funding through JOBS. Throughout this report, the terms "ESP" and "JOBS" are used interchangeably.

take active measures in the creation of work programs including the Works Progress

Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) (Currie 1980, p. 10).

Manpower Development Training Act (MDTA)

With the advent of WWII and the recovery of the economy towards conditions of full

employment, federal job training and development efforts diminished. It was not until the onset

of a severe recession during the late 1950s and the subsequent unemployment of millions that the

government renewed its interest in federal training. The first federal response, the Area

Redevelopment Act (ARA), constituted a small-scale attempt to channel funds for economic

growth into severely depressed areas around the country. (Currie 1980, p. 11). Within two years

of the ARA effort, congress passed the Manpower Development Training Act (MDTA)

established in 1962. Originally created to provide retraining to workers displaced by industrial

automation, the program would work to maintain an adequate supply of skilled workers to man

jobs in the quickly expanding high-technology sectors.

Following the rise of urban and "inner-city" issues on the public agenda, the focus of the

MDTA programs began to shift towards the "disadvantaged" and particularly towards urban

minority youth. Recognizing that these groups had only marginally benefited from MDTA

programs, congress responded with direct measures. Enacting amendments to the Act in 1963,

1965, and 1966, congress changed the emphasis of the programs. The redirection in policy was

clearly manifested in 1966 with the announcement that nationally 65% of all MDTA participants

trainees would be "disadvantaged". Here disadvantaged was taken to mean youth, members of

minority groups, persons with limited education, the rural poor, the long-term unemployed, and

older workers (Sewell 1971, p. 8).

WIN Program

In 1967, the federal government established the Work Incentive (WIN) Program as the mainstay of work efforts for recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The WIN Program, growing out of amendments to the Social Security Act, would assist recipients of AFDC in securing jobs. The dramatic increase in the number of AFDC recipients contributed to a series of amendments in the legislation, the first of which Congress passed in 1971. The changes stressed less training in favor of placing trainees into immediate employment. States failing to support the changed emphasis were to be financially penalized (Garvin 1978, p. 18).

Garvin notes that the focus towards compelling and almost pressuring welfare recipients into employment evidenced itself from the program's inception. Amendments enacted in 1971 further revealed this focus, leading Garvin to observe that the program's emphasis had certainly come to represent a view that, "poor people do not want to work and need to be coerced." Additional amendments in 1975 almost converted WIN "totally to a placement rather than a training program." Garvin suggests that were it not for the requirements that WIN coordinate efforts with other programs (such as the those following the MDTA programs), then the WIN program might have lost any semblance of a training initiative. (Garvin 1978, p. 20).

Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA)

With passage of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) in 1973, the MDTA programs were consolidated under one administrative unit and operationally decentralized. As such, congress approved the transfer of administrative responsibility for the

programs from Washington to county and city governments. This, as intended, would permit greater local authority and flexibility to enable the programs to best meet local needs.

Consistent with the MDTA efforts, CETA functioned largely to carry out training activities. Program amendments passed in 1974 and 1976 permitted CETA to also operate as a public service employment agency. At its peak, CETA employed an annual average of 298,000 people. With its reauthorization in 1978, CETA continued to provide public service employment, skills training, and work experience. Additional components were also added, including the Title II-C program of occupational "upgrading" for "those groups, particularly minorities and women, who are frequently locked into low-paying, dead-end jobs." (Currie 1980, p. 30)

Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA)

With authorization for CETA expiring in 1982, discussion had ensued relating to the design of what would become the centerpiece of the nation's employment and training policy. These policies were designed in an environment characterized by a strong political interest in decreasing the role of the federal government in the administration of the training programs and a powerful opposition to the use of federal dollars for federally-subsidized public service employment. What resulted was the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) enacted in 1982 shortly following CETA's termination (Nightingale 1985, p. 3).

The JTPA authorized a "system of Federal job training and retraining programs" that work to "prepare economically disadvantaged youth and adults and dislocated workers to compete in the labor market." (Nightingale 1985, p.7).

JTPA differed from CETA in several notable areas. As suggested, JTPA provided no resources for publicly-supported employment. In addition, it placed considerably more

administrative responsibility with private sector entities. Whereas under CETA the federal government directly appropriated funds to local governments, JTPA allowed for appropriation directly to governors. Governors would also retain responsibility for designating local service delivery areas (SDAs) which would serve as the geographic references for program operation.

In addition, JTPA required public-private partnerships in the delivery and design of training programs. Private Industry Councils (PICs) established within each SDA would provide direct oversight and support for the JTPA programs. In this capacity, PICs, comprised of representatives of business and industry within the SDA, would act as "an equal partner with local government in administering JTPA" (Nightingale 1985, p. ii).

Title IIA is one component of the JTPA funding appropriated to governors. Title IIA functions as JTPA's basic block grant program for "economically disadvantaged adults and youth, and others who face significant employment barriers (for example, people with disabilities, single parents with dependent children, and individuals with educational deficiencies)." (Nightingale 1985, p. 7).

Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) Program

Like JTPA, the present-day employment and training system for AFDC recipients has developed in a piecemeal fashion. Originally conceived in 1935, and advancing through the WIN experience of the 60s, 70s, and 80s, federal efforts served more than 15 million individuals in 1993 (Nightingale 1995, p. 1).

Signed into place by the President on October 13, 1988, the Job Opportunity and Basic Skills (JOBS) program repealed the WIN efforts. As Garvin had observed, the WIN programs from the late 1960s through the 1970s focused on encouraging welfare recipients to enter work.

(Garvin 1978, p. 20) Through the 1980s and into the present-day, this has remained a large focus. JOBS would serve as the "principal vehicle to get AFDC recipients to view welfare as temporary assistance" (Ross 1995, p. 2). By stressing education, training, and employment, JOBS would help to prevent AFDC recipients from developing a long-term dependency on the federal government (MA Dept. of the Auditor 1994, p. iii).

Activities to prevent a long-term dependency have stressed training and education, development of job-finding skills, and subsidized employment. JOBS, more so than its predecessors, represents a stronger emphasis on utilizing employment training services for welfare recipients.

2.2 The Present-Day Job Training Environment:
A National Perspective

Though the results of many programs have seemed mixed, evidence gathered from the early 1970s through the mid 1980s suggested many programs had little success in enabling graduates to achieve long-term success in the labor force. Questions have centered on the ability to place trainees into long-term employment as well as the programs' potential to affect significant changes in the annual income of trainees (Sewell 1971, p. 20; Swartz and Weigert 1995). In recent years, training programs, particularly those funded by JTPA and JOBS, have continued to receive scrutiny.

Despite the criticisms, job and basic education training still hold an important position on the national policy agenda. In 1991, 125 separate federal programs or funding streams existed to provide training to adults and out-of-school youths. By 1995 this number had increased to 163 programs served by 15 agencies with a total financial outlay of $20 billion (Crawford 1995, p. 1).

This heavy emphasis on training is attributable to at least two critical issues: a continued public concern with the structure and operation of our nation's federally-supported safety net, and a national interest in supporting a productive and competitive work force capable of keeping pace with a changing work environment. I will discuss the former of these first.

The Public Assistance Debate

Since MDTA's initiation, and particularly since the formalization of the WIN Programs, federal training efforts have reflected a service orientation towards recipients of government assistance funds. A predominant concern has focused on those perceived to be capable of working, but instead, receive a perceived "free ride" from the state. The policy context around which this is set is well explicated in what Gueron identified as two primary social values governing work and poverty: "The expectation that the community should provide adequate assistance to the poor who are not able or should not be expected to work; and the expectation that the able-bodied should work to support themselves and their families" (Gueron 1986, p.2). Thus developed the notion that training or workfare programs would "improve recipients' employability --indirectly through instilling a sense of responsibility, or the `work ethic' –and directly, by the job skills provided through well-structured work experience." (Gueron 1986, p. 3).

This orientation towards facilitating the transition of the able-bodied from welfare to work has existed for years. In 1978, Garvin suggested that "As long as societies have provided money or goods to the indigent, the issues of employment for the people who were capable of it have been raised." (Garvin 1978, p. 3).

Concerns with the indigent, and particularly those receiving public support, have heightened in the recently charged environment of welfare reform. Central to discussions is the question, "Who among AFDC recipients is actually capable of working, but instead chooses to accept money and/or goods from the government?" Such questions have fueled the ensuing "frenzy" which contributed to passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation (PRWOR) Act of 1996. The "frenzy", fed by what Nightingale refers to as a "national intolerance for providing long-term support for unworking, and by implication, undeserving poor adults" has resulted in what many view as an unsustainable policy paradigm (Nightingale 1995, p. xiii).

Several researchers have raised questions of the ability of the labor market to absorb an inflow of an estimated 2 million workers as called for by the PRWOR Act. Others have responded to concerns that even if individuals succeed in securing employment, such work may not pay enough to allow the workers to rise above the poverty line. Finally, and this concern more appropriately represents an interest of this research effort, others have pointed to the practical challenges of preparing low-skilled adults for entry into the work force (Nightingale 1995, p. 7).

A Competent and Competitive Work Force

The second primary impetus for the focus on job training stems from a national interest in supporting a productive and competitive work force capable of keeping pace with a changing work environment.

A number of researchers have given attention to the increasingly more complex set of skills needed among workers to successfully perform in today's more skills-orientated workplace.

Levy and Murnane report that these abilities include possessing a proficiency in basic reading and mathematics as well as being able to perform tasks such as working in groups or at a computer. They report that in 1992, "half of all 17-year-olds across the nation" lacked the reading and math test scores to work in a modern auto plant (Murnane and Levy 1996, p. 81).

Personnel Journal, a national magazine for Human Resource employees, ran a cover story in November 1996 on the "staffing drought" that has begun to hit companies nationally. As the authors maintained, companies have begun to experience a shortage of labor to fill jobs. Part of the problem is that companies have "upped the ante" in terms of the skills sought by employers. As one manager noted, it is not enough for employees to have mastered a specific set of technical skills. Instead, "they also have to relate to the customer, have good communication skills and be great team players" (Caudron 1996, p. 60). The article also reports the findings of a study of more than 200 human resources executives. The data evidenced a considerable need among employers for workers with skills in a number of areas including, basic computer literacy, interpersonal communication, listening, and written communication" (Caudron 1996, p. 66).

The need for an "upskilling" and increase in the productivity of the work force has translated into a renewed focus towards employment training. Harrison maintains that many of the changes in workplace requirements grow from an increasingly global orientation of the business world. For many employers, maintenance of US competitiveness within a global economy requires a more flexible and knowledgeable work force (Harrison 1995, p. 5).

2.3 The Present-Day Job Training Environment: Massachusetts' Context

<u>Welfare Reform</u>

As it has shaped priorities around the country, the PRWOR Act of 1996 has increased attention on employment and training in Massachusetts. Effective November 1, 1995, Massachusetts's "welfare reform" established a set of conditions and limitations on current recipients of AFDC. One element of the new legislation permits a portion of recipients to receive AFDC support for a maximum of 5 years during their lifetime. Furthermore, for every 5-year time period (beginning December 1, 1996) recipients may receive aid for a maximum of 2 years. These limitations apply to an estimated 20,000 adults in Massachusetts (Johnson 1997).

Implications of this policy include a potentially increased population of adults seeking entry into training programs. Additionally, AFDC trainees will experience pressure for relatively quick entry into the work force. Consequently, the need arises to enable recipients to quickly and effectively address those factors which may impede their progress. Further, AFDC recipients will not only need to find employment, but will need to retain employment. Thus, attention will need to be given to events that might interfere in a recipient's ability to remain in long-term employment and appropriate responses will need to be developed.

<u>An Upskilled Work Environment</u>

Consistent with concerns of employers elsewhere in the country, employers in Massachusetts have expressed concerns with the ability of workers to meet growing workplace requirements and expectations. In March 1995, the Massachusetts Coalition for Adult Education in cooperation with several other organizations distributed surveys to 1400 companies who serve as members of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts (AIM), the commonwealth's largest

employer group. Two hundred and sixty-nine of the companies responded to the survey. To briefly report from its findings:

"Half of the Massachusetts employers surveyed have difficulty in finding well-qualified non-exempt workers [a non-exempt worker is one without a bachelors degree]. Four in ten are contemplating or now implementing major company changes and virtually all of these companies express at least some concern about the ability of their work force to adjust to these changes."

Based on estimates of the Massachusetts Department of Education (DOE), there is sizable pool of adults over the age of 18 who function below the level of abilities expected of a high school graduate. As the DOE reports, approximately 877,000 or 19% of adults over the age of 18 in the state have not attained functional literacy, and another 1,162,000 (25%) "are functioning below the level of skills and abilities expected of a high school graduate." (Adult Basic Education Partnership 1995, p. 3).

Without a proficiency in basic reading, writing, and mathematics, these 2 million adults will encounter significant obstacles in securing and maintaining gainful employment. In addition, local employers will experience trouble identifying employees to fill their increasingly more skill-intensive positions. Thus, we should expect to see job training programs working to simultaneously provide students with the skills they need to get employment and employers with the workers they require to maintain their competitiveness.

2.4 Training for the Disadvantaged: A View of Training Within the Boston Service Delivery Area

An elaborate training system has developed to help meet the education and employment needs of Massachusetts residents and the work force needs of Massachusetts employers. From

community-based not-for-profit basic education centers, to private for-profit training institutions, numerous paths have opened to assist the entry of low-income and low-skilled adults into the work force. The Adult Literacy Resource Institute estimates there to be more than 125 training centers catering to the varied educational and professional needs of low-income adults in the Boston metropolitan area (Reuys 1997).

Training often stresses remedial education through preparation for a GED or an external high school diploma. Programs also frequently direct attention towards an exploration of careers and training on how to find a job. Many centers focus on transmitting specific employer-identified workplace skills such as proficiency in a particular computer program. In many cases, programs carry out instruction in a classroom setting. This need not be the case, and frequently an internship or some form of on-the-job-learning takes place. The length of programs varies considerably depending on the focus. Students seeking remediation of basic skills often participate for 9 months or more, as deemed necessary by their deficiencies. Job training programs tend to operate shorter, often ranging from 3 weeks to 4 months in length.

Within the Boston metropolitan area, many of the job training efforts operate without the assistance of any central coordinating body. For example, Computer Training Specialists, Inc., a small community-based program in lower Roxbury, has few collaborative relationships with other training centers in the city, including three other programs located in Roxbury.

Efforts to move towards an improved system of coordination were carried out in 1986 with the development of the Job Training Alliance. Serving as an umbrella organization, by 1997 the group has grown to represent 32 occupational training programs in the Boston metropolitan area.

In this capacity, the Alliance represents the largest non-governmental association of training

programs in the state.

The BRA/EDIC System

BRA/EDIC is the city's primary planning and economic development agency. In addition to

developing long-range planning, financing, job training, and human service programs for the City

of Boston, the BRA/EDIC also forges partnerships between public and private sector entities

engaged in development issues. Responsibility for the procurement, appropriation, and

monitoring of Federal and State grant funds for "job training, education, human services, and

literacy initiatives" rests with the BRA/EDIC and specifically with its Jobs & Community

Services (JCS) Division (BRA/EDIC 1996, p. 8).

BRA/EDIC administers JTPA funding and a portion of JOBS funding in the Boston SDA.

As discussed, this funding is used to assist economically disadvantaged adults in the Boston area.

JTPA IIA eligibility calls for the participant to be at least 22 years old, a resident of Boston,

possess proof of an ability to work in the United States, and be economically disadvantaged[5]

(BRA/EDIC 1996, p. 16). Qualifications for JOBS funding include many of the same

characteristics. Notable differences include permitting students to be as young as 18 years old

and a requirement that the student be a recipient of public welfare.

1992 amendments to JTPA placed additional emphasis on serving disadvantaged populations.

Accordingly, JCS focuses particular attention on serving the unemployed, the economically

disadvantaged, and AFDC recipients. As developed in its 1995 Request for Proposals, JCS is

particularly interested in assisting these groups, "gain the education, job skills, and access they

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[5] Per JCS, income guidelines for FY '97 include a maximum yearly income of $7,470 for a family of 1; $11,360 for family of 2; $15,590 for family of 3; and $19,250 for family of 4. (BRA/EDIC 1996, p. 16).

need to participate fully in the economic life of the City of Boston." (BRA/EDIC 1994, p. 4).

JCS' commitment to serve disadvantaged individuals is revealed in its federal mandate that a

minimum of 65% of those served by JTPA IIA funds in a given fiscal year fall within a "hard-to-

serve" group. Membership in this group necessitates that a student have at least one of the

following "serious barriers to employment":

- Basic skills deficiency
- School drop-out
- Recipient of cash welfare payments
- Offender (or ex-offender) status
- Disabled
- Homeless
- English is not the first language

In practice, the training programs in the JCS system have exceeded the 65% requirement.

Array of Training Services

To achieve its objectives, JCS funds a collection of training programs that each possess a

capacity to, at a minimum, assist their students in accessing those services necessary to increase

their employability. One can organize the work of these programs into three programmatic areas:

Adult Basic Education, Pre-Vocational, and Occupational. Though each is focused on increasing

employability, the ultimate objective is to help students, "move toward immediate employment

and long-term self-sufficiency." (BRA/EDIC 1994, p. 13). Below, I provide a brief description

of the structure and emphasis of the three programs:

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION (ABE) PROGRAMS. JOBS-funded ABE programs establish a "bridge

to employment or entry into post-secondary education or skills training for individuals who are

seeking such outcomes, and who are within twelve months of achieving them." (BRA/EDIC

1996, p. 22). Programs focus on short-term education, generally not exceeding 9 months.

Several centers run classes in English as a Second Language.

PRE-VOCATIONAL (PRE-VOC) SKILLS TRAINING PROGRAMS. Pre-Vocational Skills training

focuses on those students requiring skills training, but also needing basic skills remediation and

what JCS terms an orientation to the "world of work" (BRA/EDIC 1996, p. 26). Consequently,

the focus here is preparation for the skills typically taught in an Occupational training program,

as well as an exploration of other employment and training services. Given this orientation, Pre-

Voc training is not intended to provide long-term basic education or ESL skills remediation.

Instead, the orientation is structured towards a short-term (usually less than 6 months)

preparation that will enable the student to "enter and benefit from job training programs"

(BRA/EDIC 1996, p. 26).

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS. The thrust of these programs is to provide students with

experience in using materials, supplies, or equipment in use in the specific work environment for

which the student is training. The aim is essentially to ensure that the trainee acquires the skills

needed for employment. Thus, unlike ABE and Pre-Voc programs, Occupational training

programs have a specific mandate to enable their clients to enter directly into employment, as

opposed to additional training, within a year's time. To assist this, most Occupational programs

require in-coming students to have a basic skills proficiency as evidenced by a GED or high

school diploma.

Performance Record

System-wide the programs experience a negative termination rate of close to 25%. The term

Negative Termination (NT) has slightly different interpretations depending on the type of

program in question. Among Occupational training centers, NTs are students who fail to successfully complete the full program of activities for which they had enrolled, or who finish the program but fail to enter and retain employment. In the case of ABE or Pre-Voc training, program design stresses academic training. As a result, a NT includes a drop-out, a student failing to enter and retain employment, and a student unsuccessfully enrolling in an Occupational training program. In the following chapter, I further discuss NTs as well as the elements that contribute to its counterpart -- a Positive Termination.

CHAPTER 3

DEVELOPING A FOUNDATION FOR UNDERSTANDING THE FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE TERMINATIONS

It is possible to measure the success of the training programs from several vantages. BRA/EDIC stresses the importance of providing students not only with the skills necessary to move toward immediate employment, but also with those lessons that contribute to the student's long-term self-sufficiency (BRA/EDIC 1994, p. 13). Several instructors spoke of the importance of helping students to better manage all aspects of their world, from interaction with their children to a discussion with a doctor. Though recognizing alternative interpretations of "success", the focus in the following chapters will equate "success" with BRA/EDIC's label of "Positive Termination" (PT).

3.1 A Conceptual Framework for Understanding Negative Terminations

In its most basic and common form, to positively terminate from a given program, a trainee must: (1) successfully complete the set of prescribed activities; (2) successfully complete job search activities; and (3) regularly attend work for a minimum of 30 days. In some cases, students positively terminate through alternative routes. For example, a student may obtain a job at any point during the training period, and so long as that job is maintained for at least 30 days and meets particular requirements (i.e. minimum pay standards), the student represents a positive termination. This, however, was rare and represented less than 1 % of all terminations.

Given the framework developed here, a student negatively terminating might do so as a result of a failure at any of the three identified stages. Students failing at Stage 1 are typically referred to as dropouts. Those unsuccessfully advancing beyond Stage 2 will represent failed Job Searchers. Stage 3 terminees represent Unsuccessful Placements.

Understanding what is required at each stage, and subsequently the opportunities for failure, can enable us to better organize the findings of the study. In addition, such a framework should assist us in identifying factors at each stage that may contribute to success.

Stage 1 Terminations

The programs evaluated in this study operated training cycles lasting from 15 weeks to 9 months. The typical length was closer to the 15 week duration. Across all centers, staff did not formally matriculate students until the third full week of participation. The centers viewed the first two weeks as a "pre-assessment period" during which students and staff take an opportunity to ensure interests accord. As one trainer described, the assessment period allows a chance to "check out" the students and the students a chance to "check out" the program. As students negatively terminating during this pre-assessment period do not appear in BRA/EDIC's Information Management System (IMS), their experiences are not an element of this study. Consequently, Stage 1 Terminations represent those students who complete the two-week pre-assessment period, formally matriculate, but then fail to finish the full set of training.

Staff at the centers indicated that the number of students terminating during the pre-assessment period was not substantial. Several centers reported no terminations during this interval, while others noted that they typically have one or two. It is plausible that the set of issues contributing to the negative termination of these students differs from those of the students

included in this study. If this is the case, then extrapolation from these finding is not possible. Generally, students terminating during the pre-assessment period did not remain in the program long enough to enable staff to forge a relationship that would allow the trainers insight into issues contributing to the students' exit. In the cases where a provider had an idea of the cause of the termination, program staff indicated that the characteristics and issues confronted by the students did not fundamentally vary from those of students remaining in the programs following the pre-assessment period.

Stage 2 Terminations

All training programs carried out work to assist their students in advancing to the appropriate activity following completion of training. In the case of Occupational training, the only acceptable activity is that of employment. In general, preparation for job placement began well before graduation day. Honing interview skills, developing resumes, and identifying employers included some of the work in which students frequently participated before graduating.

From the view of program staff, a student unwilling to participate in the above activities would encounter difficulty in gaining a job. Thus, a student completing all specified program work but failing to engage in job search activities would likely negatively terminate.

Programs typically left the bulk of responsibility for securing employment with the student. These responsibilities included placing phone calls to prospective employers and writing "Thank you" letters following interviews. The training programs did not, however, leave the student without support. BRA/EDIC requires all programs to establish close ties with local employers. Often, students would contact those employers who frequently had a history of hiring from the student's training program. The center's Job Counselor or Job Developer also provided forms of

assistance. Following an interview, the counselor might make a phone call to the interviewer to ask how things had gone. It was not uncommon for the counselor to actively work as a reference and as an advocate for the student. In some cases, employers contacted the counselor directly about possible candidates. The counselor would then work with students to schedule interviews.

Among JTPA IIA-funded clients, BRA/EDIC expects placement into a post-program activity to occur within 90 days of the conclusion of the student's training. BRA/EDIC views this as a reasonable time period. In general, placement occur well before the 90-day mark. In many cases, students finalize job commitments even before graduation.

Among JOBS-funded students, placement guidelines differ slightly. In these cases, entry must occur by June 30 of the year in which training concludes. Given this structure, programs ending in January naturally have more time to achieve placement than those finishing in May. JCS makes this point clear to all Basic Education programs. As printed in their 1997 Request for Proposals (RFP), "...programs will be required to enroll the majority of new participants early enough in the program year that they may reasonably be expected to achieve final positive outcomes by June 30, 1997."

Stage 3 Terminations

After successfully completing Stage 1 and Stage 2, students must retain their position for a minimum of 30 days. In instances in which the student enters employment, specific minimal requirements must exist. For example, JOBS-funded terminees from an ABE program must gain a job paying a minimum of $6.00 per hour for a minimum of 37.5 hours per week ($11,700 per year). If the job lacks health benefits, then the minimum wage is $7.00 per hour (BRA/EDIC 1996, pp. 22-27).

Perspective Towards Negative Terminations

In general, programs strive to avoid negative terminations. In part, this desire stems from a sincere effort to help students. In most cases, providers view a NT as a "failure". One instructor referred to them as cases where she "made a mistake."

The structure of the evaluation and incentive system established by BRA/EDIC creates additional interests in promoting PTs. Programs receive financial compensation for their positive outcomes. Failures to achieve such outcomes not only result in less funding, but also lend to a perception of poor performance. BRA/EDIC requests funding proposals every two years and explicitly communicates that failures to achieve high outcomes jeopardizes future funding opportunities.

3.2 Design of the Research

Objective

The study identifies activities training programs managed by the BRA/EDIC may take to increase the frequency of positive terminations and to strengthen the overall training experience for students. Achievement of this aim begins with a recognition of the skills necessary for positively terminating. The analysis then focuses on identifying factors that may hinder the establishment of these of skills. Finally, the research centers on program activities that may respond to efforts to build the necessary skills.

The Sample

I obtained the major data for this research effort from on-site interviews and discussions with instructors and administrators from programs in the Boston SDA which receive funding through JCS.

Through the assistance of the BRA/EDIC, I obtained "Validation Reports" identifying program enrollees in each of the training programs receiving JTPA IIA and JOBS funding from Fiscal Year (FY) 1995 (beginning July 1994) through February 14, 1997. The reports indicated student name, dates of enrollment, and termination status. Outcomes consisted of negative and positive terminations as identified by trainers and validated by staff at JCS. Several mechanisms exist to ensure accuracy of reporting, including submission of documentation to certify a student's placement into employment or an additional training program.[6]

During the reporting period, JCS managed 15 Occupational training and 10 ABE/Pre-Voc training programs. Interviews were conducted at 11 Occupational training centers and 8 ABE/Pre-Voc programs. However, it was only possible to gather data on all variables from 10 Occupational programs and 7 ABE/Pre-Voc. Consequently, data, particularly that relating to Variable I (as described below) draws from a sample of 17 programs.

The Major Variables Studied

Variable I

To identify the specific event or set of events that contributed to a negative outcome, and to estimate the frequency with which these events surface, interview questions focused largely on

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[6] Despite the validation efforts, my research identified a small number of errors (less than 5). These included: (1) students labeled as negative terminations that should in fact have been positive terminations; and (2) students labeled as negative terminations who completed their programs when in fact they had actually dropped out before completion.

the details surrounding individuals identified as *Negative Terminations*. Thus, I interviewed the individual within a training center most familiar with the student's personal life and program performance. In some cases, this individual was a program director, though more frequently it tended to be a counselor or an instructor who had close and regular contact with the student.

POTENTIAL PROBLEMS WITH DATA COLLECTION. Concerns existed regarding whether instructors had accurate information of the circumstances surrounding a particular student. I recognized that it was possible that a trainer's interpretation of events could be incorrect. For example, a student may have knowingly provided a counselor with a false reason for his or her failure in the program. To ensure the integrity of the study, providers were encouraged to identify those cases where there was a possibility that they might have an incorrect understanding. In such cases, the reason was presented with the attached label "Unclear".

Additional concerns arose surrounding the ability of the program staff to accurately recall the cause of a given NT. With data extending as far back as FY 1995, in some cases it was necessary to ask trainers about students that may have enrolled as early as July 1994. As the data provided by BRA/EDIC provided little more than the individual's name, dates of enrollment, and termination status, I was unable to provide assistance for recall.

MITIGATING THE POTENTIAL PROBLEMS. To address the potential problems arising from data inaccuracy and recall difficulties, in some cases I requested consultation with student records retained in the center. JCS's evaluation and documentation procedures requires that training programs maintain detailed records on each participant enrolled under JTPA- IIA and JOBS funding. Such files contain information including the student's background, daily attendance, and program performance.

In some instances, time constraints limited a provider's ability to access the files to clear up ambiguities and uncertainties. In other instances, details kept in the file failed to provide a sufficient amount of additional information to fully complete an understanding of a particular student's circumstances. In such cases, the coding "Unclear" appears in the dataset.

Variable II

I also directed attention in site interviews to the structure and operation of the programs. Part of my interest was in understanding the degree to which specific organizational or operational aspects of a program may have influenced its frequency of negative terminations. For example, did a program that employed strict attendance and tardiness policies have fewer negative terminations than one that did not? This information is useful as an understanding of how programmatic factors may influence negative terminations may help to provide insights into policy or program prescriptions to reduce the occurrences of negative terminations. Accordingly, I sought information in areas including the following:

- program duration
- program intensity
- attendance policies
- recruitment efforts
- entry requirements
- support services
- counseling services

In addition to direct questions about program structure, I also asked staff to thoroughly walk me through the operation of their program. From field trips to health nutrition counseling to mock interview exercises, I detailed the array of activities provided by the programs. This too contributed to the effort to determine the broader set of activities the programs can undertake to assist their clients. The objective of these efforts was ultimately to identify aspects of each

training program that may be incorporated into existing and future training initiatives to assist trainees in successfully terminating. Part of what resulted is the development of a practitioner-oriented assessment of how best to operate a job training program that serves clients who face barriers to success. In addition, the work contributed to the identification of a set of "best practices" in the delivery of training services to students who face obstacles to advancement.

Variable III

To identify the broader set of efforts the institutions may carry out to promote the success of students with barriers to advancement, I needed to gain some sense of the training objectives the programs have for their students. In other words, I sought to learn the precise lessons the programs work to impart and to understand how can this work be improved upon.

As the curricula of the programs make clear, a major thrust of the training institutions is to provide a specific set of employment-related skills to the trainees. Benchmarks in office skills training instruction frequently included mastery of particular computer packages (a word processing and a spreadsheet application) and a proficiency in typing. However, research and discussions have revealed that the training programs in fact provide considerably more than the easily-tested and identified skills of typing and computer literacy. Indeed, JCS charges the programs with the task of making their students "job ready" which generally means providing the students with more than computer skills. Thus, I presented questions to disaggregate the concept of "job ready" into its discrete components.

3.3 Factors Contributing to Positive Terminations: Findings From Interviews in the Boston SDA

When gauged by their ability to achieve positive terminations, the programs in the

BRA/EDIC system from Fiscal Year 1995 - Fiscal Year 1996 performed well. The 17 programs

for which I obtained data matriculated 496 students in 1995 and positively terminated 367 or

73.9% of these students. Achieving similar results, the programs enrolled 507 students in 1996

of which 373 or 73.6% positively terminated.

Understanding how the programs achieved these outcomes can lay the foundation for

responding to the central question of this research effort: *what are the factors that contribute to*

positive terminations? Later, an investigation of the specific issues that contributed to negative

terminations will offer a deeper understanding of these factors. For now, however, it is important

to ensure that we begin developing a framework consistent with the experiences of the

practitioners who, as evidenced by their successes, have considerable insight into what

contributes to a positive outcome.

Operation of Interviews

I conducted interviews with a mix of staff members. At minimum, I carried out one

interview with a trainer at each program familiar with the personal lives of his/her students. On

five occasions, it was necessary to conduct a second interview with trainers in order to fully

discuss relevant issues. At six of the programs, the center's director took part in the interview

which permitted a discussion of broader issues including program design and operation. At two

centers I conducted an additional interview to meet specifically with a program director. With

three exceptions, all site interviews ranged from 65 to 100 minutes.

Most of the 26 trainers interviewed had worked in the field for much of their professional lives. Several of the program directors had over 10 years of experience, and one still enthusiastic and energetic interviewee had amassed over 23 years of insight. In sum, the group interviewed represented a varied assembly of practitioners with a rich and extensive set of knowledge.

Before presenting the findings from the interviews, it is important to recognize that the achievements of the training institutions are a function of at least two issues: the work of the programs themselves and the characteristics of the students they enroll. Poor instruction leading to poor student preparation could contribute to a negative termination. However, a "perfectly" structured center with the best possible instruction could fail to retain a student who has, for whatever reason, found that she is no longer interested in participating in training. Thus, it is necessary to give attention to both student and program factors in discussing elements that influenced positive terminations.

Here, I highlight the student-specific characteristics identified by providers as important factors in the student's outcome. In the next section I will turn attention to program-specific factors.

Student-Specific Factors that Contribute to Success

One director in particular felt that it is difficult to assess how a student will perform until the student is enrolled. As she commented, "You can never really tell how they'll do until they get here." This perspective, however, was in the minority. Staff at other programs felt one could develop a fairly accurate sense of how a student would do based on discussions, interviews, and other forms of assessments. Below, I present some of the characteristics staff highlighted as

important factors in a student's success. This information builds a foundation for our understanding of the student-specific factors that contribute to positive terminations.

Motivation

In every interview, the term motivation surfaced at least once as an important variable in a student's ultimate success. The concept emerged as the most frequently-cited factor in influencing positive terminations.

In one regard, staff used the "motivation" to describe the drive, willingness, and enthusiasm expressed by the student towards his or her training experience. Under this interpretation, high motivation manifested itself as a sincere interest during an intake interview or as an eagerness in carrying out a homework assignment.

Comments from several trainers emphasized that motivation only at the time of program enrollment was insufficient. Instead, interviewees noted the importance of ensuring the maintenance and on-going fostering of motivation. Staff offered stories of students that began programs with considerable energy but failed to retain it during the full course of training. One such story, presented below, focused on a student we will call Margaret.

> Margaret had been enrolled in an ABE program for 1.5 years. She had come a long way in advancing toward her External Diploma and then found herself "stuck" on one essay. In Margaret's program, staff expected students to attain 100% on their writing assignments; nothing less was acceptable. Having failed to complete high school, Margaret had encountered a number of bad experiences in school. In addition to holding a poor perception of her academic ability, her difficulties at home and in the program had made for a trying training experience. She had encountered numerous barriers over the past 1.5 years, but had remained committed and energetic. Though Margaret was only 2 weeks from successfully concluding the effort she had begun over a year earlier, her trouble with the essay began to get the best of her. After 6 sincere attempts to "get it right", she failed, and in so doing, loss much of her interest and her motivation. Margaret dropped out of the program, and without a full week of coaxing from her instructor, she would not have returned to complete her work and gain her External High School Diploma.

Having encountered a number of students who's experiences resemble that of Margaret's, staff viewed not just motivation, but continued motivation as crucial elements of a positive training outcome.

Providers felt motivation also played a pivotal role in influencing how the student would benefit from training. Staff seldom expected students demonstrating only a marginal enthusiasm to take advantage of additional learning opportunities that presented themselves in class. Some instructors also associated a low drive with an unwillingness to accept classroom instruction and lessons. One teacher provided the following example:

> Shamieka had been having trouble with her mathematics. She particularly had some hang-ups with a simplifying procedure used when multiplying fractions. She understood that if the denominator of one fraction was a 6 and the numerator of another was 12, then it was acceptable to simplify. However, she refused to believe a similar cancellation could take place in a case where the denominator of one fraction was 15 and the numerator of another was 21. It soon became clear that she had difficulty with this concept in all cases where odd numbers were involved. Following the instructor's repeated attempts to demonstrate this could be done, Shamieka replied, "Well that's your feeling." Shamieka refused to believe one could cancel fractions in such cases, and it was not until she consulted with her neighbor, who worked as a high school math teacher, that she accepted the instructor's lesson.

Shameika's defensive posture towards new information manifested itself in other facets of her training. It not only slowed her learning, but also made for a frustrating experience for many of the staff that worked with her. Most providers acknowledged the value of having students willing to admit and accept that they needed help. Students doing so were not only better able to handle criticism, but also recognized that it was acceptable to not always get things "right" the first time. Students unable to see this tended to view a mistake as a failure rather than as a learning experience. This, in turn, often led to frustration and impatience for the student. Based

on these interpretations, staff felt motivation, as represented by a willingness to learn, to be an important determinant of a student's success.

Organization

Several instructors spoke of students who arrived at class "in order". One teacher told of a student who would arrive in class completely in order, "hair done, makeup on." Several days later, the same student would arrive appearing disheveled and in some cases, "with a noticeable body odor." As the instructor observed, such wide swings in appearance would be completely unacceptable in a workplace. Such fluctuations also spoke of other possibly more profound organizational difficulties that could surface in a number of detrimental forms.

Providers also viewed organization as a necessary element of other characteristics important for success. Organization played a significant role in a student's ability to focus on assignments and classroom instruction. Without adequate organization, staff felt that attendance could also suffer. Providers reasoned that a student with attendance problems would naturally have greater trouble positively terminating. For these and other reasons, a student's perceived level of organization served as an important component of staffs' perceptions of what influenced a student's positive outcome.

An Ability to Acquire Relevant Occupational and Academic Skills

The Occupational training programs worked to transmit a particular set of job-specific skills. In most cases, employers had played an active role in helping the programs to identify the skills expected of job seekers. In one program, staff expect students to complete 15 weeks of training in areas including math, a 10-key calculator, accounts receivable/payable, and word processing.

In another program, trainers required students to type a minimum of 50 wpm, develop a competency in medical transcription, and attain at least a 70% academic average in 5 courses.

Program staff noted that students unable to gain these requisite skills would later have difficulty obtaining a job. Similarly, students who did not master relevant basic educational skills (reading, mathematics, writing, and spelling) would be expected to have difficulty gaining employment. These students would also encounter obstacles in obtaining their GED which served as an entry requirement to many Occupational training programs. For these reasons, staff readily recognized that an ability to acquire relevant academic and occupational skills was an important factor in a student's ability to positively terminate.

Implications of the Student-Specific Factors to Success

The three broad attributes noted in the previous section represent student-specific factors trainers perceived to be important in contributing to positive terminations. In general, staff felt that students possessing a developed set of these characteristics would tend to have fewer problems completing a program and entering a job. Given this interpretation, a highly organized and motivated student might encounter fewer problems positively terminating than a student with only a moderate degree of motivation and little organization. Within this context, these three attributes shape the foundation for our understanding of the basic "skills" that contribute to success among JTPA IIA- and JOBS-funded trainees in the Boston SDA. Collectively, I will refer to these skills as the Basic Readiness Skills (BRS). As the term suggests, these skills encompass those characteristics necessary for a student to not only be ready for participation and success in one of the programs investigated in this study, but also for entry into and success in the world of work.

Program-Specific Factors that Contribute to Success

I also took opportunities during the interviews to allow trainers to explain various aspects of their program's operation. Direct questions focused on issues ranging from life management support to attendance policies. I also reserved time to encourage trainers to talk in general terms about the components of their training they perceived to be particularly beneficial in assisting a student's acquisition of the Basic Readiness Skills. Insight came in sundry forms: from examples of concrete services to explanations of a specific classroom atmosphere. I present these ideas in relation to the specific impact they have on the student (whether it be to build a student's motivation or to strengthen a student's level of organization).

Below, I outline only some of the services identified by trainers. Without first understanding more about the needs of students and the events which may interfere in their acquisition of the Basic Readiness Skills, a discussion of these program services may be somewhat premature. Consequently, I will reserve a more detailed elaboration of program activities for Chapter 5. At this point, however, a general introduction into some of the activities providers felt important will help to establish a starting point for a more complete formulation.

General Issues

Many of the comments offered by providers did not center on issues relating to the Basic Readiness Skills. Several trainers felt many of the NTs were beyond their control. They viewed the terminees as students who simply "vanished". As a result, some providers felt powerless and unable to do much to help these students.

In addition, opinions on what the center might be able to do to reduce negative terminations often focused on finding ways to require students to participate in a more intensive job search effort. Several instructors felt some students weren't serious about finding a job, and had the trainees invested more energy, the programs might have succeeded in placing more students into employment.

Further, several providers intimated that by being more careful in their admissions process, the programs could achieve higher positive termination rates. Essentially, comments suggested that admitting students with a stronger set of the Basic Readiness Skills might allow the programs to successfully terminate a greater percent of their class.

Basic Readiness Skills-Related Practices

Among potential activities with applicability to the Basic Readiness Skills, ideas tended to stress the issue of support. As described below, this support had the affect of helping to sustain motivation, promote organization, or facilitate an ability to learn an academic or occupational skill.

GENERAL SUPPORT. Students at one program told of a classmate who was physically abused by her boyfriend because she was enrolled in a training program. The students noted that though examples of this degree of discouragement were rare, many of her classmates received considerable negative pressure from peers. Several spoke of "jealously". Others mentioned that many go out of their way to hide their enrollment in a training program. One student told her friends she was volunteering at a center when in fact she was a student.

Overcoming a feeling of discouragement, a fear of failure, or a lack of self-confidence all represented areas of concern among staff who recognized that such issues could dissuade a

student from completing a program. Providers offered the notion of support, whether from classmates, neighbors, or family members, as a remedy for managing these types of problems. Among the Basic Readiness Skills, we may view this support as means of helping to cultivate motivation, and in some cases, organization.

SUPPORT THROUGH MENTORS. Staff at a number of programs spoke of the importance of support to not only address issues of motivation and organization, but also to respond to academic and job-related needs. Several providers felt the use of tutors could make a substantial difference. Such tutors could provide the one-on-one assistance necessary to advance a trainee beyond a particular difficulty, such as a problem working with a computer program. In some instances, staff resources were not large enough to allow an instructor to take the time to lend the forms of support necessary. Instead, tutors were viewed to play an important role in helping to meet the student's needs.

CHAPTER 4

NEGATIVE TERMINATIONS IN THE BOSTON SDA

In the previous section, we developed a foundation for understanding some of the factors that contribute to a student's ability to positively terminate. This foundation consisted of a set of student-specific attributes collectively termed Basic Readiness Skills (BRS). We also gained a rudimentary sense of some of the services providers could carry-out to promote the development of these basic skills.

The interest now centers on understanding if we got it right. Are the negative terminations a result of a deficiency in one of the BRS or are there additional issues which more successfully explain what is necessary for positive terminations? Thus, one point of analysis will include the degree to which the data substantiate that a deficiency in a BRS is associated with a NT. An additional interest centers on augmenting the set of activities that programs may carry out to address the needs of their students. In addition to support and tutoring assistance, what other activities may help? Accordingly, I will carry out analysis to identify services that might have aided students in positively terminating.

To conduct the assessment, I will discuss the findings of the data within the context of the framework developed in Chapter 3. Specifically, I will discuss the NTs in stages. A Stage 1 Termination (S1T) will represent a student who did not complete the set of prescribed activities; a Stage 2 Termination (S2T) will represent an unsuccessful completion of the job search activities; and a Stage 3 Termination (S3T) will refer to those who graduate from training and

enter a job or an additional training program but fail to attend the new activity for a minimum of 30 days. Discussing the data in this manner permits a clearer understanding of how the negative terminations operate in relation to the Basic Readiness Skills. In turn, this fosters an easier formulation of program responses to address the obstacles to the acquisition and maintenance of the BRS, and ultimately, to positively terminating.

4.1 Identification of Barriers to the Acquisition and Retention of the Basic Readiness Skills

Stage 1 Terminations

The majority of the negative terminations among trainees in the 17 programs occurred as Stage 1 Terminations (S1Ts). As seen in Table 4.1, 57.4% of the 1995 Negative Terminations and 60.9% of the 1996 were S1Ts.

Table 4.1
System-Wide Stage 1 Terminations

Year	Total Negative Terminations	Stage 1 Terminations	Stage 1 Terminations as Percent of Negative Terminations (%)
1995	129	74	57.4
1996	133	81	60.9
Total	262	155	59.2

The causes underlying these negative terminations included a wide range of factors. As seen in Table 4.2, I was not able to determine the reason underlying a student's negative termination for about 20% of the S1Ts. In some cases, this was a result of a staff member's difficulty fully recalling the experiences of a student. In several instances, these students had only remained in the program for a matter of days, an insufficient period of time for most providers to learn the student's circumstances. In more than 2/3 of these cases (69.0%), staff were able to remember

several details about the students but an insufficient amount to develop a coherent reason for the students' departure from the program. Consultation with the students' records was not always possible due to time constraints. In several instances, information obtained from files was not specific enough to inform an accurate understanding.

Thus, in approximately 80% of the instances I gained an understanding of the events underlying a S1T. I present some of the broad reasons given for the S1Ts in Table 4.2.[7]

Table 4.2
Causes Underlying Stage 1 Terminations

Cause of Termination	Frequency of Termination (Count)	Cause of Termination as Percent of Total Stage 1 Terminations (%)
Personal or Family Issue (Non-Health-Related)	79	51.0
Personal or Family Issue (Health-Related)	37	23.9
Unclear	29	18.7

Non-Health-Related Factors

Among the non-health-related factors, several commonly-suspected barriers surface. These include issues such as a pregnancy or a failure in childcare arrangements. I present some of specific non-health-related factors which frequently surfaced in Table 4.3

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[7] In all cases, a negative termination was not a result of a singular event. Instead, a series of events may have been at play. In these instances of multiple issues, I identified the two primary factors and included them in the coding. The data presented include counts of events that existed as either a primary or confounding factor.

Table 4.3
Disaggregation of Non-Health-Related Factors

Cause of Non-Health-Related Termination	Frequency of Termination (Count)	Cause of Termination as Percent of Total Stage 1 Terminations (%)
Insufficient Organization	26	16.8
Terminated by Instructor	12	7.7
Loss of Interest	11	7.1
Pregnancy	10	6.5
Skill/Academic Deficiency	9	5.8
Failure in Daycare	9	5.8
Left to Find Employment	2	1.3

Terminations resulting from a failure in daycare and pregnancy together account for 12.3% of all

S1Ts. It requires little extension to understand how events such as daycare troubles may interfere

with a student's Basic Readiness Skills. A failure in daycare can dramatically impact a student's

organization, creating serious challenges for attendance. In such cases, even a profound degree

of motivation or academic acuity can do little to prevent the student from negatively terminating.

Similarly, one can imagine how a pregnancy could draw a student's attention away from training,

thus affecting motivational levels. At some point, organization is similarly affected as the

logistics of attending class gradually grow more complex. In both of these cases, information

provided during interviews offered few hints for what might have prepared the student to avoid

these barriers. Almost in passing, trainers offered the counsel that a greater effort in planning

ahead might have permitted an circumvention of the obstacles. Such an effort might have led to

the establishment of a backup baby-sitter or, assuming the pregnancies were unintended, an

avoidance of pregnancy.

Though the notion of planning ahead may not readily serve as a practical and easily-taught

skill as it relates to avoiding a pregnancy, preparing students to better plan ahead may prove

effective in assisting students in overcoming other barriers. Identifying how potential areas of

focus, such as planning ahead, may help students to circumvent barriers allows us to begin

recognizing productive areas of investment among providers. The following causes of non-

health-related S1Ts, drawn from Table 4.3, represent events for which I gathered evidence that a

particular program service may have assisted students in avoiding the event.

Insufficient Organization

As Table 4.3 presents, a set of factors termed "Insufficient Organization" accounted for

16.8% of all S1Ts. This term describes students who had a tremendous number of

responsibilities and distractions in their life, and consequently, were unable to fully focus on their

training program. The 26 students receiving this label had a varied assortment of responsibilities

and troubles they were attempting to manage. Some of these problems, as identified by program

staff, are included in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4
Stage 1 Terminations: Insufficient Organization

Student	Reason Given for "Insufficient Organization" Label
Student 1	Father had molested kids; they were a mess; constant calls from daycare
Student 2	Great student; constant crises; absorbed in custody over relative's kids
Student 3	Much going on (MassBay at nights); poor attendance from beginning; child abused
Student 4	Was living in homeless shelter; had 4 kids; serious problems
Student 5	In and out of courts all the time; legal issues; serious emotional problems
Student 6	Terrible attitude; did poorly academically; many emotional needs
Student 7	Was fired from externship; atrocious attendance; many issues; attitudinal
Student 8	Was completely alone; family in Haiti; little stability; needed intensive counseling
Student 9	Had kids; worked graveyard shift full-time; it became too much

As seen in the table, the inability of these students to complete their training activities was

largely a function of their difficulty organizing their life to an extent that would allow them to

regularly attend classes. These students were frequently those that staff would refer to as "just

not ready".

The experiences of these students supports our earlier understanding of the Basic Readiness Skills. In addition to confirming the reasonable expectation that a disorganization, and a subsequent inability to attend classes, is likely to lead to a negative termination, the data also make clear that a several attributes underlie a student's level of organization. The experiences of many of the 26 students terminating as a result of an "Insufficient Organization" indicate that in some cases, *planning ahead* may have allowed them to avoid or better manage the obstacles that contributed to their NT. Additional skills emerging from the difficulties of these students include an *ability to manage multiple tasks and responsibilities*, an *understanding of prioritizing and sacrificing*, and *success in coping with trauma and crises*. A greater mastery of these skills might have reduced the likelihood of negatively terminating among these S1Ts. If we accept that these NTs represent a small pool of the larger group of students who similarly lack a fully developed set of these skills, then targeting services to cultivate a proficiency in these areas may offer benefits to many trainees.

Forced Terminations by Instructor

Table 4.3 indicates that 7.7% of the S1Ts resulted from a program-initiated effort. In 9 of these cases, staff asked students to leave the program because of poor attendance. Though the reason was unclear in several instances, among 5 of these students attendance problems were attributable to personal and family difficulties that led to a decreased motivation and poor organization as manifested by an inability to manage class schedules and other responsibilities. Here we again, see organization to be a function of an *ability to manage multiple tasks and responsibilities*. As a result, this skill may productively serve as an area of focus for training activities.

Skill/Academic Deficiency

An academic or skill deficiency contributed to 9 of the S1Ts. Seven of the students were enrolled in an Occupational training program where a mathematical or reading problem prevented them from adequately carrying out classroom work. One student had trouble completing the examinations necessary for her certification. Another student couldn't perform the work-related math the training center required all students to complete. Two students unfamiliar with the English language found they were not prepared for skill training.

Staff identified many of these students as having low self-esteem and little confidence. Discipline and attitudinal issues also persisted for several. Thus whereas the ostensible cause of the negative termination might have been an academic or skill issue, underlying the obstacle was a set of personal issues that slowed academic development. One of the more important skills available to the student in addressing these matters centers on an *ability to manage frustration and failure.* Without a capacity to manage the emotional and psychological fallout of a difficult academic or skill-related task, the classroom challenge contributed to a decision to negatively terminate. Services, such as *individualized support and assistance,* may have facilitated a better management of the obstacles.

Loss of Interest

Staff noted that students interested in the subject of their training, whether it be for a position as a Dental Assistant or a Medical Secretary, tend to have a more enjoyable experience than students not interested. Though the data does not reveal how pleased students might have been with their field of training, it does indicate that few students actually terminate as a result of a

loss of interest in their subject material. Only 4 of the 11 students who terminated due to a "Loss of Interest" dropped out because they found the subject of their training inconsistent with their true interests. Other factors, such as the entry of a new boyfriend into a student's life, came into play in the remaining instances. For these students, a loss of interest was an issue of finding another activity more interesting. Other students similarly found their attention diverted due to a set of events. Together, the experiences of these students support the importance of an *ability to manage multiple tasks and responsibilities* as well as an *ability to remain focused in the face of disruptions*. As before, we may accurately accept that the deficiencies revealed by these handful of students may represent challenges faced by others. As such, a strategy to enrich the training experience and to reduce negative terminations should include activities that respond to the evidence that these skills are absent or insufficiently developed among some.

Health-Related Factors

Table 4.2 showed that 23.9% of the S1Ts occurred as a result of a health-related event. I list some of the more frequent of these events below in Table 4.5

Table 4.5
Disaggregation of Health-Related Factors Leading to S1Ts

Cause of Termination	Frequency of Termination (Count)	Cause of Termination as Percent of Total Stage 1 Terminations (%)
Personal Issue (Mental Health)	11	7.1
Personal Issue (Substance Abuse)	8	5.2
Family Member's Health	8	5.2
Personal Issue (Domestic Abuse)	7	4.5
Personal Issue (Other)	3	1.9

Personal Health Issues

In sum, personal health complications contributed to the negative termination of 29 (18.7%) of the S1Ts. As this indicates, the predominant factor leading to a "drop-out" is not health-related as some providers suspected. In fact, when issues of a family member's health are considered, the total health-related S1Ts fails to account for more than 24% of all "drop outs".

MENTAL HEALTH. Mental Health issues explained 11 of the personal health cases. Many of these students were in the process of receiving medical attention. Issues of depression and low self-esteem were common. The difficulties of these students can best be understood as having significant challenges in acquiring relevant academic/occupational skills and maintaining organization. In some cases, the problems of these students might have exceeded the capacity of the training center to manage adequately. However, even in cases where a student's needs extended beyond the program's purview, opportunities to connect the student to outside resources did not appear well developed. Recognizing that my interpretation of referral activities among programs may not be fully informed (in all cases I may not have interviewed the individual most appropriate to discuss the subject) it appeared that only four centers made effective use of outside support. In many cases, students with considerable needs "disappeared" and were never heard from again. More *individualized support and assistance* may have allowed programs to maintain contact with the trainees, and in some cases, the center may have avoided a negative termination. In other instances, it may not have been possible to avoid a negative termination. In such cases, greater individualized attention might have offered other benefits by enabling the program to connect students with institutions and services better suited to meet the trainees' needs.

DOMESTIC AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE. Challenges presented by domestic and substance abuse take on many forms. A disruption in one's motivation may promptly result. Organization and attendance may suffer. A student's ability to focus on academic issues may falter. The seriousness of these issues have great potential to jeopardize Basic Readiness Skills.

Enabling students to avoid or manage the barriers of substance and domestic abuse requires giving attention to a complex set of personal, societal, and environmental considerations. At base level, however, avoiding a NT might have been possible with a greater level of *success in coping with trauma* and an array of *individualized support and assistance.* Though a relatively small number of students (15) terminated due to domestic and substance abuse barriers, it is suspected the issues surrounding this group represent obstacles faced by a much larger number of students in the study. In the case of both domestic and substance, on two occasions it was possible to actually quantify the extent to these barriers surface among the larger population of students. In one training center, a staff member had a relationship with students that permitted an accurate assessment of the number of students who experienced problems in these areas. Among a class of 14 students, she was aware of at least 5 (35.7% of the class) who were experiencing or coping with an issue of domestic abuse while 4 students (28.6%) were managing substance abuse issues. An instructor in another program similarly identified 6 of the 18 members of his past class (33.3%) as recovering from a substance abuse issue (he was not able to determine accurately how many of his students had encountered domestic abuse). These figures reveal that other students do indeed confront some of the obstacles faced by those negatively terminating.

Family Member's Health

Eight S1Ts were attributable to a health problem faced by a family member. Problems included a serious or life-threatening illness among a child (3 cases) or a parent (1 instance). Three cases involved the death of a parent.

The lessons of these students experiencing family problems support the skill of organization as an important determinant in attaining a PT. Their stories also reveal that the occurrence of singular events are capable of disrupting this organization, eventually contributing to a negative outcome.

What might have enabled these students to have continued in their programs? In some cases, the nature of the crisis was such that it was best for the student to leave. As one instructor commented, "Sometimes students *need* to not be here." For example, the death of a student's father and the subsequent need for the student to help with family matters perhaps should call for a temporary departure from the program (though such a departure need not necessarily lead to a negative termination). In other cases as well, the nature of the disruption need not necessarily require that the student drop out of the training program. In such cases, *success in coping with trauma and crises* and *an ability to remain focused in the face of disruptions* might have assisted students to manage their problems while continuing to advance towards a PT.

Stage 2 Terminations

A number of the negative terminations were students who completed their full course of training activities but did not enter a job or training program. In 1995, 54 of the negative terminations represented these Stage 2 Terminations (S2T). In 1996, this number was somewhat lower at 48.

Table 4.6
System-Wide Stage 2 Terminations

Year	Total Negative Terminations	Stage 2 Terminations (Count)	Stage 2 Terminations as Percent of Negative Terminations (%)
1995	129	54	20.6
1996	133	48	18.3
Total	262	102	38.9

Though the events leading to these terminations varied, I can broadly divide most of them into

three areas: no participation in job search, a moderate job search effort, and a serious job search

effort. Here, job search represents engagement in a program's activities that ultimately lead to

interviewing and placement into a job or, in the case of ABE/Pre-Voc programs, entry into a

training center. These causes and the frequency with which they surfaced are shown in Table 4.7

Table 4.7
Causes of Stage 2 Terminations

Cause of Stage 2 Termination	Frequency (Count)	Cause of Termination as Percent of Total Stage 2 Terminations (%)
Failed Job Search --No Participation	61	59.8
Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	19	18.6
Failed Job Search --Serious Effort	9	8.8

No Participation S2Ts

In viewing Table 4.7 and the causes of S2Ts, we observe that a substantial number result

from students that participated in no form of job search activity. These students, as represented

by the label "Failed Job Search --No Participation" represented 59.8% of all Stage 2

Terminations.

Unfortunately, for 26.2% of these S2Ts (16 instances), providers did not have a sense of

the reasons underlying this disinterest in searching. In most cases, the student simply

disappeared, leaving the instructor with the task of guessing at what might have happened. A

typical case was someone like Tanisha, as described below:

> Tanisha was a fair student. She was in the program because she wanted to be, not because she had to be. She did all expected coursework and had a fine attitude about it. She participated in pre-graduation job search activities, including developing a resume and working on her interviewing skills. Graduation day, however, was the last time anyone saw her. Efforts to contact her failed completely. In one case, the instructor called Tanisha's residency and was certain that it was Tanisha that picked up the phone. Nevertheless, the persona at Tanisha's home maintained that Tanisha was not there and that a message would be left for her. The Job Counselor never heard from Tanisha, and within 3 months, the counselor entered Tanisha as a *Negative Termination* in the IMS system.

Evidence of these S2Ts support the obvious observation that a motivation for advancing beyond

training should function as an important factor in a student's ability to positively terminate. The

factors that shape this motivation, however, is the issue of greater concern. As noted, staff often

had little information from which to explain why these students did not undertake a more

deliberate effort to positively terminate. I present the instances in which staff had some insight

into the reasons for no job search participation in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8
Factors Contributing to Failed Job Search --No Participation

Cause of Termination	Frequency (Count)
Family Issue	12
Personal Issue (Health-Related)	11
Had Employment/Alternative	9
Academic/Skills Deficiency	3
Daycare	2

"Family Issues" frequently surfaced among these students. Health concerns constituted 4 of the

12 cases of "Family Issues"; having an insufficient capacity as a result of young children

accounted for an additional 5 cases.

Personal health-related issues prevented participation in job search for 11 of the students. Mental health issues accounted for almost half (5) of these 11 personal health concerns. As with the occurrences of mental health problems among S1Ts, instructors were aware that at least several of the students were taking medication for their problems. Issues of domestic abuse did not arise at the same rate among S2Ts as with S1Ts (only 2 cases among the S2Ts).

Underlying many of these reasons for no participation were challenges in managing a set of problems or issues. From health concerns to an insufficient capacity to juggle multiple responsibilities, failures to adequately cope with a set of circumstances are a major issue among S2Ts who did not participate in a job search. As previously suggested, possible program responses that may have assisted these students include providing assistance *to cope with a crisis or disruption*; delivering more *individualized support and assistance*; and promoting an *ability to manage multiple tasks and responsibilities*.

Moderate Search Effort S2Ts

Table 4.7 also reveals that 19 students engaged in some form of job search activity but did not succeed in actually securing jobs. Nine of these cases included students that engaged in a job search activity and eventually obtained a job, though not in the timeframe permitted by BRA/EDIC. Eight of the nine cases involved JOBS-funded students who did not enter employment or a training program by June 30 of the program year. Various issues slowed the advancement of these students, including health issues among family members. For these students, an extended timeframe for placement would have resulted in their positive terminations.

As with negative terminations among those not participating in any form of job search, trainers gave a reason of "Unclear" for why many only engaged in a moderate search effort. Despite not being able to identify the specific causes for their student's lack of sincere participation in job search, instructors often had suspicions for what might have been at issue. The reason trainers most frequently offered for these terminations centered on the issue of a fear of the job search process. In relation to why a number of students in his program failed to even enroll for the GED exam, one instructor commented that he felt many students were afraid of having to go to "a new place with new people with new faces." He postulated that far fewer students would have trouble if the exam were held on the premises of the training facility. Two other instructors similarly evoked concerns of fear and intimidation to explain why their students did not participate in a job search. One instructor told of a case where he had to walk with a student to an interview.

One teacher commented that much of the fear stemmed from the lack of structure surrounding the activity. As he noted, every other aspect of the training was fully organized -- from arriving at the program everyday by 9:00 am to working on the computers from 11:00 am - noon. In contrast, "looking for a job is so unstructured." Students are asked to make phone calls. They are coached and then asked to sell their strengths. As the instructor pointed out, there is no clear order to it; it's just something they do. This lack of order and process may contribute to the fear.

If we give attention to these suspicions of several staff members, then a *comfortability and confidence with job search* arises as an important element in shaping a student's drive to

enter employment. A lack of confidence and security in managing the job search process may manifest itself as a disinterest in working and contribute to a negative termination.

Though the actual number of people for whom this issue led to a negative termination is small in comparison to the full population of students enrolled, we may argue that the issue is nevertheless considerable. This would particularly be the case if the experiences of these students across the programs point to a larger failure among the programs to assist students in fully mastering the "job search skill". It may have been the case that other students failed to gain the comfortability to independently manage the job search process, but with the attention and assistance provided by job developers, were nonetheless able to enter a job. If this is the case, then one may wonder what is to happen to such a student years later when it is necessary for him to find another job. Might his discomfort prove to be an obstacle were he to lose his job and find himself needing to find employment elsewhere? Could such a lack of confidence and security lead him to never seek employment beyond entry-level work, thus seriously impairing his potential occupational mobility? One could continually speculate on the implications. The basic idea, however, is that irrespective of how extensive of a problem the data suggests this to be, ensuring that students attain a *comfortability and confidence with job search* it is an issue of substantial import.

Serious Job Search

In 9 cases, students carried out a dedicated and sincere job search effort but did not secure employment or entry into training. In two instances, the trainees negatively terminated because they had particular job interests and were unable to find employment carrying out what they had envisioned. Six of the cases were a result of an academic or skill issue. In 2 of these 6 instances,

staff suspected a potential learning difficulty while 2 other students demonstrated some difficulties in the interview setting. One case involved a student with language challenges.

The 6 cases for which a skill or academic obstacles led to a NT among students carrying out a serious job effort, when coupled with the 6 other instances which academic or skills issues slowed the progress of those initiating no search or a moderate search, reveal a sum of 12 students failing to find employment as a result of an academic or skill deficiency. Additional *individualized support and assistance* to address specific problems might have permitted these students to positively terminate.

The relatively small number of students that initiate a serious job search effort but fail to enter employment suggest that most students completing the programs who are serious about entering employment generally do so. Thus, whether students enroll in a program with minimal or considerable skill deficiencies, by the program's conclusion they possess the package of competencies and characteristics that employers desire.

Stage 3 Terminations

Of the 1,003 students enrolled in one of the seventeen training programs in the Boston SDA during FY 1995 and FY 1996, only 5 students negatively terminated due to a failure to retain their position in a job or in a skill training program for a minimum of 30 days. Three of these students left on their own initiative after having been on the job for less than a week (one student worked only one day). Two of the Stage 3 Terminations (S3Ts) represented students who were involved in a physical altercation while at work. Their employer subsequently terminated them both.

The observation that there were so few S3Ts is surprising. Prior research had suggested that retention services following placement played an important function. However, interviews revealed that few centers have the resources to deliver intensive retention support. As staff noted, this was not out of a disinterest in serving students once placed, but rather an inability due to constraints. Many of the centers felt they just had enough staff to carry out the work they currently undertake; to do more in the area of post-placement assistance would require further staff support. Nonetheless, the data did not reveal a retention problem among positive terminees.

4.2 Program Services to Promote the BRS and to Respond to the Barriers

The previous section identified some of the more common barriers to positive terminations as revealed by the experiences of those negatively terminating from FY 95 through FY 1996. In sum, the analysis drew from the obstacles faced by 262 students across 17 programs in the Boston SDA. Issues of recollection, staff changes, and other factors prevented a full understanding of the issues among 56 students. Thus more precisely, the identification of barriers extrapolated from the difficulties encountered by 206 low-income and generally low-skilled adult students.

The data revealed low frequencies among a large number of occurrences --it was not the case that a singular factor such as a "Failure in Daycare" explained most of the failures. As a result, the analysis did not readily point to a set of services (such as providing more daycare vouchers) that could quickly allow programs to reduce their NT rate and improve training for students.

The analysis does reveal, however, a common set of skills whose development might have helped students to avoid or better control the many different barriers to the Basic Readiness

Skills. For example, an insufficient *ability to prioritize and manage multiple responsibilities* led

to trouble among some in managing the obstacles they encountered. The result was a loss of

organization or motivation that contributed to a NT. Likewise, an impoverished structure for

coping with trauma and crises rendered some events particularly distressing. Consequences

included a lower level of motivation or a damaged organizational structure, eventually shaping a

negative outcome. Thus whereas a small set of events do not explain a significant portion of the

negative terminations, it is the case that a handful of improved skills might have led to a better

ability to manage undesirable events. The result would have been a stronger set of Basic

Readiness Skills and an improved chance of positively terminating. To recap, I list the set of

skills identified in the previous sections as important for helping students manage the obstacles:

Primary Areas of Focus to Respond to the Factors Contributing to Stage 1
Negative Terminations

Skills
- competency in planning ahead
- ability to manage multiple tasks and responsibilities
- understanding of prioritizing and sacrificing
- success in coping with trauma and crises
- ability to manage frustration and failure
- ability to remain focused in the face of disruptions

Services
- individualized support and assistance

Primary Areas of Focus to Respond to Factors Contributing to Stage 2
Negative Terminations

Skills
- ability to manage multiple tasks and responsibilities
- success in coping with trauma and crises
- comfortability and confidence with job search

Services/Policies
- individualized support and assistance

- extended timeframe for placement
- more structured job search process

A predominant theme among the skills important for Stage 1 Terminations relates to the challenge of helping students to confront and conquer the problems and obstacles that surface during the training cycle (coping with trauma and crises, managing frustration, remaining focused). An additional set of the skills relate to the ability of preparing the student to avoid having to face such problems altogether (planning ahead, managing multiple tasks and responsibilities, prioritizing and sacrificing).

Stage 2 Terminations were attributable to a slightly different set of circumstances. To be sure, coping with and avoiding difficulties were important, but so too is a set of skills and practices of particular relevance to the post-graduation search process.

The issues underlying the low number of Stage 3 terminations does not significantly inform a set of useful program services. However, the issue does raise questions relating to follow-up and retention services.

Thus, though lacking rigorous statistical backing, the analysis indicates that targeting services to cultivate a small set of skills may improve the chances among some students to positively terminate. Focused attention on these skills may also help other students enrolled in programs who similarly lack a fully developed capacity to avoid undesirable events, manage disruptive occurrences, successfully maneuver the search process, and overcome skill and academic challenges.

I have argued that providing services to promote a development of these skills should offer a number of benefits. Outcomes should include a reduced rate of negative terminations and a

general improvement in the nature of training. Later, we will look to see if there is any evidence that such services do in fact achieve these outcomes. In the following section, I explore in detail how trainers may develop and deliver the services.

Program Services to Promote Development of Coping, Avoidance
Job Search Skills, and Academic/Occupational Skills

Analysis of the NTs shed some light on potential services that may prove helpful to students. In particular, the data pointed towards the importance of individualized support and assistance to address personal and academic obstacles.

Interviews permitted me to identify a more complete array of practices. Such practices target the development of the BRS and the skills important for overcoming the barriers to their acquisition and maintenance. Many of the services described below represent activities which stood out from those practiced by other centers. Other services represented notable innovations in the delivery or design of a specific training component. Whatever the case, the activities identified below serve as some of the "Best Practices" among the 17 programs in aiding students to attain a Basic Readiness Skill and the skills necessary for overcoming and managing barriers that frequently arise.

Support

PEER SUPPORT. As interviews had suggested, staff regarded support to be an important means of helping students to manage the issues they encountered while in training. Practices to actually provide the support can take several forms. A story provided by one instructor serves as an example of how peer support may assist:

> Sherry had been enrolled in the program for about 2 months. Unexpectantly, Sherry's sister passed away. Within several days, Sherry contacted the program

director and informed him that she intended to drop out of the program. Despite his attempts to persuade her otherwise, Sherry stopped attending classes for a full two weeks. After repeated attempts, the director informed the class of what had happened. Within several days, Sherry called the instructor and asked, "What did you do?" Six students in the class had called Sherry to encourage her to return. The following week, Sherry was again attending lectures.

The issues Sherry struggled with contributed to what became a difficult training experience. Other students encountered events or issues which similarly challenged their ability to consistently attend training. As Sherry's example makes clear, the ability to manage this issue with the support of others can make a considerable difference. The support may address many of the barriers that contributed to both Stage 1 and Stage 2 negative terminations. In particular, support is capable of helping students to: manage multiple tasks and responsibilities, manage frustration, remain focused in the face of disruptions, and have greater success in coping with trauma and crises.

Several programs structured time into the training schedule to allow students to openly discuss issues, barriers, and problems. One ABE program reserved Friday's explicitly to deal with these and other non-academic concerns. Another institution brought trainees together into a circle when things became a bit too much for a student. In one case, a student having considerable trouble with her 2-year old child benefited from a class-wide talk of other students' difficulty with their children.

ACADEMIC AND PERSONAL SUPPORT THROUGH MENTORS. Two centers effectively used "mentors" to provide their students with much-needed support. In one center, the mentor was a volunteer from a Boston-based organization that helps immigrants adjust to life in the US. Each student is paired with one mentor. Work between the student and the mentor could focus on understanding a particular piece of office equipment. In other cases, lessons stressed diction,

interviewing skills, telephone skills, or completing tax forms. The relationship also permitted

discussions of personal difficulties. Though not a counselor, the mentor provided an open and

concerned ear. In these capacities, the mentor addressed many of the factors that might normally

contribute to negative terminations. In particular, providing individualized support and

assistance allowed time to address specific skill or academic obstacles. Serving as a concerned

peer, the mentor also helped to provide many of the other services suspected to contribute to a

positive outcomes, including help in planning ahead, managing multiple tasks and

responsibilities, coping with trauma and crises, and prioritizing and sacrificing

A similar mentoring relationship existed at another institution. Here, community members,

many of whom are past graduates of the program, worked directly with the training center. They

ensure that each incoming student partners with a community member. The relationship which

results functions similar to that described for the previous center. Specifically, the mentor

provides various forms of academic, social, and personal support. The mentor, in conjunction

with other members of the community, form a Planning Committee. This committee meets with

the student, develops an Action Plan, and helps the student realize it. Program staff provide

"tools and knowledge" while the mentor and other volunteers provide the support. Upon

graduating, students receive even more support. For instance, students who enroll in a

community college receive a private academic tutor. Arrangements are also made for students

entering employment. The trainer described the services as "support that empowers our

students." As with the other forms of support, this assistance helps to remediate academic,

coping, and avoidance skills, which if not fully developed, may lead to problems in the Basic

Readiness Skills and result in a NT.

STAFF-PROVIDED SUPPORT. The support need not be channeled solely through a peer group. In one ABE program, the director acted much like an advocate for the students. She provided regular encouragement. In one case, she told of a student that disappeared after one month in the training program. The student had relapsed into drugs and stopped responding to phone calls and letters. The instructor's repeated use of the student's beeper ultimately led the student to change the number. Eventually, the director went to the student's home to attempt to confront the student directly. The heavy investment paid off, and after enrolling in a 1-month-long program for drug abuse, the student returned to the program and has done "outstanding", becoming a peer tutor to others.

The previous examples reveal some of the forms through which programs may convey support. Time and resource considerations often limit the extent to which trainers may provide the support and advocacy. One instructor who recognized the importance of providing support acknowledged that the responsibilities could not be left fully with the trainers. Given the ratio of students to staff, he remarked "because it is 15 students to 1 teacher they must help each other."

The cost of formalizing support when measured against its benefits raises questions why more centers do not invest in this activity. One possibility may be a failure to fully recognize peer support and mentoring as an option. Instead, many programs may continue to focus on traditional practices of utilizing a single counselor. Under such an arrangement, it may be easy to see how some trainers may arrive at a similar conclusion as that expressed by one program administrator who observed that "people on welfare tend to bring with them a considerable set of difficulties". As a result, she concluded counseling for such students is "not really worth the tremendous amount of money" it requires.

Utilizing External Support Services

Two programs in particular made effective use of referral networks. Recognizing the limitations of their staff, these centers had regular experiences assisting their students in taking advantage of counseling and other forms of help available outside the training facility. In all cases, the assistance provided to students was free of charge. Among these two programs, services provided by external programs made a substantial difference for several students. Given the few costs to the center in assisting students in accessing these forms of help, it was somewhat surprising to observe the low frequency with which programs seemed to take advantage of referral opportunities. It is important to note, however, that several trainers had little familiarity with this aspect of their center's work. Consequently, they were unable to elaborate on their center's experiences in this field. As a result, I may not have gauged the true extent to which all institutions utilize referral practices.

Maintaining High Standards

All trainers acknowledged that building confidence and self-esteem were important objectives. A belief and confidence in one's ability strongly shapes one's motivation. It also influences a student's willingness and enthusiasm towards engaging in a job search effort. One trainer in particular articulated his belief that the way to build confidence and self-esteem was through challenging students to meet high expectations. He found that students will ultimately strive to meet the expectations of the training center in which they are enrolled. Low standards would lead to low performance. High standards, on the other hand, would push students to grow and develop in many direct and indirect ways. For example, high standards might more readily reveal a student's weaknesses. Though discomforting, a recognition of one's shortcomings

provides fertile ground for learning. Establishing high standards, and assisting students in meeting them, would also contribute to a genuine and well-deserved sense of accomplishment. Such feelings, in turn, would promote confidence and a strong belief in one's ability to succeed outside of the training center. This may fuel some students to participate in job search who otherwise might have lacked the confidence to do so. It might also compel some students to remain focused in the face of disruptions by fueling greater motivation and belief in one's ability to succeed and overcome challenges.

Several centers utilized effective approaches in creating an environment requiring high achievement. Three instructors informed me they do not inform their students of the JCS minimum attendance requirements (85% for JTPA; 75% for JOBS). Instead, they make it clear that they expect to see their students everyday. High standards are articulated and students even sign contracts. One program permitted a maximum of 3 absences during the first 6 weeks of training. A student failing to meet that expectation, under most circumstances, would be asked to leave. Despite such a rigorous requirement, most of the students attain the standard (the center's negative terminations rates supports this). In another program, students gaining a third absence are required to meet with the program's counselor to explain the circumstances. Following the meeting, students are put on probation and held to even higher expectations.

Centers utilized different approaches to help students meet high expectations. One program employed a "team approach" model that required students to work together on projects and other activities. The idea surrounding the strategy was to help students "strive for the highest not the lowest" among the team. Using a similar concept, another program strove to establish a classroom mix of students with varying backgrounds and experiences. Having run cycles with

primarily young AFDC recipients with little work experience, the program found that a balance of life histories and personal maturities made a substantial difference in the dynamic of classroom learning. The presence of several older (30+) and generally more mature women, "makes the class stronger ." The instructor remarked that the younger students "benefit from their [the older students'] patience, wisdom, experience." The cost to older students often involves watching others act like the older students' children. Despite some of the frustration this creates for the older students, the instructor concluded, "I wish every class could have a group of wise women."

Trainers at two programs commented on troubles with maintaining strict attendance policies. One program ended their use of such policies as they found themselves preparing to terminate students who had legitimate reasons for their absence. As the instructor asked, "What do you do when someone has a domestic abuse issue?" Recognizing this reality, while at the same time striving to hold students to high "workplace-like" expectations, one center responded by allowing students to "make up" 2 days' worth of material through participation in Friday activities. In sum, the 15-week program providing 360 hours of training allows students to miss a maximum of 36 hours, 12 of which the student must make up on Fridays.

It is interesting to note that many centers adopted much more lenient performance standards for their students. Interviews revealed that students recognized this fact. Several programs in the city have "reputations" and are known for their intensity. One student in the process of graduating from an ABE program and preparing to enter an occupational class expressed apprehensions about several centers. Her concerns stemmed largely from discussions with other

students who had indicated that the classes at those centers frequently assigned difficult and time-consuming homework assignments.

Indications also came from the observation of differing attendance and tardiness standards. Several programs hold their students to much more lax attendance and tardiness standards. At one center, a tardiness did not take on sizable implications, and there were few immediate consequences. Likewise, the instructor discouraged absences but he indicated that they try to be, "as lenient as we can be in terms of the attendance".

The differing perspectives towards the function of expectations highlights the fact that perhaps there is no one right answer. In my analysis, however, high expectations did appear to create an added source of motivation for some students. An achievement of a specific benchmark, while acknowledging that they were being held to rigorous standards, generated among some students a sense of accomplishment and pride that fueled an energy to take on the next set of challenges. To be sure, in some cases success was not easy in coming, but with assistance from staff and support from peers, the students began to build a history of reaching goals as a result of sustained effort. This conveyed to some, perhaps for the first time, that hard work can pay off. In addition to building motivation, such lessons might even work to reshape perceptions towards employment and the job search process.

Keeping Students Interested and Motivated

The prior academic failures of many of the centers' students contribute to what often becomes a frustrating and difficult training experience. For the many who had previously dropped out of high school, entry into an ABE or Pre-Voc program can prove intimidating and serve as a reminder of their past deficiencies. As one trainer speculated, such students might

wonder, "Oh boy. Here I am at it again. If I failed 10 years ago, why should I believe I might succeed this time?"

These recognitions require that programs keep a gauge on and provide on-going responses to student concerns, frustrations, and fears. Doing so helps ensure that students remain motivated. It also addresses the skills important for overcoming many Stage 1 and 2 barriers, including success in coping with trauma and crises, an ability to remain focused in the face of disruptions, and an ability to manage frustration.

To maintain a handle on how students are doing, two programs utilize writing exercises. In both cases, students keep a weekly journal that staff read, comment on, and grade. The exercise serves primarily the goal of developing students' writing abilities. Secondarily, the work allows students to directly communicate to staff problems on issues they might be dealing with. In some cases, students discuss personal crises. In other instances, they might write about their general concerns.

Several programs regularly scheduled field trips and other "breaks" from the normal classroom environment. In addition to offering students opportunities to learn about the Boston Public Library or about a particular job setting, staff acknowledged that these activities were also intended to keep students interested and enthusiastic. Many trainers recognized the potential for their students to get "burned out". Others realized that some of their students were apt to give up when things began to get difficult. These outings served to help maintain motivation and energy. One instructor brought in donuts and coffee on several occasions when he sensed morale and enthusiasm slipping.

Acknowledging successes and achievements of benchmarks also helped to keep students motivated. One center developed monthly awards for perfect attendance. Upon graduation, one program awarded students a set of building tools valued at over $200. Several centers invested significant energy into their graduation ceremony, treating it with considerable seriousness and regarding it as an occasion for festive celebration. In this form, graduation provided students with something to look forward to and served as an event they would certainly want to be a part of. An instructor felt that many of his students viewed graduation as "one of the biggest accomplishments of their lives outside of their kids."

Life Skills Training

Many of the activities that respond to non-academic needs, such as self-esteem building, crisis management, and substance abuse, fall under the broad term of "life skills". Many centers provided a spectrum of services under this heading. These services sought to address many dimensions of the Basic Readiness Skills and the skills important for dealing with the barriers to the Basic Readiness Skills. If appropriately designed, the practices would also help to teach many of the skills effective in helping students to overcome Stage 1 and 2 barriers.

One program began a "two day motivational workshop" before academic classes began. Another center devoted several hours each week to specific issues. A number of providers utilized guest speakers. Discussions with students suggested that in most cases these workshops were quite beneficial. Several instructors, however, indicated that some students viewed these programs as childish and almost condescending. Depending on how activities are conducted, lessons may very well come across in a patronizing manner. However, the importance of giving direct attention to issues such as domestic or substance abuse are critical. As the data revealed,

barriers such as these have a pervasive and destructive presence in the lives of many within the service population. A failure to address the many aspects of these problems can lead to unnecessary complications, if not during the training cycle, then later in the student's life. Ensuring opportunities to safely and openly discuss such issues is important, particularly given that chances to do so may not regularly exist outside of the training center. One instructor felt a "lack of time" was not an acceptable excuse for why a program would decide to not provide life management training. From her perspective, few services could be more beneficial or deserving of time than such training.

4.3   Assessing the Effectiveness of the Identified Services

The services highlighted in the previous section represent some of the more effective ways to develop students' abilities to develop the BRS and to manage barriers that often interfere with the BRS. Additional means of meeting the needs certainly exist; the above represent only what I gathered through discussions.

As developed here, we should be able to measure the value of providing the highlighted services, in part, by assessing a program's rate of negative terminations. Presumably programs that carry out the identified activities (e.g. centers that help students to cope with trauma and crises, manage multiple tasks and responsibilities, achieve an understanding of prioritizing and sacrificing, etc.) would have lower negative termination rates than those which do not. Similarly, programs providing the least of these services might have the greatest negative termination rates. These observations would provide support that the identified services do make a difference.

Though perhaps intuitively sensible, this approach is somewhat problematic. This is the case because negative termination rates are not influenced only by a center's services, but also by

the characteristics of the students enrolled in the center. If students across all programs possessed identical characteristics in most regards (e.g. age, education, work experience, etc.), then there would exist the basis for a controlled experiment. This, in turn, would permit a direct analysis of the impact of different services.

In truth, however, the students enrolled in the 17 Boston SDA programs were not identical. Over 95% of the members of one program were immigrants while over 95% of the members of another program were US-born citizens. At least 60% of the members of another program were males, while another center was almost 100% female. Differences existed along many other lines, including language proficiency, ethnicity, and work experience. Indeed, by design the programs are intended to serve a mix of Boston's residents. Consequently, we should not expect any singular service, such as peer support, to offer equal benefits in all programs. We may in fact see a program providing many of the services recommended, but nonetheless, experiencing a high rate of negative termination.

Programs that admit many students who already possess the Basic Readiness Skills and already have a capacity to respond to barriers would be the same programs with the lowest need to provide these services. In fact, we might not be too surprised if we saw these programs providing the fewest of these activities but also having the lowest NT rates. Similarly, programs that provide many of the services might have higher rates because their students really need the services.

For these reasons, we must be cautious in our interpretation of the differing negative termination rates among the centers. Table 4.9 shows the different NT rates among programs in the Boston area. In many instances, a given center enrolled both IIA- and JOBS-funded students.

The rates presented here are aggregates across any given program. In later discussions, rates will be disaggregated and presented separately, showing the proportion of negative termination strictly among a program's IIA- or JOBS-funded students.

As seen in the table, there is a wide range of rates, ranging from a low of 12.1% to a high of 56.1%.

Table 4.9
Negative Termination Rates by Program (Combined JOBS- and IIA- Funded Students)

Program Number	Total Enrollments (FY 1995 - FY 1996)	Total Negative Terminations (FY 1995 - FY 1996)	Negative Terminations as Percent of Total Enrollments (%)
Program 1	65	10	15.3
Program 2	20	4	20.0
Program 3	49	7	14.3
Program 4	68	15	22.1
Program 5	58	27	46.6
Program 6	68	16	23.5
Program 7	41	23	56.1
Program 8	42	21	50.0
Program 9	36	14	38.9
Program 10	68	22	33.4
Program 11	18	5	27.8
Program 12	99	14	14.1
Program 13	88	19	21.6
Program 14	31	10	32.3
Program 15	142	32	22.5
Program 16	33	4	12.1
Program 17	77	19	24.7
Total	1,003	262	26.1

As mentioned, because these rates are functions of a number of factors, a program-by-program analysis has severe limitations. In addition, information constraints further limit the ability of a sophisticated cross-program analysis. Many of the services identified as beneficial, though perhaps not provided by the center, may in fact be provided by members outside the center. In all cases, it was not possible to determine the degree to which students benefited from services provided through sources external to the training facility.

Despite the constraints, a discussion of negative termination rates across the programs can afford some insight into the types of services that help students to positively terminate. In fact, we need go little further than a rudimentary investigation of programs that have done well and programs that have done poorly to gain a sense of the benefit of some of the services identified.

Programs with Low Negative Termination Rates

Four of the seventeen programs served almost exclusively immigrants and recently-arrived foreigners to the US.[8] In general, these four programs had the lowest negative termination rates. I provide the specific rates among the programs below:

Table 4.10
Rates of Negative Terminations Among 4 Programs Serving Immigrant Groups

Occupational Training Programs	Relative Ranking Among the 10 IIA-Funded Occupational Training Programs
Program 1	Lowest Negative Termination Rate
Program 2	Third Lowest Negative Termination Rate
ABE/Pre-Voc Training Programs	**Relative Ranking Among the 7 IIA- or JOBS-Funded ABE/Pre-Voc Programs**
Program 1	Lowest Negative Termination Rate
Program 2	Second Lowest Termination Rate

The success of these programs affirm our understanding of the types of services that can help students to positively terminate. Specifically, coping support and motivational assistance have a strong presence in the experience of these students. It is important to note, however, that many of these service are not provided directly by the programs. Instead, family and community members play an instrumental role in the provision. Below, I identify some of the aspects of the students that might contribute to the program's success. I will then turn to program services.

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[8] An additional institution served a large number of immigrants, but also admitted a substantial and varying number of US-born residents.

STUDENT-SPECIFIC FACTORS. In part, the programs' achievements are a function of the students themselves. In most cases, students enrolled in the four immigrant-focused programs represent a selective group of individuals who have entered this country with a specific set of expectations and skills. Many arrive having already developed a great of familiarity with order and time-oriented scheduling. In addition, many of the students in these programs come to this country having escaped incredible challenges in their homeland. As one staff member commented, her training program was "a piece of cake" for many students from outside of the country. These perceptions suggest that many of students are less likely to have deficiencies in organization and an ability to regularly attend class.

In addition, many students have a strong sense of motivation. In a number of cases, the students enrolled in training represent the person expected to become one of the primary breadwinners in the person's family. In several instances, students enrolled in the programs have left family members in their home country and accepted the responsibility of earning the money necessary to bring their children and spouse to the US. In referring particularly to Asian Americans, Sagarei et. al. sum up many of these observations by noting that many of these students, "often come to the US from situations that make our standard of living seem opulent. Many come with a strong sense of responsibility for the sacrifice of those left behind who helped them come here and a history of surviving conditions more difficult than they now face in the US" (Sagarei 1995, p. xviii). Together, these forces indeed fuel a strong motivation, willingness to learn, and interest in advancing beyond training.

Thus, we see that one may be able to contribute much of the success of these students to a number of Basic Readiness Skills they possess prior to enrolling in a training program. Despite

this, these four programs carry out a number of the training services I have identified as being particularly effective in helping students to positively terminate. In fact, I drew many of the "Best Practices" identified in the previous section from the innovative work of these programs.

PROGRAM-SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO SUCCESS. Support services among the centers were extremely well developed. One of the programs provided the example of the peer mentor model while another employed the use of volunteered tutoring and personal support. In addition to assistance from volunteers and community members, many of these students obtain support from family members. In the Asian-American culture, it is customary for extended members of a family to live in the same dwelling. At one particular center, more than 90% of the clients served were Asian-American. In this program, childcare issues rarely surface as an obstacle. "There always appeared to be more than enough hands to help out with childcare."

In cases where there is not an extended family available to provide support here in this country, staff pointed out that is "very common" for parents to send their children back home to stay with other members of their family, frequently a grandparent. This permits the child's parents to "get things in order" in this country before trying to manage work or training and the responsibilities of raising a child.

The combination of program services and networks existing beyond the program's purview ensure that many of the immigrant students have adequate structures in place to assist with many of the coping needs that often contributed to Stage 1 and 2 terminations. As the data revealed, these programs did in fact have fewer Stage 1 and 2 terminations. An even closer inspection reveals only 1 case of a student among these programs terminating as a result of a lack of support. In this case, all members of the student's family had remained in her homeland, leaving

her here entirely alone. The support provided by the student's program did represent some of the model activities, however, most of the student's peers were not entirely alone. As a result, general program services were not structured to provide the level of support required by this student --it was assumed that she already had support outside of the center. Staff at the program later recognized the student's needs and attempted to respond.

Programs With Relatively High Negative Termination Rates

Among the several programs possessing substantially higher negative termination rates, there is considerable evidence that students do not receive some of the support services identified as important.

In general, the programs doing relatively poorer among the 17 were those providing ABE and Pre-Voc training. As in the discussion of programs serving immigrants, we can explain part of the performance of these programs by looking at the characteristics of the students they enroll.

STUDENT-SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS. Predominantly, the students entering ABE and Pre-Voc training tend to have fewer Basic Readiness Skills than those enrolling in Occupational training programs. This is partially revealed by the different admissions processes used by the programs. Below, I provide an example of an admission process utilized by one Occupational training program:

> A typical student interested in enrolling in one Occupational training program makes first contact with the center through a phone call. Though perhaps inquiring about the training program, the student-to-be learns that there exists a possible 3-month wait and is asked if they would like to be placed on it. From three to four months prior to the program's initiation, letters are mailed to the approximate 80 students on the phone list. Students are informed of the two or three orientation sessions that will be held to introduce them to the program and are asked to schedule an appointment. By the time the orientation sessions begin, many have lost interest or have had to pursue other more immediate opportunities. In a typical cycle, approximately 50 to 60 of the initial 80 on the phone list will attend orientation.

Following orientation, those still interested in the program are asked to schedule a time to take the program's examinations. Students will be asked to bring with them written documentation of their qualifications for enrollment (e.g. age, location of residency, and income status). In addition, they will undergo a series of assessments including the TABE test and a writing test. Approximately 35-40 of the students who attended orientation participate in the testing. All students who took the examinations are then invited to an individual assessment. At these assessments students are asked about their life experiences and goals. In addition, information about provisions for childcare and transportation are taken. Of the 30-35 students who attend the assessments, from 15-18 are ultimately enrolled in the four-month-long training program.

The above example illustrates the complex and challenging set of activities necessary to gain admittance into one Occupational training program. Other centers utilized similar processes to identify who would be admitted. In another case, after completing a similar process of orientation and site interviews, students undergo a 3-day field assessment where staff evaluate them in a work setting. A student who has successfully navigated the admission process into these programs demonstrates a considerable level of motivation and organization. One instructor referencing her intake process commented, "Having to come three times and being quite rigid is more than most can take." Program staff suspect that students who have difficulty managing all of the steps for program entry will likely encounter other problems if enrolled. Thus, staff are eager to admit those who complete the process.

The ABE/Pre-Voc programs studied did not utilize as intricate an intake process as that employed by the Occupational training programs. In many cases, students only had to arrive once to complete forms. In one program, students expressing an interest in the program but demonstrate poor follow-through are contacted by program staff. The trainers actively encourage the students to enroll and generally use the first day of class as the first opportunity for assessment; staff conduct no skill-based intake interviews or pre-enrollment assessments. One

ABE program director put it, "We are more like a half-way house" suggesting that were not nearly as strict as Occupational programs but were certainly more demanding than nothing at all.

Staff at ABE/Pre-Voc programs also carried out considerably more recruitment efforts than trainers at the Occupational programs. This sharply contrasted with the four Occupational programs that rely almost strictly on word-of-mouth recruiting. As a staff at one of the Occupational programs observed, to carry out newspaper and other forms of advertisements would result in "more people we would have to turn away." In contrast, a director at one ABE/Pre-Voc center carried out such extensive advertising that, in referencing potential students, she observed, "If they don't know about us it's not our fault." Part of the reason for the differing recruitment processes stem from the demand for services provided by the programs. Most Occupational training programs had some form of wait-list or queue of students for whom openings were not available. Such an extensive wait-list was not common among the ABE/Pre-Voc programs. As a result, some ABE/Pre-Voc programs are not able to be as selective in their admission decisions as staff at Occupational programs. One ABE director explained that in some cases she has enrolled every student that participated in her intake process. Such an experience is foreign to every Occupational program in the study.

As a result of their less rigorous admission requirements and their inability to be as selective in admission decisions as the Occupational programs, we would expect the ABE/Pre-Voc centers to admit students with fewer Basic Readiness Skills and with a less developed capacity to respond to barriers. Based on this information alone, we might expect to see higher rates of negative terminations among these programs.

The data did reveal this to be the case. Among 10 non-immigrant programs enrolling JOBS-funded students during the period, 4 provided ABE/Pre-Voc training. Of these 10 programs, the 3 with the highest negative terminations rates provided ABE/Pre-Voc training. Though only gaining a ranking of 5th, the 4th JOBS-funded ABE/Pre-Voc program did considerably better than the others. It's negative termination rate of 25% among its JOBS-funded students placed it within 10% of the Occupational program with the lowest negative termination rate among its JOBS-funded students.

Given the apparent greater needs of students in the ABE and Pre-Voc programs, it does not come as such a surprise that these programs have higher negative termination rates. Unfortunately, however, several of the practices identified as being effective in promoting positive terminations were largely absent among these programs. In particular, few of the programs maintained high expectations among their students. Instead, lax, and in some cases extremely lax, attendance and tardiness standards existed. Several programs had established informal support networks to deal with academic issues. At least one program also allowed time for students to collectively discuss personal troubles. However, none of the centers achieved the form of supportive and achieving network established at the programs serving immigrants. Individualized action plans did not exist. In addition, a classroom "mix" was absent. Instead, students tended to be at the same low-level of educational attainment. The absence of such a dynamic failed to create a classroom synergy wherein students collectively worked to achieve the performance of some higher ideal.

As previously mentioned, one of the JOBS-funded ABE/Pre-Voc programs (henceforth referred to as Program 4) had a significantly lower NT rate than the others. We might gain

additional insight into the effectiveness of the identified services by looking for differences between Program 4 and the remaining 3 JOBS-funded ABE/Pre-Voc programs.

Interviews suggested several distinct differences. Discussions with students at the program revealed a strong emphasis on one-on-one service. Students spoke of the patience with which staff worked with them and the great deal of encouragement and support they received. Staff utilized several mechanisms presented under the "Best Practices" for permitting students to surface their concerns, including opportunities to allow students to record their concerns in their writing journals. In the afternoons and after class, help is available to provide academic tutoring.[9] Finally, the program instituted perhaps the highest attendance and tardiness standards among the ABE/Pre-Voc providers. Among all JOBS-funded ABE/Pre-Voc programs, there were a total of 5 forced terminations as a result of attendance; Program 4 initiated 4 of these attendance-related terminations.

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM WITH A HIGH NEGATIVE TERMINATION RATE. Among 6 Occupational programs serving non-immigrants and enrolling JOBS-funded students, one center held a NT rate substantially greater than that of the others. This center's rate of 40% was more than 16% higher than the average among the 6 programs. Evidence suggests that part of this center's troubles may have been due to the relatively small participation in delivering services identified as important in helping students to positively terminate.

This program utilized one of the most elaborate intake processes among all programs. Wait-lists were also common. These measures helped to ensure that the desired students gained entry. However, the program provided few forms of support to students. The program's Job Counselor

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[9] The instructor informed me of a tutoring relationship that use to exist wherein students from MIT spent time at the center providing individualized academic support. He further entreated me to recruit several of my peers to help rejuvenate the program.

explained that such assistance was not a focus of the program. Discussion of emotional or psychological issues did not occur in any form of group setting. Dialogue about such issues also rarely occurred between students and the Job Counselor. Life skills workshops and discussions were not a priority. Program staff did not include anyone with a focused and designated responsibility to deal with personal problems among students.

Many of the program's terminations resulted from a student's disorganization, inability to remain focused, and difficulty coping with problems. Eighty percent of the program's terminations occurred as S1Ts; a loss of organization, a return to substance abuse, or a sudden disappearance were common among these. A lack of services to address these needs may account for the program's NT rate of 28.9% among it's II-A funded students. This rate left the program with the third highest NT rate among the 8 IIA-funded Occupational programs matriculating non-immigrant students.

CHAPTER 5

EXTENSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Application of the Services to Students Enrolling in the BRA/EDIC Job Training System

What benefit might come as a result of a program's decision to adopt the services identified here? Will these activities enable a program to reduce its negative termination rate to zero?

The research revealed that most students entering the BRA/EDIC training system have some challenges and difficulties they will have to confront. Within the context of the framework developed here, most students do not possess all of the Basic Readiness Skills.

At the other end of the spectrum, the research indicates that few students lack all of the Basic Readiness Skills. The centers may have encountered applicants for whom this was the case, but in most instances, such candidates did not gain entry. The ability to deny enrollment to such applicants was particularly evident among Occupational training programs which generally had wait-lists that allowed greater flexibility in admission decisions.

Instead, most students seemed to be somewhere in the middle: neither possessing nor lacking all Basic Readiness Skills. As BRA/EDIC noted, more than 65% of their students in 1996 enter with at least one "serious barrier" as described in Chapter 3[10]. Not all of the students in the middle, however, were necessarily on the verge of negatively terminating. Many of the students in the middle were well on their way towards positively terminating, though it would not be

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[10] It is important to recognize that BRA/EDIC's notion of a "serious barrier" is not synonymous with a deficiency in a Basic Readiness Skill.

uncommon for a serious issue or set of problems to arise during their experience. Among these students, such obstacles did not impact the student's Basic Readiness Skills to a degree that necessitated a negative termination. Part of the student's success in controlling the magnitude of the obstacle was a result of that student's coping structure and life management skills.

Among other students in the middle, however, successfully terminating was not possible. In many cases, the failure to positively terminate was a consequence of an unstable condition made worse by an event or series of events. Thus an unstable student (i.e. one not completely motivated or not thoroughly organized) was rendered even more unstable by a singular occurrence, such as a sick child, or a series of occurrences, such as a sick child and the stress of a legal battle. In these cases, services that assist students in managing multiple tasks and responsibilities or coping with trauma and crises might have made for an easier management of a particular barrier. In return, the service might have made the difference between a positive or a negative termination.

Another group of students in the middle had trouble positively terminating because of obstacles they encountered in the post-graduation search process (S2Ts). A large number of trainees likely confronted hurdles during their job search. Among 102 of these students, the obstacles led to a NT. Thirty-seven of the students (representing 36.3% of the group) had been enrolled in an ABE or Pre-Voc program. In these cases, health and non-health-related issues led to disorganization and loss of motivation. Ultimately, the result was a lack of interest in entering employment or a training program.

The remaining 65 Stage 2 Terminations were students enrolled in an Occupational training program. Services similar to those appropriate for ABE and Pre-Voc might have made a

difference. Other services targeted towards helping students take part in job search might also have helped. Data limitations prevented a full assessment of factors hindering job search success among students. Consequently, I was unable to develop a detailed understanding of services which might contribute to a more successful job search. The data did suggest, however, that potentially effective activities include a greater formalization of how the process works. This may involve establishment of a structure with more clearly defined activities so as to eliminate some of the uncertainty and fear associated with the search. Practices may also include some advanced form of cooperative search effort between students and staff.

I have maintained that benefits from the recommended services do not impact only those students in the middle. Strengthening a student's life management skills may help the student to better plan ahead and have greater success identifying potential pitfalls. It may improve capacity to prioritize responsibilities in life. Fortifying a trainee's coping structure may help students to better confront stress and other crises. It may also help put into place a structure to enable the student to manage future undesirable events. Services may instill a stronger motivation and drive among some, encouraging them to take advantage of opportunities outside of the classroom. Whether on the cusp of negatively terminating or not, enrichment in these areas can offer long-standing and meaningful rewards to all students.

5.2 Relevancy to Students Encountering "Unconquerable" Obstacles

Discussions of the data have also alluded to barriers for which I have suggested it may not have been within a program's capacity to affect. Unfortunate mishaps such as a father's death or a child's sudden illness perhaps should require a temporary stint in training activities. Given this

recognition and the relative high occurrences of events such as these, is it reasonable to suggest that changes in program services can lead to improvements in rates of negative terminations?

Yes. The impact of the services, if appropriately delivered, largely work to instill in students a profound sense of drive and a capacity to sustain it. In the face of unexpected and traumatic occurrences, it is understandable that one's motivation and organization may be jeopardized. What is not completely understandable is why students enrolled in training programs do not, in some cases, receive support and assistance to cope with the issue in order to arrive at a more informed sense of the whether a negative termination is the most appropriate action.

I allotted time during several interviews to draw information about students who had encountered barriers, but succeeded nonetheless. The stories I received were remarkable. They included incredible episodes of triumph and accomplishment. One student learned she had cancer, and with the support of her son who drove her to class every morning, still managed to maintain an exemplary attendance record and to positively terminate. One example mentioned earlier included the student who's sister passed away, and with encouragement and support from her classmates, she discovered that it was not essential that she terminate. She returned after missing only a few days of class and later graduated. In the case of this student, as well as in the case of others who conquered difficult circumstances, an apparatus for coping with barriers played a critical role.

With this understanding, it is not clear exactly what the programs cannot accomplish by developing the types of services identified. A negative termination rate of zero may not be viable. However, with adequate structures in place, a sizable number of events, including those

that one might initially perceive as being insurmountable, may in fact prove manageable. The consequence may, in part, manifest itself as a reduction in a program's NT rate.

5.3 Appropriateness of Findings Given "Welfare Reform"

Changes in Massachusetts's welfare legislation, as briefly outlined in Chapter 2, have imposed additional requirements on recipients of AFDC. Together, these changes have increased pressures and incentives for AFDC recipients to enter the work force. What relationship does this research have to welfare reform and the training of a potentially larger number of AFDC recipients?

The notion of a set of Basic Readiness Skills for entry and success in a job and education training program has considerable relevancy to the potential experiences of AFDC recipients seeking training services. These practitioner-identified and data-supported skills include:

- Motivation
- Organization
- An Ability to Acquire Relevant Academic and Occupational Skills

From FY 1995 through FY 1996, 562 AFDC recipients pursued training under JOBS funding. Their triumphs and challenges did not significantly differ from those of the 441 students enrolled during the period under JTPA IIA funding.[11] Among students in both groups, a deficiency in a particular Basic Readiness Skill could render completion of not only the training activities more challenging, but also slow or prevent progress towards employment or further training. A student lacking many or all of the BRS would have considerable trouble. Suspending day-to-day academic or attendance challenges, present policies and the incentives

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[11] In some cases, IIA-funded students may have been AFDC recipients. Providers indicated that in some instances they enrolled students qualified for JOBS funding under IIA-funded slots due to the characteristics of their applicant pool in relation to the number of admits available under each funding source.

they create impose serious challenges for a student with a terribly developed set of BRS to even gain entry into many of the Occupational programs.

Thus, one of the most important implications of this research for students seeking training due to "welfare reform" concerns the student's readiness. If the new legislation encourages participation in training among recipients who have considerable motivation, organization, and academic capacity as well as a means for sustaining these skills, then the current system may work to well serve the students. If, however, the requirements pressure students lacking a developed set of BRS to pursue training, the successes may be more limited.

Efforts to characterize the readiness of AFDC recipients who will seek training assistance due to "welfare reform" are flawed and inconclusive at best. As detailed, readiness is function of at least 3 factors, which themselves are influenced by a great many skills and attributes including a student's level of family or community support, number of children, prior work and life experiences, etc. If we assume, however, that many AFDC recipients compelled by reform did not earlier seek employment or training because they perceived themselves as lacking the necessary attributes to succeed, then we might expect a rise of applicants who in fact have deficiencies in some of the BRS. Possible challenges may include a lack of motivation characterized by an incomplete set of life management skills. Depending on the degree of prior work experience shared by the students, a lack of comfortability in job search may also exist. Academic and skill-related problems may also be a concern.

If these deficiencies characterize a large number of future students, this research suggests that the students' success may require a more concentrated effort among providers to address the factors that allow for acquisition and retention of the Basic Readiness Skills. Specifically,

programs would need to ensure: (1) the establishment of a coping repertoire that enables the student to manage undesirable events; (2) the provision of life management skills that permit the student to avoid obstacles; (3) the development of mechanisms to enable a successful participation in job search and entry into employment; and (4) forms of individualized support to address particular academic and skill challenges.

Most of the programs investigated in the study did not place direct emphasis on acknowledging and remediating many of these areas of training, particularly the weaknesses in specific coping and life management skills. Fostering abilities (whether through life skills workshops or everyday activities) to plan ahead, manage frustration, or manage multiple tasks and responsibilities seldom occurred. Ensuring the development of a strong coping and support unit for each student also did not occur with great regularity. The infrequent provision of services to address these issues was evident even among ABE and Pre-Voc programs which tended to admit a larger number of students in need of these forms of help.

Instead, training and preparation targeted academic and occupational competencies, including the "hard" and "soft" skills. This was the case despite that few trainers would suggest that motivation and organization are unimportant for success. An equally finite number of employers would comfortably make an assertion that such skills are inconsequential. The data confirmed that capacity in these areas bears some relationship to a student's success. Given these recognitions, and the likelihood of many students not possessing the skills, it is somewhat surprising that more attention was not devoted to this matter.

The moderate degree of attention may have resulted partially from a lack of a directive to respond to these types of needs. Emphasis as revealed in BRA/EDIC's RFP focuses largely on

academic and occupational skills. Several staff members at BRA/EDIC and trainers both implicitly and explicitly questioned the appropriateness of training that emphasizes such issues -- some felt the classroom simply was not the correct setting. Others viewed training in such areas as trivial and "commonsensical". Regardless of its perception, as evidenced by the practitioners' insights and affirmed by the data, it's importance is clear.

In the following section, I further underscore the value and benefits of giving greater attention to some of the "nontraditional" factors that contribute to success. The reasons identified are of relevance not only to a potentially challenged pool of AFDC recipients in need of training, but also to other students facing obstacles to success.

5.4 The Impacts of a Changed Orientation

In their formative evaluation of the employment and education training program YouthBuild, Clay et. al. discuss an essential element of the experience for adolescents. This component relates to what they refer to as the "Process of Youth Transformation". As the researchers found in their 3-year assessment of 5 training sites around the country, issues of youth "identity" are critical for the success of students. As they note, "Young people may arrive at YouthBuild plagued by feelings of mistrust, shame and doubt, guilt and inferiority because of rotten experiences during the early years of life" (Clay et. al. 1996, p. 314). However, the YouthBuild experience is intended to graduate students with a confidence in their abilities and a control over their future. Consequently, one of the most essential tasks for YouthBuild providers is to facilitate a progression away from an identity marked by such a history of distress and failure and towards one characterized by "more positive internalized selves, more conventionally mature personas..." (Clay et. al. 1996, p. 314).

The idea of "identity transformation" also has significant bearing on the training experiences of many within the BRA/EDIC system. Many students similarly begin training with a prior set of life failures and confining expectations. As Gurin argues, the low level of motivation which results is not necessarily an indication of an interest in rejecting societal beliefs of what it takes to attain goals. Instead, the poor motivation may stem, in part, from students who "are just powerless and discouraged as a result of their past failures and frustrations in trying to achieve their aspirations" (Gurin 1970, p. 87).

Recrafting an identity to encompass motivation, success, a positive outlook on life, and a hope towards the future are all integral parts of achieving BRA/EDIC's objective of helping students to be able to ultimately "participate fully in the economic life of the City of Boston." (BRA/EDIC 1994, p. 4). Building identity is an important element in achieving this objective. Cultivating such an identity is also an outcome of a process that addresses the Basic Readiness Skills and builds a capacity for managing obstacles. Indeed, the provisions of the services collectively work to create a training environment that promotes the orientation and competencies leading to a more empowered and enriched identity. The services, whether delivered through volunteers, family members, or people in the community, function as an enabling apparatus through which the student works to achieve a set of training, employment, and life goals. High expectations help to keep the student moving up while support and life management assistance pushes the student forward.

My analysis allowed me to identify two programs that came closest to providing all of these services and creating an environment that assisted an internal association with a positive, succeeding, and striving identity of self. The two programs affirmed the value of organization

and motivation through the establishment and support of structures to address these skills. They ensured a coping structure to facilitate success in managing and avoiding barriers. Individualized service permitted the correction of particular academic or skill-related obstacles. In addition, the programs assured that structures, including positive role models, were in place to allow students to work towards developing a healthy identity. Both of these programs served immigrants and both of these programs had phenomenal success.

The first program enrolled only 20 students through JTPA IIA funds from 1995 to 1996. During this period, the program negatively terminated 4 students, holding only a moderate NT rate of 20%. None of the students, however, negatively terminated due to a failure to cope with a barrier. Instead, a structure was in place that allowed students to manage and continue. None of the students "disappeared". The reasons for the negative terminations appear below:

- Serious health disorder --post traumatic illness (had been in prison in Vietnam for several years)
- Serious health problems --mental health; program helped him to receive medical attention
- Completed program and left area with family
- Completed program and reunited with his family

The second program's system for helping students to manage issues was not as structured. The program relied largely on the presence of the student's family members to provide much of the support. Tutors were present, however, and the program required students to meet with them for a minimum of 3 hours per week. A follow-up study among the program's 174 graduates over the past 8 years evidences some of the program's long-term success: of the 115 people the program succeeded in contacting in the study, 98% were still working.

Many of the immigrants may have entered the country without a history scarred by repeated failure. Others might have gone untouched by an image of self influenced by negative

associations based on ethnicity or class. The stories surrounding some suggest that the trainees may well represent a select group of individuals with considerable motivation and a rich portfolio of life lessons. As a result, many may already possess a healthy and forward-seeking identity. In this regard, the services provided by the centers may have little to do with the success and identity shared by many of these students.

Irrespective of whether the support structures and other services causally create the identity, it is clear that at the very least the services allow the students to retain such an identity. Many of the immigrant students face incredible obstacles. They encounter a new culture with unfamiliar customs. Many must also struggle with the challenges of a new language. Impediments come in a host of forms and opportunities to lose focus readily arise. Nonetheless, many retain a sense of motivation in the face of their difficulties. Additionally, most remain organized when confronted by crises; most encounter trauma and utilize their structures for coping; and most work hard and persist in the face of frustration and setbacks. In short, most develop, or at least maintain, an identification with success that keeps them moving ahead. Driven by both internal and external pressures, the students benefit from the services provided to them by family, community members, and their training facility in order to reinforce and consolidate "a positive and healthy sense of themselves that is a foundation of a new hopefulness about the future" (Clay et. al. 1996, p. 314). Such an identity is a critical factor in the success of adolescents in YouthBuild, of immigrants in the Boston SDA, and of US-born low-income, low-skilled adults enrolling and seeking enrollment in ABE, Pre-Voc, and Occupational training programs in the BRA/EDIC system.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

This research project has sought to uncover some of the factors that contribute to the success of JTPA IIA and JOBS-Funded students in the Boston SDA. In so doing, the effort has also raised a number of additional questions. Though responses are perhaps not within the purview of this project, calling attention to these questions may lay the basis for an investigation among those better situated to consider them.

One of the most unsettling findings within the study were the tremendous number of students who voluntarily sought participation in a training program but were unable to gain entry. It was not possible to gauge the number of students that initiated an enrollment effort but did not actually gain entry. Nonetheless, the frequency and extent of program wait-lists coupled with the already minimal degree of applicant solicitation (based in part on a disinclination to turn away hordes of students) evidenced the inadequacy of the system to fully serve those who could benefit from it.

The question of what happens to students who do not enroll is an important one. Of particular concern are those students unable to achieve admission as a result of easily-identifiable deficiencies in their Basic Readiness Skills. Where do such students go to gain motivation? How do they learn how to better organize themselves? I have argued that the training setting is an appropriate and effective venue in which to cultivate these skills. The inability of the training system to enroll all applicants raises the importance of finding alternative mechanisms through which low-income adults may develop life management skills and build a coping apparatus.

A set of additional issues worsen the enrollment prospects for students. A common schedule for enrollment and commencement dates among the training programs seriously reduces

opportunities for students to enroll when circumstances in their lives are most appropriate. Waiting for a cycle date to begin is an expected part of the enrollment process. It is unfortunate that in some cases such a wait may be as long as several months.

Another potential area of investigation includes the procedure of "Co-Enrollments" recently developed within the BRA/EDIC system. Guidelines governing utilization of this procedure for enrolling a single student under both JTPA-IIA and JOBS funding were unclear. Some programs made extensive use of the procedure while others had no history of involvement. In practice, the approach reduces the number of students able to enter training. Among the centers included in the study, providers co-enrolled 42 students in 1995 and 26 in 1996. Because the co-enrolled students received both IIA and JOBS funding, the procedure effectively prevented 68 students from the opportunity to participate in training during the period. If the additional funding brought in as a result of co-enrolled students allowed providers to offer better training and more support services, then perhaps the tradeoff is warranted. The exact use of the extra funds, however, was uncertain. A more specific accounting of the benefits derived from co-enrollments may help to alleviate much of the confusion.

Amendments enacted in 1992 mandated mechanisms to ensure that JTPA-IIA funding served a greater population of "hard-to-serve" students. Since the amendments, BRA/EDIC reports that it has exceeded the federal mandate with more than 65% of its students possessing at least one "serious barrier to employment." These barriers differ from the barriers identified in this research effort. For ease of reference, I list again the BRA/EDIC barriers:

- Basic skills deficiency
- School drop-out
- Recipient of cash welfare payments
- Offender (or ex-offender) status

- Disabled
- Homeless
- English is not the first language

Though presenting challenges, many of these barriers do not necessarily make a student "hard-to-serve". Indeed, targeting these issues does not necessarily get at the true factors that contribute to a "hard-to-serve" student --these characteristics lead to a misplaced emphasis. Sincere efforts to reach "hard-to-serve" populations should focus on those factors that make such populations difficult to train and employ, and not the superficial labels that one presumes to represent an underlying set of difficulties and challenges. I concede that the status of being an ex-offender, AFDC recipient, or high school drop-out can create considerable challenges for a student seeking training and employment. However, in the Boston SDA, motivated, organized, and academically competent students with such labels are not as "hard-to-serve" as students without the labels but lacking the readiness skills. In this regard, the amendments have perhaps failed in some ways to reach the truly "hard-to-serve". Again, the question emerges: what happens to low-skilled, low-income adults lacking organizational capacity, possessing low motivation, and facing obstacles to academic advancement?

Finally, I draw attention to the potential role of ABE and Pre-Voc training programs. In the context of the changing political and funding climate which stresses "jobs first" and education later and only where necessary, the importance of ABE and Pre-Voc programs have repeatedly been called into question. Underpinning the discussion of the utility of these programs is the assumption that a student can effectively acquire the necessary skills for a given job while on the job. In fact, some suggest that there is no better place to learn a job-specific skill than in the actual work setting. My research did not directly address this issue. It did reveal, however, that

the present work carried out by the programs (and particularly the Occupational programs) is effective --few students fail to find employment as a result of a skill deficiency.

However, even if we grant that the skill-related element of an employee's success may adequately be secured in on-the-job-training, the transmission of the other important skills still remains in question. Will the work environment have the concern to help a student gradually build an apparatus for coping with life's blows? Would a work setting have the patience to explore the organizational reasons underlying an employee's continual tardiness? And what about issues such as domestic abuse: Would chances for self-investigation arise to foster an employee's realization of the life management deficiencies which lead to substance abuse or run-ins with domestic abuse? My research indicated there is considerable potential for ABE and Pre-Voc programs to make the issues raised by these questions a more focused point of their training. Again, the protected environment of a training program is an ideal setting for sparking discussion and encouraging growth in these areas. Thus, perhaps rather than calling into question the importance of ABE and Pre-Voc programs, a more appropriate and judicious place to begin is by asking how can the strengths of these centers be improved upon to address a set of needs that largely go unaddressed. If the interest truly rests with fostering among low-income and low-skilled adults an ability to become positive and productive contributors to themselves, their families, and their communities, then such questions must begin somewhere.

INTERVIEWS

Feb. 13, 1997:   Paul Clancy, Home Builders Institute

Feb. 14, 1997:   Joel Hurwitz, Dimock Community Health Center

Feb. 18, 1997:   Jack Clark and Dan Singleton, BRA/EDIC

Feb. 27, 1997:   Steve Bonkowski, Boston Training Center

Feb. 28, 1997:   Stephen Hanley, W.A.I.T.T. House

Feb. 28, 1997:   Sally Goodman, Jewish Vocational Services

Mar. 4, 1997:   Bill Frankenstein, YMCA/Training Inc.

Mar. 6, 1997:   Neil Silverston, WorkSource

Mar. 7, 1997:   Ray Ishee, American Red Cross

Mar. 10, 1997:   Sharon Obi, Home Builders Institute

Mar. 11, 1997:   Joyce Lefevre and Gloria Colbert, Dimock Community Health Center

Mar. 11, 1997:   Steve Bonkowski, Boston Trade Center
                 Student, Boston Trade Center

Mar. 13, 1997:   Nancy Merill, Officiana Hispana

Mar. 14, 1997:   Sally Goodman, Jewish Vocational Services

Mar. 14,1997:   Chuck McElman, Department of Employment and Training

Mar. 18, 1997:   Jack Cuminski and Nancy Winston, Action for Boston Community Development

Mar. 27, 1997:   Jonathan Burt, Dimock Community Health Center

Mar. 27, 1997:   Stephen Hanley, W.A.I.T.T. House
                 Students (3), W.A.I.T.T. House

Mar. 28, 1997:   Harriet Goldstein, One With One

Mar. 28, 1997:   David Sterns, Jamaica Plain Community Center

Mar. 31, 1997:   Quang Nguyen, International Institute of Boston (phone)

April 3, 1997:   Stephanie Kelley, Dimock Community Health Center

April 8, 1997:   Chris Luongo, East Boston Harborside Community Center

April 10, 1997: Judy Chow, Allan Phillips, Lois Waller, Connie Lam, Kathy Hogan, and Michelle Tofel, Asian American Civic Association

April 10, 1997: Ray Ishee, American Red Cross

April 16, 1997: Chris Luongo, East Boston Harborside Community Center (phone)

April 17, 1997: Bill Frankenstein, YMCA/Training Inc.

April 17, 1997: Peg O'Brien, Charlestown Community Center

May 10, 1997:   Student, Jewish Vocational Services (phone)

Fiscal Year	Funding Source	Anecdotal Reason for Termination	Primary Coding	Secondary Coding
95	JOBS/ESP	"Beautiful person. You couldn't help but like her"; very motivated	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
95	IIA	"Beautifully groomed"; had disappeared and they learned why later	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
96	IIA	"Excellent student"; great at externship; interviewed on day she was to deliv	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Crisis --Mother's Health/Moved-Left State
95	JOBS/ESP	"Forever on the verge of coming"; not ready	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Insufficient Capacity
96	IIA	"Very needy person"; bright but very argumentative; disliked instructor	Loss of Interest	Personal Issue --Disliked Instructor
95	JOBS/ESP	1 child with Down Syndrome; she was a wreck; many kids many problems	Forced --Attendance/Unfocused	Family Issue --Child's Health
96	JOBS/ESP	1 daughter in jail with baby, 1 daughter pregnant	Insufficient Organization	Family Issue-- Insufficient Capacity/Kids
96	IIA	Academic troubles --language; stayed 4 months	Skill/Academic Deficiency	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
96	IIA	Argumentative; picked fights; homeless; alcohol on her breath on one occas	Forced Termination --Behavior	Personal Issue --Homeless/Substance Abuse
95	IIA	Articulate, attractive, "gifted"; experienced; child had asthma	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Family Issue --Child's Health
96	JOBS/ESP	Attendance problems; mutual decision she should leave;	Unclear	Unclear
96	IIA	Attendance was good; her life was well organized	Daycare	Family Issue --Daycare
96	JOBS/ESP	Attended for only several weeks; didn't really want to be in class	Unclear	Unclear
95	IIA	Attitude issues; had several jobs; did try to find employment	Failed Job Search -- Serious Effort	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency/Attitude
95	IIA	Avg motivation, avg student; stopped after 6 wks; not clear why	Unclear	Unclear
96	IIA	Barely completed; was receiving unemployment support	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
95	JOBS/ESP	Barely graduated; barely looked for job; stopped going to intern	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Personal Issue --Disorganized/Unmotivated
95	IIA	Came in 1 day crying and said she had to leave town; crisis	Moved --Left State	Personal Issue --Crisis
96	JOBS/ESP	Child did not have daycare during summer; had to wait	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Daycare
96	JOBS/ESP	Child injured (dropped); emotionally a wreck	Family Crisis	Family Crisis --Child's Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Childcare fell apart; boyfriend had been abusing her; great student	Daycare	Personal Issue --Domestic Abuse
96	IIA	Completed and enrolled in another program	Unapproved Enrollment	Technicality
96	IIA	Completed coursework; didn't search due to impending delivery	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Pregnant
96	JOBS/ESP	Completed most of the program; just disappeared -no telephone, no respon	Unclear	Unclear
96	IIA	Completed program and left area with family	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear/Moved-Left Country
96	IIA	Completed program and reunited with his family	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear/Moved-Left Country
96	JOBS/ESP	Confident and young; many other commitments; had child	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Insufficient Capacity
95	JOBS/ESP	Constantly absent; never looked for work; didn't want to work	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear-Not Interested in Work
95	JOBS/ESP	Couldn't keep her drug addiction under control	Substance Abuse	Personal Issue --Substance Abuse
96	JOBS/ESP	Couldn't pass her tests	Skill/Academic Deficiency	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
95	JOBS/ESP	Daycare issue; wasn't around that often; bright	Daycare	Family Issue --Daycare
96	JOBS/ESP	Daycare issues with kids	Daycare	Family Issue --Daycare
96	JOBS/ESP	Daycare issues; wanted family to take care of child	Daycare	Family Issue --Daycare
96	JOBS/ESP	Decided program was not for her; came in and said bye to everyone	Loss of Interest	Personal Issue --Uncertain Career Plans
96	IIA	Did lousy on internship; poor attendance from beginning; little initiative	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Pregnant
96	IIA	Did ok on internship; did very little search due to family problems	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Family Issue --Unclear
96	IIA	Did well in school and internship; turned down job; never worked before	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear/Disorganized
96	IIA	Didn't do any form of job search; no resume, no applications	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Didn't like Job Counselor
95	JOBS/ESP	Didn't get diploma	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Didn't know what he wanted to do with his life	Loss of Interest	Personal Issue --Uncertain Career Plans
95	IIA	Didn't look for job; had some other alternative	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
95	IIA	Didn't participate in any job search	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Unclear
95	IIA	Didn't want to work outside of Boston; skills weren't great;	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Personal Issue --Selective About Job Choice/Skill Deficiency
95	JOBS/ESP	Didn't want to work; had 20-hour community service requirement	Loss Interest	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
96	IIA	Disappeared after graduation; many confounding issues	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Personal Issue --Unclear-Disorganized/Unmotivated
96	IIA	Disappeared; had been in prison for 20 years; very shaky from start	Unclear	Personal Issue --Disorganization
95	JOBS/ESP	Domestic abuse; sometimes had to wear glasses to class	Personal Issue --Domestic Abuse	Personal Issue --Domestic Abuse
95	JOBS/ESP	Drinking problem; came to class with it on breathe; laughed a lot (drunk)	Personal Issue --Substance Abuse	Personal Issue --Substance Abuse
95	IIA	Drug involvement; excellent for first 2-3 months; surprise drop	Substance Abuse	Personal Issue --Substance Abuse
95	JOBS/ESP	Enrolled before; decided program was not for her; trouble touching others	Loss of Interest	Personal Issue --Psychological Barrier
95	JOBS/ESP	Erratic attendance; low skills; trouble in interviews; committed	Failed Job Search -- Serious Effort	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency/Divorce
95	IIA	Excellent student; got pregnant during program; maintained attendance	Failed Job Search -Serious Effort/Insufficient Time	Technicality
95	IIA	Excellent student; great attendance; sent children to stay with mom; surprise	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Excellent trainee; recovering sub abuser; locked up during interviews	Failed Job Search --Serious Effort	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
96	IIA	Fair student; did just enough to keep going; man entered her life	Loss Interest	Personal Issue --Man

95	IIA	Fair student; had stolen something from another student and disappeared	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Family was moving; didn't want to be here alone	Moved --Left State	Personal Issue --Wanted to be with Family
96	JOBS/ESP	Father died	Moved --Left Country	Family Crisis --Father's Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Father died	Moved --Left Country	Family Crisis --Father's Health
96	JOBS/ESP	Father died at beginning; took longer for placement	Failed Job Search --Moderte Effort/Insufficient Time	Family Issue --Father's Health
96	JOBS/ESP	Father had molested kids; they were a mess; constant calls from daycare	Insufficient Organization	Family Issue-- Insufficient Capacity/Kids' Mental Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Forced termination--terrible attendance; health issues; domestic abuse	Forced Termination --Attendance	Personal Issue --Domestic Abuse/Health
96	JOBS/ESP	Former firefighter; mental health -medication; "time bomb waiting to explode	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Mental Health
95	IIA	From Albania; worked part-time; excellent accounting skills; univ grad	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
95	IIA	From Bosnia; shell-shocked; very sad; dispirited; obvious sorrow	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Mental Health
95	IIA	Good skills; did great at internship; just disappeared; barely looked for job	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Good skills; did well; got job but didn't stay	Unsuccessful Placement	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Good social graces, attendance, and organization; just disappeared	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Good student with some troubles; had GED; completed program	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort/Insufficient Time	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
95	JOBS/ESP	Good student, motivated, really trying but unorganized, evicted	Housing Move --Forced	Personal Issue --Disorganized
96	JOBS/ESP	Good student; completed a whole cycle then moved	Moved --Unclear	Personal Issue --Unclear/Moved
96	IIA	Got a job but in different field; stayed 1 month;	Technicality	Technicality --Inappropriate Placement
95	JOBS/ESP	Got a job, just not in acceptable time period	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort/Insufficient Time	Unclear
96	IIA	Got a temp job	Inappropriate Placement	Technicality --Inappropriate Job Specifics
95	JOBS/ESP	Got diploma; couple of kids; wasn't really encouraged	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Young Children
96	JOBS/ESP	Got diploma; had a job; mother was in prison	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
96	JOBS/ESP	Got diploma; had a small child who was handicapped	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Child's Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Got h.s. diploma, not placed in time	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort/Insufficient Time	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Got in a fight at her internship; had made it all the way through until then	Forced Termination --Behavior	Personal Issue --Fight at Internship
96	JOBS/ESP	Got in a fight at her internship; had made it all the way through until then	Forced Termination --Behavior	Personal Issue --Figth at Internship
96	JOBS/ESP	Got in a fight at work and didn't maintain for 30 days	Unsuccessful Placement	Personal Issue --Fight at Work
95	JOBS/ESP	Got married and moved	Moved --Left State	Family Issue --Got Married
96	JOBS/ESP	Got married and moved with husband	Moved --Left State	Family Issue --Got Married
96	IIA	Got pregnant	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
95	JOBS/ESP	Got quite sick midway through the program; medical hold; wanted certificate	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Grandmother or mother grew ill; she had to assist for 3 months	Family Crisis	Family Crisis --Mother's Health
95	IIA	Great prior to domestic abuse issue; husband tried to take kid	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Domestic Abuse
96	JOBS/ESP	Great skills; was looking for a better job	Failed Job Search --Serious Effort/Selective	Personal Issue --Selective About Job Choice
95	JOBS/ESP	Great student with great skills; motivated; near 100% attendance	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Great student; constant crises; absorbed in custody over relative's kids	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Custody Battle
96	IIA	Great student; should have been an easy placement	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Crisis --Husband's Health
96	IIA	Great student; wasn't in class for long; poor attendance	Forced Termination --Attendance	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Great, great student; near 100% attendance; poor skills	Failed Job Search --Serious Effort	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
95	JOBS/ESP	Had 3 older girls and 1 little boy; too much	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Young Children
96	JOBS/ESP	Had a 2 year old kid	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Young Children
96	IIA	Had a family problem; no one could reach him (disconnected phone)	Family Crisis	Family Crisis --Financial
95	JOBS/ESP	Had a young child (gave birth while in program)	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Young Children
96	JOBS/ESP	Had been in shelter; living now with abusive man; needed much counseling	Mental Health	Personal Issue --Domestic Abuse/Homeless
96	IIA	Had been on welfare for 15 years; poorly educated; very depressed	Skill/Academic Deficiency	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
95	JOBS/ESP	Had four little boys; poor attendance; not a great student;	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Young Children
95	JOBS/ESP	Had kids, worked graveyard shift full-time; became too much	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Insufficient Capacity
96	IIA	Had lied at admission --family income was greater than acceptable limit	Forced Termination --Lied	Technicality
96	JOBS/ESP	Had serious med problem prior to enrollment --broken back	Health	Personal Issue --Mental Health
96	JOBS/ESP	Had several small children; got pregnant	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
96	IIA	Had shaky attendance; gave excuses; suddenly stopped attending	Personal Crisis	Personal Crisis --Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Had some daycare difficulties	Daycare	Family Issue --Daycare
95	JOBS/ESP	Had to get a job; boyfriend stopped providing her with money	Personal Crisis	Personal Crisis --Financial
95	JOBS/ESP	Had to take care of kids; wanted to get into a training program	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Daycare
96	JOBS/ESP	Had work experience; motivated; all the right things for success; unclear wh	Unclear	Unclear
96	IIA	Had worked for 20 years; awful student; nervous breakdown	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Mental Health
96	IIA	He couldn't do the math	Skill/Academic Deficiency	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
96	JOBS/ESP	Health issues; skills poor; family situation; poor attendance	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Skills/Health

96	JOBS/ESP	Her children were very ill; several childcare issues	Forced Termination --Attendance	Family Issue --Daycare/Child's Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Her health and children's health forced her to leave 6 months into it	Health	Personal/Family Issue --Health
95	IIA	High risk from beginning; "sour"; didn't like program from start	Loss of Interest	Personal Issue --Loss of Interest/Subject
95	IIA	High risk; poor attendance; lived with mom; on anti-depressant	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Mental Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Homeless while enrolled; many things going on	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Homeless
96	IIA	Hurt her arm; still graduated; said she couldn't work	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Injury
96	JOBS/ESP	Husband coming out of prison; needed to be home to watch kids	Personal Crisis	Personal Issue --Domestic Abuse
96	JOBS/ESP	Interim achievements attained; did well	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Just barely made it w/ 80% attendance; lived in shelter; some sub abuse	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Homeless/Substance Abuse
95	JOBS/ESP	Just disappeared; never participated in job search	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Just disappeared; not clear why --time too short	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Just had few skills; "family and community had given her nothing"	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
96	IIA	Just stopped attending; really wanted to work; had full-time night job	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Insufficient Capacity/Full Time Job
95	JOBS/ESP	Just stopped coming; daycare issue	Daycare	Family Issue --Daycare
95	JOBS/ESP	Just stopped coming; unsure why	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Just took her a bit longer to get placed; now employed	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort/Insufficient Time	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Knew she was high risk from the beginning; poor attendance; multiple issue	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Disorganized/Accepting Teacher as Authority
95	JOBS/ESP	Language skills were terrible, otherwise a great student	Skill/Academic Deficiency --Language	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
96	JOBS/ESP	Left during the first 3 weeks; too early to really know why	Unclear	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Left for work at Sears	Technicality	Technicality --Inappropriate Placement
95	JOBS/ESP	Left for work; then failed to maintain work for 30 days	Unsuccessful Placement	Unclear
95	IIA	Left within 4 days of official enrollment; unclear why	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Life was chaotic though she was very focused; some trouble with kids	Insufficient Organization	Family Issue --Disorganized/Kids
96	JOBS/ESP	Lively and outgoing; tremendous energy; encouraged others; disappeared	Unclear	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Living in shelter; kid was ill; poor attendance; taking a little longer	Failed Job Search --Moderte Effort/Insufficient Time	Personal Issue --Homeless/Child's Health
96	JOBS/ESP	Lost housing--mother threw her out; had to find a place to live	Housing Move --Forced	Personal Issue --Disorganized
95	JOBS/ESP	Low skills; little experience; had surgery just after grad	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Health/Academic Difficulties
96	JOBS/ESP	Low, low skills; had a long way to go	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
95	JOBS/ESP	Many children; trying to get life in order; in a homeless shelter	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Homeless/Many Kids
96	JOBS/ESP	Many kids (9); had many excuses; started great then lost it	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue -- Insufficient Capacity
96	IIA	Many responsibilities; 5 kids; husband on disability; part-time job	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
95	JOBS/ESP	Many things going on; very "cagey"; getting ready to get married	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Disorganized
95	JOBS/ESP	Members of her family moved; she went to live with them	Moved --Left State	Personal Issue --Wanted to be with Family
96	JOBS/ESP	Mental health issues	Mental health	Personal Issue --Mental Health
95	IIA	Mistake to admit; serious mental problems; med problems as well	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Mental Health
96	JOBS/ESP	Moved to Brockton due to death in the family; lived in shelter for awhile	Moved --Left State	Family Issue --Death/Homeless
96	JOBS/ESP	Moved to CA with family	Moved --Left State	Personal Issue --Wanted to be with Family
95	JOBS/ESP	Moved to CA with family (serious and immediate issue)	Moved --Left State	Family Crisis --Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Moved to Puerto Rico, personal ; no specifics	Moved --Left country	Personal Issue --Moved
95	JOBS/ESP	Much going on (MassBay at nights); poor attendance from start; child abuse	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Mental Health/Abused Child
96	JOBS/ESP	Multiple issues; very skilled; uncertain motivation; poor attendance	Forced Term --Attendance	Personal Issue --Disorganized
96	JOBS/ESP	Never really showed up; maybe in class one day	Unclear	Unclear
95	IIA	No information provided	Unclear	Personal Issue --Unclear/Moved-Left Country
95	IIA	No information provided	Unclear	Personal Issue --Unclear/Moved-Left Country
95	IIA	No surprise; wasn't serious about working; went to FL	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear-Not Interested in Work
95	JOBS/ESP	Not a great student; didn't try to get a job	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Unclear
96	IIA	Not serious --put makeup on while in class regularly; didn't look for work	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear-Not Interested in Work
95	JOBS/ESP	Obtained job but left after 1st week; not ready to work; good student	Unsuccessful Placement	Personal Issue --Maturity
96	IIA	Obtained job but only stayed on 1 week; immature; not ready	Unsuccessful Placement	Personal Issue --Maturity
96	IIA	Ok student; good organization	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
95	IIA	Only completed half of the training	Skill/Academic Deficiency	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
95	IIA	Perfect attendance; one of their best students ever; went to college	Unapproved Enrollment	Technicality
96	IIA	Perfect English; could have easily gotten job; unreliable	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear/Disorganized
96	IIA	Phenomenal interview skills; was in a shelter while enrolled; very talented	Unclear	Personal Issue --Homeless/Disorganized
95	IIA	Poor attendance; fair student; had prior wk experience; disappeared	Unclear	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Poor attendance; then went to Jamaica and never came back	Forced Term --Attendance	Personal Issue --Unclear/Moved
95	JOBS/ESP	Poor student; bad attitude; made and broke promises	Forced Termination --Attendance	Personal Issue --Disorganized/Attitude

96	JOBS/ESP	Pregnancy with some complications (ended in miscarriage)	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
95	JOBS/ESP	Pregnant	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
95	JOBS/ESP	Pregnant	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
96	JOBS/ESP	Pregnant	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
96	JOBS/ESP	Pregnant prior to enrollment	Pregnant	Personal Issue --Loss Motivation/Interest
95	JOBS/ESP	Prior domestic abuse; still trying to manage the fallout	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Domestic Abuse
96	JOBS/ESP	Problems with attendance; motivated and serious but family/children issues	Insufficient Organization	Family Issue --Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Program learned she was blind in one eye--going to terminate; found job	Inappropripriate Placemetn	Technicality --Inappropriate Job Specifics
95	IIA	Quiet; dropped out to return to China; her sister supported her while here	Moved --Left country	Personal Issue --Moved
95	IIA	Received disability; not driven to work; argumentative; difficult; disorganized	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
96	IIA	Recovering substance abuse; poor attendance; lost day care	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Daycare/Substance Abuse
95	IIA	Refused job search, not one day	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Returned to Dominican Republic for family reasons	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Family Issue --Unclear/Left Country
95	IIA	Risk from beginning; enrolled in a program but another Pre-Voc	Unapproved Enrollment	Technicality
95	JOBS/ESP	Said having an operation, but never returned afterwards; stopped coming	Loss of Interest	Personal Issue --Loss of Interest/Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Second enrollment in 95: son became very ill (epilepsy; seizures)	Family Issue	Family Issue --Child's Health
96	JOBS/ESP	Second time enrolled; did fine; didn't think about work	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
96	IIA	Serious esteem issues; never returned messages; manic depressant	Mental Health	Personal Issue --Mental Health
95	IIA	Serious health disorder --post traumatic (had been in prison in Vietnam)	Forced Termination --Mental Health	Personal Issue --Mental Health
96	IIA	Serious health problems --mental health; received medical attention	Mental Health	Personal Issue --Mental Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Serious mental health issues; medication; referred to counseling	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Mental Health
96	IIA	Serious student, great skills, motivated	Unclear	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Several problems; poor attendance; surprise	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Disorganized
96	JOBS/ESP	Shaky from the beginning; not even 1 day of job search	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear/Disorganized
95	IIA	She placed, simply didn't do it in the specified period of time	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort/Insufficient Time	Unclear
96	IIA	She placed, simply not in the required period of time	Failed Job Search --Serious Effort/Selective	Personal Issue --Selective About Job Choice
96	IIA	Sketchy from the beginning; never spent even one day looking	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Skills issues; failed to get diploma	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
96	IIA	Smart, friendly, capable; left job after 1 day	Unsuccessful Placement	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Some learning difficulties; took a little longer for placement	Failed Job Search --Serious Effort/Insufficient Time	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
95	JOBS/ESP	Sporadic participation; some attitudinal issues; poor attendance;	Forced Termination --Attendance/Attitude	Personal Issue --Attitude
95	IIA	Stayed 2 months; just stopped coming; letters sent, no contact	Unclear	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Stayed only 1 month; wasn't suppose to be enrolled in training	Technicality	Technicality --Inappropriate Enrollment
95	JOBS/ESP	Stopped attending after about 1.5 months; not clear why; young	Unclear	Unclear
95	IIA	Stopped attending internship; not clear why; not serious from beginning	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Substance abuse issues; had an understanding with director	Substance Abuse	Personal Issue --Substance Abuse
96	JOBS/ESP	Substance abuse issues; no one knew about it	Substance Abuse	Personal Issue --Substance Abuse
95	IIA	Taxi driver; often had a lot of cash around; refused job search	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
95	JOBS/ESP	Technicality --got job but not sufficient to meet eligibility	Technicality	Technicality --Inappropriate Job Specifics
95	JOBS/ESP	Technicality --not enrolled in prgm for at least 8 wks; entered another prgm	Technicality	Technicality --Insufficient Enrollment Period
96	JOBS/ESP	Terrible attendance; didn't work hard; asked to leave internship	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear-Not Interested in Work
96	IIA	Terrible attendance; stopped coming -not sure why	Unclear	Unclear
96	IIA	Terrible attitude; did poor academically; many emotional needs	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Mental Health/Skills/Attitude
96	IIA	Terrible attitude; harassed a staff member; horrible behavior	Forced Termination --Behavior	Personal Issue --Attitude
96	IIA	Terrible student with terrible attitude; didn't look beyond center for job	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Took awhile to make up mind about type of work	Failed Job Search --Moderte Effort/Insufficient Time	Personal Issue --Unsure of Interests
95	JOBS/ESP	Tough life; personal crisis; suspects domestic abuse	Domestic Abuse	Personal Crisis --Domestic Abuse
96	JOBS/ESP	Traveling a long distance; problem with welfare	Transportation	Personal Issue --Distance
95	JOBS/ESP	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
96	IIA	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
95	IIA	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
96	IIA	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
96	IIA	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear

96	JOBS/ESP	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Unclear motivation; returned to drugs, detox; disappeared	Substance Abuse	Personal Issue --Substance Abuse
96	IIA	Undisciplined; academic troubles; no self control; lost interest	Skill/Academic Deficiency	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
96	JOBS/ESP	Unmotivated; no real interest; devious, sneaky, and rude	Loss of Interest	Personal Issue --Loss of Interest/Attitude
96	JOBS/ESP	Use to shoplift during lunch and show what she got; many issues	Forced Term --Attendance	Personal Issue --Disorganized
95	IIA	Very bright, great student; met a man	Loss Interest	Personal Issue --Man
96	IIA	Very bright; high risk; some great moments, some very low; disorganized	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Disorganized
95	JOBS/ESP	Very bright; some personality problems; disagreeable; job search on her ter	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort/Insufficient Time	Personal Issue --Selective About Job Choice
95	JOBS/ESP	Very low self-esteem; functionally illiterate	Skill/Academic Deficiency --Illiterate	Personal Issue --Skill/Academi˜ Defici˜ncy
95	JOBS/ESP	Very low self-esteem; low literacy; wasn't doing well	Skill/Academic Deficiency --Literacy	Personal Issue --Skill/Academic Deficiency
95	IIA	Very nervous person; some health issues; weak skills; couldn't type	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Very quiet; not communicative	Unclear	Unclear
95	JOBS/ESP	Very young, shaky; lived in public housing; refused to look for job	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Unclear
96	JOBS/ESP	Very young; was initially on wait-list; had called everyday to get in; lost it	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --Disorganized
95	IIA	Wanted to work	Unclear	Unclear
95	IIA	Wanted to work; didn't look for job; lacked transportation	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Lacked Resource
96	IIA	Wanted to work; lacked transp; good student; honorable military discharge	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Lacked Resource
95	JOBS/ESP	Was a great student, but got lost in summer carryover	Loss of Interest	Personal Issue --Loss of Interest/Summer
95	IIA	Was completely alone; family in Haiti; little stability; needed intensive help	Insufficient Organization	Personal Issue --No Support
95	JOBS/ESP	Was living with parents; fight with parents; left town	Housing Move --Forced	Personal Issue --Moved -Left State/Disorganized
95	JOBS/ESP	Was loved at internship; was in auto accident then sister abused by husban	Insufficient Organization	Family Issue-- Insufficient Capacity/Domestic Abuse
96	IIA	Was on SSI; not sure why she was enrolled; not a great student	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
95	IIA	Was working part-time elsewhere; got injured on the job	Personal Crisis	Personal Crisis --Injury
95	IIA	Wasn't stable; came through Mass Rehabilitation	Mental Health	Personal Issue --Mental Health
95	JOBS/ESP	Went on vacation with family to celebrate graduation; barely looked for job	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Unclear
95	IIA	Working part-time; refused job search	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Not Interested in Work-Employed/Atlternative
96	JOBS/ESP	Young (17); DTA said she had to be in school	Forced Termination --Inappropriate Student	Technicality
95	IIA	Young, bright, good skills, great internship but immature; not ready to wk	Failed Job Search --Moderate Effort	Personal Issue --Maturity
96	IIA	Young; undisciplined; was trying to get back on track; parents threw him out	Housing Move --Forced	Personal Issue --Disorganized
96	IIA	Youthful attitude; "snaughty"; left and went to China	Failed Job Search --No Participation	Personal Issue --Unclear/Moved-Left Country

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