

in this booklet here which carries your remarks at the time you met with Congressman Goodell and in your statement of this morning.

Mr. GOODELL. Do you hold the view, Mr. Marshall, that innovation is difficult or impossible out of the existing agency?

Mr. MARSHALL. No, I do not; because I see some of the same guys in OEO in some of these existing agencies and I think it depends on the initiative of the top people. If the Director is a good man, I should think his agency will reflect this.

Mr. GOODELL. You have been active in the poverty programs and in the frontlines of the war in communities as a community action director. You also are very active in social sciences and now are associated with the newly created Metropolitan Applied Research Center.

I would like to ask your opinion thus with reference to the Job Corps.

Mr. MARSHALL. My feelings about the Job Corps are based on the research I did when I was in the research center at the Columbia School of Social Work. Then we were conducting studies of youngsters from poor neighborhoods in institutional settings. These were so-called training schools.

One of the things that became pretty clear to us, whatever school we looked at and whatever the treatment and training procedures were, inevitably because of the question of maintaining order, they developed something we label "a delinquent subculture" with certain youngsters having delegated to them, in effect, the role of running and controlling the effect.

Mr. GOODELL. You are referring to putting them all together?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes. I don't think this is good. I think the bulk of the studies of institutionalized situations demonstrates that you create an artificial environment and very often an environment with detrimental attributes to it and, therefore, you have to be more concerned with some of the detrimental aspects than with some of the positive goals and aspects of the program.

I think a disproportionate amount of the energy and time and attention of the administrators of these kinds of organizations have to go into these questions of order and discipline and I think this is completely unnecessary because the same objectives of training or rehabilitating could be obtained in situations, probably smaller situations and probably more familiar situations than the home community where you do not create these additional problems which stem from setting up an artificial and large institution in an unfamiliar setting to the young people.

Mr. GOODELL. Do you think it would be preferable to have an integrated-type center in a community itself?

Mr. MARSHALL. Yes; I always looked for a multiple payoff in programs. If you have one particular emphasis which the Job Corps would be to train these young people for good jobs, you can also with the same program have other impacts.

For example, if these kinds of centers were set up in communities like Harlem, immediately you begin to build up in these places community institutions of a kind that serve to stabilize and give a life and vitality to the community.

It strikes me that this could be a kind of multiple payoff of a program that could have a primary aim of training young people but