

INTERIM REPORT
OF THE
OAKLAND ADULT PROJECT FOLLOW-UP STUDY

Interim report...

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ERRATA

In Section 6, every time "1959" appears (pages 82, 84 and 98)
change it to read "1960".

INTRODUCTION

Description of the Project

The Oakland Adult Project,¹ referred to hereafter as the "Project", has been providing service to the public since September 1964. The Project is jointly funded by the U. S. Department of Labor and the Ford Foundation. Three organizations work together to ensure its functioning. The California State Employment Service (hereafter referred to as "CSES") administers the Project and receives the funds provided by the Department of Labor through the Bureau of Employment Security. The Department of Human Resources, City of Oakland, (formerly known as the Oakland Inter-agency Project) works closely with CSES and is the recipient of those funds provided by the Ford Foundation. The third, the Citizens Advisory Committee, is a volunteer group composed of businessmen, labor officials, and minority group persons. This committee has been given responsibility for implementing certain aspects of the Project, as well as for establishing its policy.

The history of the Project begins with the meetings of a group of Oakland businessmen which began roughly two years before the Project started. This group apparently was quite concerned with the comparatively high tax rate in Oakland which they felt was related to the large number of people, most of whom were Negroes, receiving welfare payments. They

¹The Oakland Interagency Project, minority group representatives, labor representatives, and CSES.

were reportedly desirous of reducing the welfare rolls and in turn reducing the tax rate.¹ In developing plans for attaining these goals, the employer group conferred and subsequently joined forces with a number of organizations and groups that are now integral parts of what has become known as the Oakland Adult Project.

There was considerable delay in getting the Project into full operation even after formal proposals had been prepared and approved by the two funding agencies. The delay was primarily attributable to failure by the Department of Labor to fund its part of the program at the time originally expected. At times it even appeared that the Department would not fund the Project at all. Had it not been for the fact that the Project was able to commence minimal operations in September 1964 with funds which had been provided by the Ford Foundation for its part of the Project, the delay in final approval of funding by the Department of Labor would have prevented the Project from becoming operative until January 1965.² The first Project office opened on September 1 and, by the first of October, two more were in operation. Each of the offices was located in an area of Oakland in which the incidence of unemployment among minority group persons was high and where the overall income level was low. Two of the areas (the original two proposed) were in neighborhoods in which the predominant minority group is Negro; the third was located in an area where the predominant minority group is Mexican-American.

¹This information was obtained from interviews of Advisory Committee members, consultants and CSES personnel in the spring of 1965.

²Labor Department funds were finally released in January 1965.

Although there are substantial difficulties in clearly and concisely stating the goals of the Project,¹ it appears that obtaining employment for the unemployed and upgrading the underemployed are its two major goals. The plan for attaining these goals included formulation of an education and information program aimed at alerting employers and unions in the community to the problem, solicitation of jobs from them, placement of Project applicants in these jobs and training of Project applicants for prospective jobs.

It is also somewhat difficult to delineate clearly the major group of people for which the Project is operating.¹ However, it appears that the Project was designed specifically for the long-term ("hard-core") unemployed persons, especially those who were members of minority groups and more particularly, those who were adult heads of household residing in Oakland.²

In general, the Project is an experimental program which is attempting to reduce the high rate of unemployment among minority group persons in Oakland. Initially, the program included a number of features which were at that time unique in Oakland and some of which may have been unique in the nation: (1) expansion and decentralization of the CSES facilities in Oakland through strategic placement of offices in areas of high unemployment, (2) establishment of a citizen group composed of business, labor, and minority group representatives which was to perform

¹The difficulties will be extensively discussed in Section 9 of this report.

²The lack of clarity about this aspect of the Project will also be discussed in Section 9.

an integral function in the operation, and (3) incorporation of a "job development" component led by locally influential citizens, which was to design and carry out an organized program of education and job solicitation in the Oakland business and labor communities.

Plan of the Report

This initial report will attempt to highlight the Project's activities during the first 16 months of operation (September 1964 through December 1965). Because the Follow-up Study did not become operative until March 1965, and was not fully staffed until November, it is impossible for this report to be a fully comprehensive one. It has been necessary to limit most data analysis to a four-month period, April through July 1965. Many types of data for months before April are unavailable because a record-keeping system adequate for our purposes was not instituted until that month. In future reports, more extensive analyses will be made. Moreover, although this interim report does not reflect the approach set forth in the Study Plan for the follow-up study, future reports will include the types of analysis described in that plan.

In general, the three major aspects of the Project -- placement, job development, and training -- will be considered here. Examination of those activities of the Project will be followed by an analysis of such background information as seems germane to the first sixteen months of operation.

SECTION 1

PLACEMENT - AN OVERVIEW

Data Presentation

Placement of All Applicants to Project

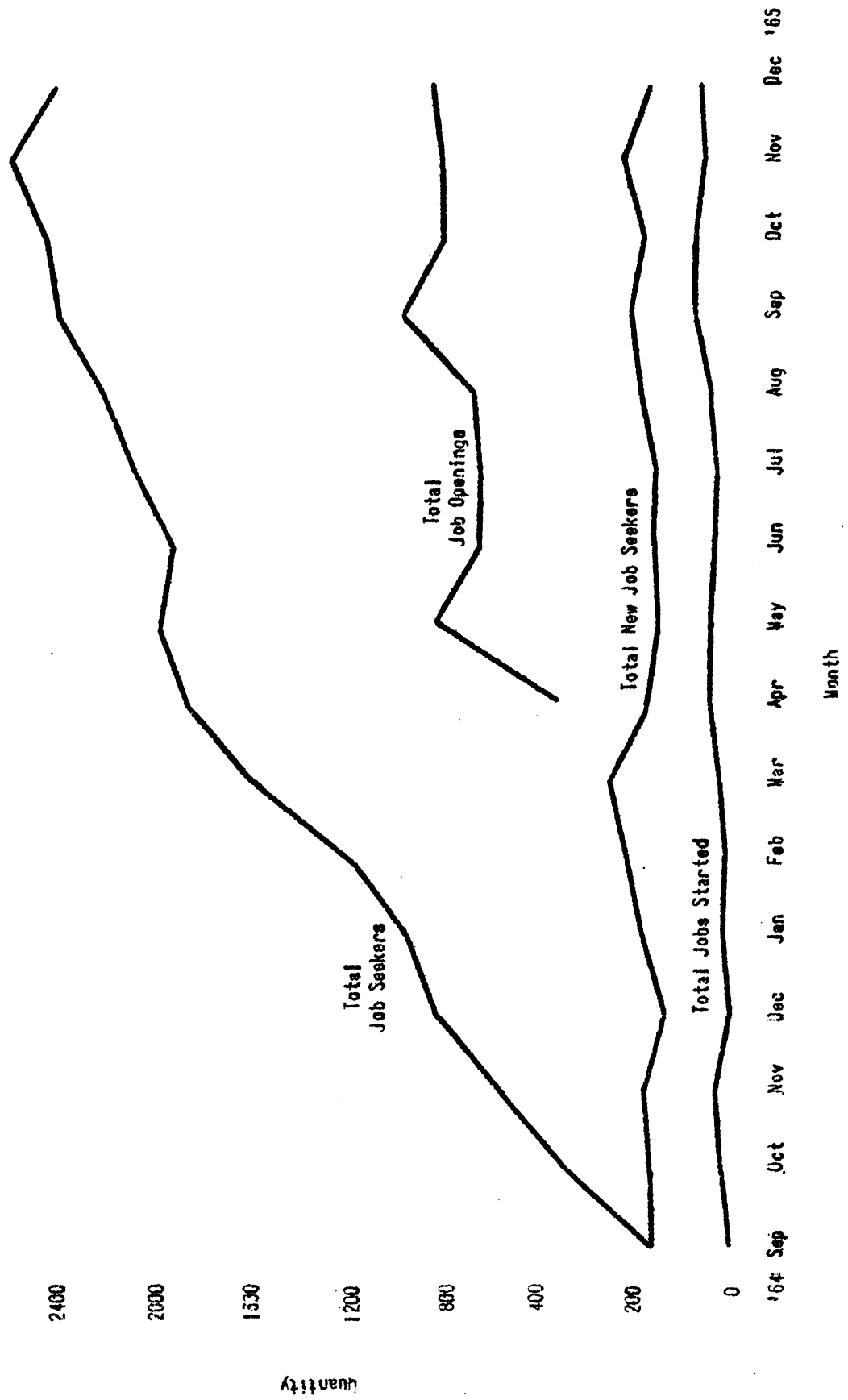
In order to place in perspective the placement activities of the Project, certain information is necessary: (1) the total number of people who have been seeking jobs through the Project, (2) the total number of jobs to which the Project has been able to refer applicants, and (3) the total number of people who have obtained jobs through Project efforts. These data are presented in graphical form in Figure 1. The major portion of each series (most frequently that section prior to April and after July 1965) represents an approximation since complete data are either permanently missing or not yet available. In general, there is no reason to believe that these approximations seriously distort the behavior of the series. In those instances where there is the possibility of serious distortion, however, appropriate comments have been made in the text.

In Figure 1, the number of people seeking jobs has been presented in two series: (1) total job seekers, and (2) total new job seekers.

The first of these series indicates the monthly change in the maximum number of people applying to the Project for jobs. The exact number for any one month is somewhat illusory, however, since neither on any specific day during the month nor at the end of the month can we determine

FIGURE 1

OVERALL PROJECT ACTIVITY, SEPTEMBER 1964 - DECEMBER 1965



precise number of people looking for jobs. This is true because there is constant activity in the Project, activity which is characterized by new registrations, placements and withdrawals. Nevertheless, this series provides the best approximation of the overall demand for jobs by people using the Project.

The number of total job seekers for any one month was computed by adding (1) the number of people who registered with the Project in some previous month and who were looking for jobs at the beginning of the month in question (i.e., the Project's total active file as of the beginning of the month), (2) the number who registered for the first time during the month in question (i.e., new applicants during the month), and (3) the number who registered at some time in the past, subsequently informed the Project that they were no longer looking for a job, but during the month in question, indicated that they were again looking (i.e., those applicants reactivated during the month). Because the total number of reactivated applicants is unknown prior to May and after October 1965, the series is only an approximation during those periods.¹

The "Total New Job Seekers" series is a component of "Total Job Seekers", including only those who filed applications with the Project for the first time. In this connection, it should be noted that virtually

¹A constant is used to indicate the number of reactivated applicants entering the Project between October 1964 and April 1965 and for November and December 1965. The constant is 31.5, which is equal to the median number of reactivated applicants during the months of May through October. The use of this constant may distort the true shape of the curve during the early months of the Project when the number of reactivated applicants was probably much smaller than 31.5. The distortion resulting from its use, however, does not appear to be great, since we are working with a number which is an increasingly small proportion of total job seekers.

all of the people who registered with the Project were seeking employment. Our best information to date indicates that 99.996 per cent of the people who registered were looking for employment. The others (.004 per cent) were seeking training only.¹

The series labeled "Total Job Openings" describes the monthly change in the total number of job vacancies for which the Project has received formal job orders.² A job order includes, among other information, the requirements of the position and the number of vacancies which exist. There may be, therefore, more than one job opening (i.e., vacancy) on a single job order. Hence, "Total Job Openings" represents the actual number of job vacancies, not the number of orders for jobs. Data for months prior to April are unavailable.

The last series in Figure 1 is labeled "Total Jobs Started", and indicates monthly changes in the number of jobs people actually began as a result of referral from the Project. The distinction is made here between the number of jobs for which applicants were accepted, and the number of jobs that were actually started. In other words, persons who were hired

¹This figure was derived from data collected during the first four months of operation, and provisions have been made to detect changes which have occurred since then.

²It must be made clear at this point that all of the data used in the Follow-up Study are greatly dependent upon the record-keeping accuracy of the Project. The Follow-up Study has attempted to enlist the full cooperation of the Project in accurately and promptly turning over all requested information, one type of which is a record of job orders. Instances have arisen, however, in which, in spite of all attempts to eliminate such possibilities, the Follow-up Study has received neither prompt nor accurate reports of job orders. It is our belief that all inaccuracies have been eliminated from the data included in this report.

by an employer, but who either refused the job or failed to report for work, are eliminated from this curve. The number of persons eliminated is actually quite small; the data reveal that 97 per cent¹ of all people hired through the Project began work.

Placement of Minority Applicants

Although the Project was designed to serve a special group of persons, in practice its doors are open to everyone. Since it is operated as an arm of the California State Employment Service, it may not refuse service to persons registering at any of its offices. In spite of this open door policy, the Project is definitely attracting a specific group of clients. Our best estimate to date is that 90.2 per cent² of all new applicants registering with the Project are minority group persons.³ As was mentioned earlier, the Project is designed to attract long term unemployed minority group persons, and especially certain members of the

¹Approximately 94 per cent of the jobs accepted from April through July were "started".

²This figure is the mean percentage for the months of May through December, 1965. Prior to May, data are not available because the employment service was forbidden by law to record ethnic information for applicants at the time of their registration. A special waiver was obtained by the Follow-up Study from the California Fair Employment Practices Commission to permit these data to be recorded at all CSES offices in Oakland during the life of the Project.

³Ethnic group membership is recorded by the intake interviewer at each office. The interviewer has instructions to record the ethnic group to which the applicant apparently belongs. Therefore, all references to minority or ethnic group membership in this report refer to "apparent" minority group status or "apparent" ethnicity.

minority communities: adult heads of household who reside in Oakland.¹

At the present time, no information as to length of unemployment is available, but it is possible to identify those minority group members who are adults, heads of household and residents of Oakland. People who have these characteristics are subsequently referred to as "target" minority group persons. Our best estimate to date is that 40.8 per cent of all people registering with the Project fall into this category.²

In order to bring the activities of the Project more clearly into focus, it will be important to examine first the relationships between minority group job seekers, job openings, and placements; and then the relationships between target minority group job seekers, job openings and placements. Before this is done, however, the characteristics of job openings must be examined. It should be pointed out that all job openings do not arrive at a Project office by the same route. Some job openings are telephoned directly to one of the Project offices by an employer or his representative, while others are telephoned to an office outside of the Project and are later relayed. We have labeled the first group, those telephoned directly to the Project, "direct orders"; and the second group, those received indirectly, "indirect orders". Direct orders, obviously, can be acted on immediately, at least by the Project office which receives them, whereas there is an automatic delay in action on indirect orders.

¹As will be explained in Section 9, the original proposals called for concentration on adult males. This emphasis on males was changed by an Advisory Committee decision in March 1965.

²This figure is the mean percentage for the months of November and December 1965.

Since January 1965, the following procedure for relaying direct orders to other offices has apparently been in effect; when a direct order is received by one Project office, copies are made which will be sent to other offices at the end of the day. If the order is "rush", the other offices are telephoned immediately. Prior to that date, instructions had been given that all orders received at a Project office would be telephoned immediately to other offices.

The indirect orders coming to the Project are basically of two kinds. Most come from the main Oakland Employment Office; others, called clearance orders, originate in employment service offices throughout the state. This latter group is typically composed of orders for a large number of openings (an average of eight per order) which have been difficult to fill in the area where the order was originally placed. The orders that are received first by the main Oakland Employment Office have been handled in different ways during the life of the Project. From September 1964 until September 1965, all orders except those for domestic and casual labor jobs were collected and, by the end of the day, one copy of the order was typed and sent to the largest Project office. That office, in turn, made two extra copies which were forwarded to the remaining offices.

As of September 1965, the system for sending job orders from the Oakland Employment Office to the Project was changed. From that time, all orders except those for professional, domestic and casual labor jobs, were collected from the interviewer and typed in enough copies so that each Project office would obtain a copy in the next morning's mail. This system was in effect through December 1965. It was changed January 17,

1966 when the Oakland Employment Office began sending its professional orders to the Project.

Data for the month of November 1965, were checked to determine the actual length of time which elapsed between receipt of orders by the Oakland Employment Office and the receipt of the same orders by the Project offices. The average (mean) time lapse during this month was 1.3 working days.¹

Direct job openings comprised 5.4 per cent² of all job openings received by the Project. Since job seekers seem to have a better opportunity to obtain employment as a result of direct job orders, and since a unique aspect of the Project concerns the development of "direct jobs" for Project applicants, it seems appropriate to compare the number of minority group job seekers and the number of jobs started by minority group persons with the total direct job openings to the Project. These relationships are shown in Figure 2 as they pertain to total minority group applicants and in Figure 3 as they pertain to target minority group applicants.³

Appearing in both Figures 2 and 3 is a curve which plots the monthly change in the number of people starting jobs. These differ from that in Figure 1 in that they describe only the number of placements which the

¹Weekends and holidays were not counted.

²This is the median percentage of direct job openings in relation to total job openings, April to December, 1965.

³In June, the Project received a total of 200 direct openings on two job orders for a special summer youth project. Since these openings were designed for youths and since their number was so divergent from the norm, they were not included in Figures 2 and 3.

Project recorded as "permanent". The Project, like all CSES offices, considers a job "permanent" if its anticipated duration is three days or more.¹ Since the discrepancy between this usage and its common connotation is so great, we shall consistently use the phrase "three-days-or-more" when referring to jobs the Employment Service calls "permanent".

Discussion

The data in Figures 1, 2, and 3 summarize Project activities most directly related to placement. However, since the data on which they were based were aggregative, the figures present a picture which might be misleading unless a more refined examination is undertaken. Before we make such an examination, let us examine more or less superficially the relationships between job openings, job seekers and jobs started.

Relationship between Job Openings and Job Seekers

First of all, it is clear, especially when we concentrate on the period of time after April 1965, that the number of people seeking jobs

¹Because the CSES procedure requires its offices to distinguish between temporary (less than three days) and permanent (three days or more) jobs, and since the Follow-up Study will compare the results of placement activities by the Project with those by the Oakland Employment Office, we are forced to use the CSES categories. These categories have been labeled, however, in a manner which emphasizes the definitions involved. It should be mentioned that in the spring of 1965, the Advisory Committee requested the Project Director to report permanent placements in his monthly statistical report. At the same time, the Committee asked that permanent jobs be defined as those lasting at least 30 days. In May 1965, permanent placements were reported separately for the first time, but they were defined as jobs for which the anticipated duration was indefinite. It was not until February 1966 that the new Project Director indicated that he had enough personnel to comply with the original request and took steps to implement it.

FIGURE 2

PROJECT ACTIVITY, SEPTEMBER 1964 - DECEMBER 1965

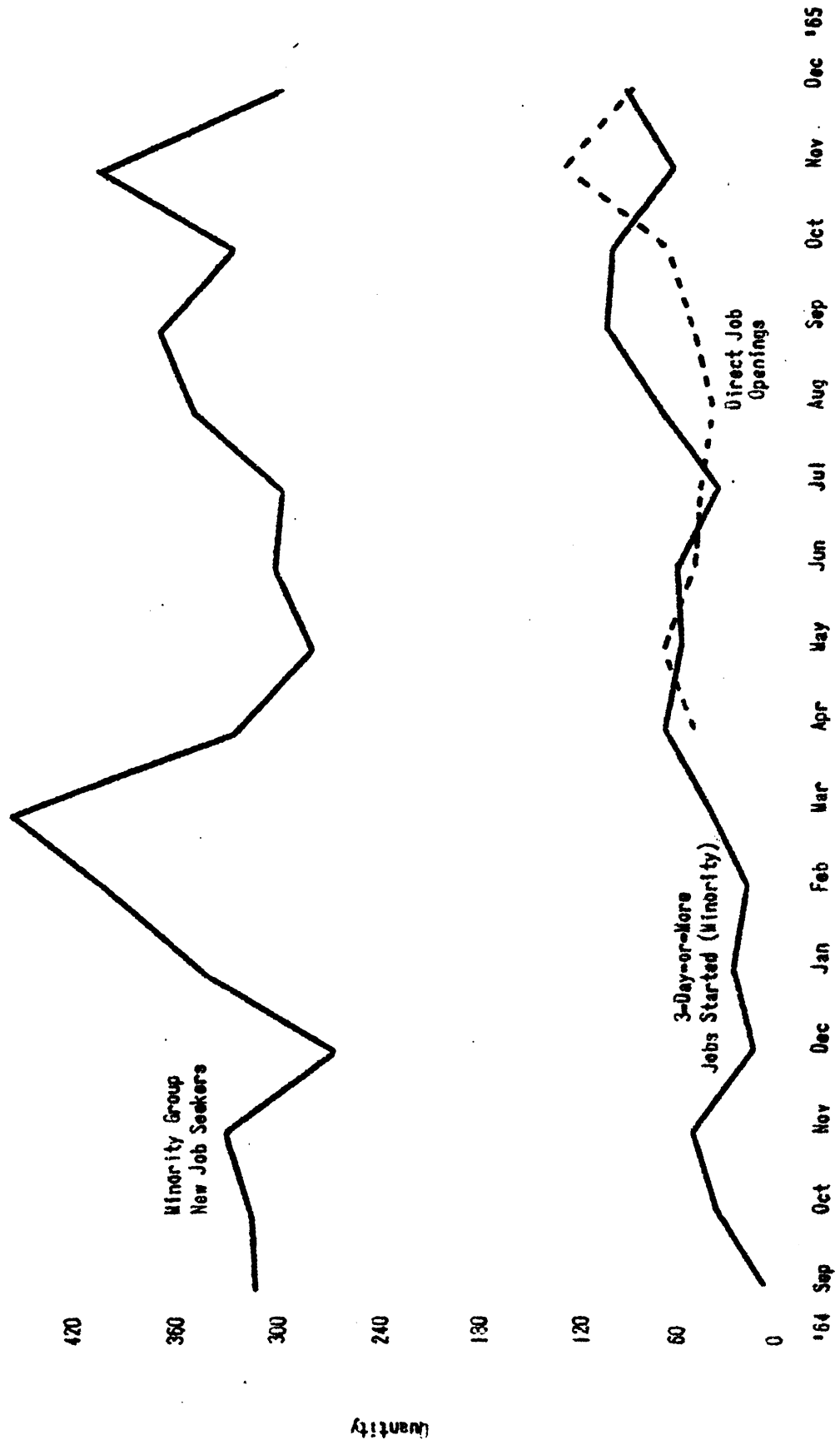
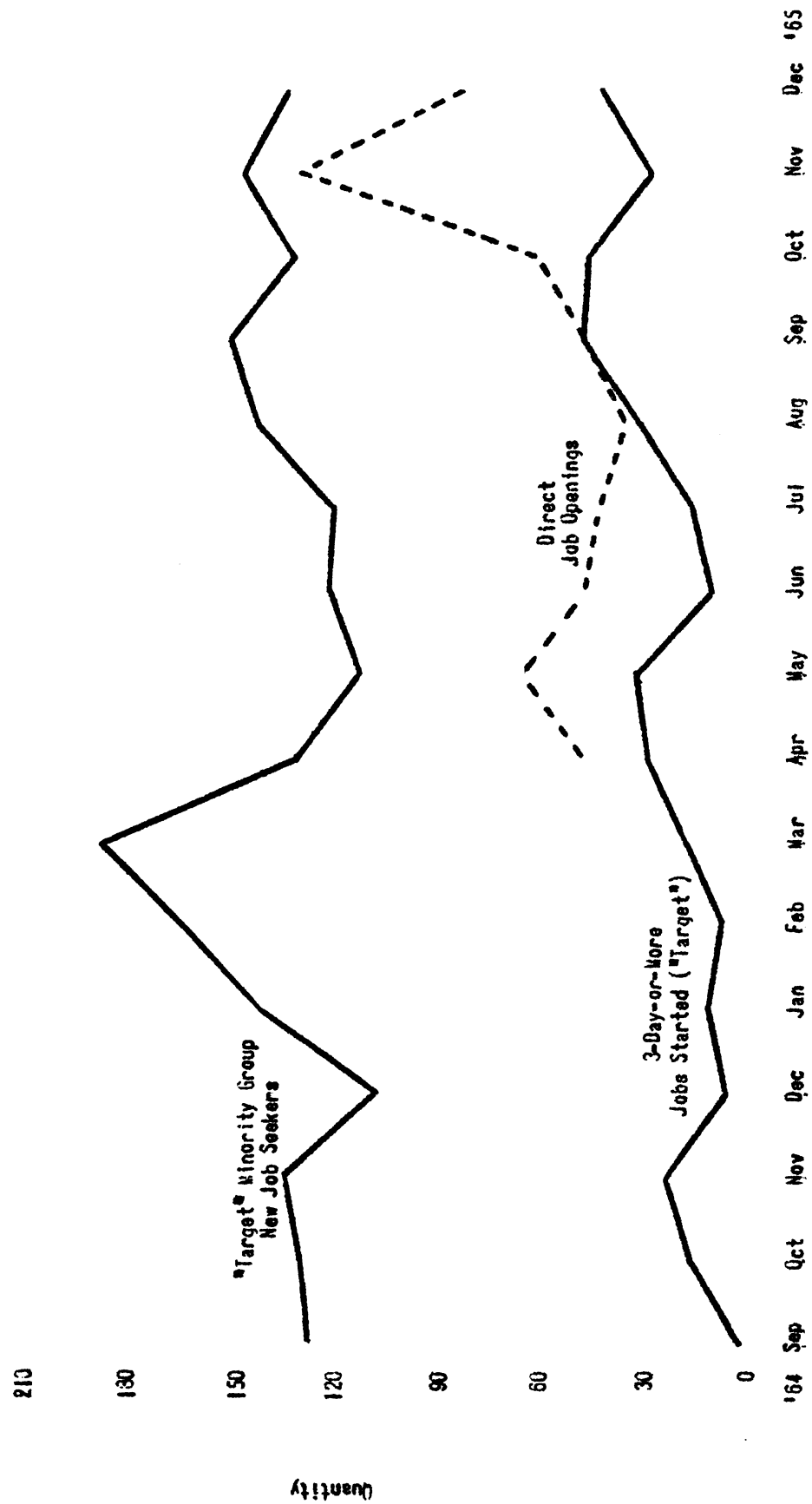


FIGURE 3

PROJECT ACTIVITY, SEPTEMBER 1964 - DECEMBER 1965



far outnumbered the pool of job openings for which the Project had orders (Figure 1). Between April 1 and December 31, 1965, the Project had, on the average, less than half as many job openings as it had people looking for jobs (the median ratio of openings to seekers was 1:2). Taken as a whole, the Project probably never has had an equal number of total job seekers and total job openings. This finding indicates that at no time during the last nine months of 1965 did the Project have enough jobs at its disposal to effect placement of all the people who had made application for work.

A second important point (Figure 1) is that the number of job openings received during a month greatly exceeded the number of people registering with the Project for the first time that month (i.e., new job seekers). During the same time period referred to above, there were, on the average, more than three times as many job openings as there were new job seekers.¹ It should be remembered, however, that 95 per cent of the total job openings were not sent directly to the Project, and that as a result, it seems reasonable to assume that Project applicants would have a more difficult time competing for the indirect than for direct openings.

Quite a different picture is seen, however, when we compare the relationship between direct openings and minority group persons seeking jobs through the Project for the first time (i.e., minority group new job seekers, Figure 2), and the relationship between direct job openings and target minority new job seekers (Figure 3). On the average, during the

¹May was an unusual month - ratio of 1:4 as compared with the median ratio for the entire period of 1:3.

months of April through December 1965, the Project had slightly more than five times as many minority group new job seekers as it had direct job openings each month. During the same period, it had slightly more than twice as many target minority group new job seekers as it had direct job openings each month.¹ It should be clear, then, that the Project did not receive enough direct job orders each month to match the intake of either the minority group persons or the target minority group persons who applied for the first time.

It must be pointed out that the determination of whether the Project has received sufficient job openings certainly cannot be made on a quantitative basis alone. In addition to the quantitative question, there are a number of qualitative issues. The first is whether the types of job openings the Project receives correspond to the types of jobs applicants are able to fill. One approach to answering this question (but one which has its limitations if used exclusively) is to obtain an approximation of how well the job seekers match the job openings. This can be done by comparing the job codes assigned to job seekers with those assigned to job openings. This type of comparison will be made in Section 5 of this report.

A second qualitative issue is a refinement of the first: even when job openings and the job seekers are coded on the same basis, there are still wide differences in the specific requirements for particular types of jobs. All secretaries have to type, but some employers will accept

¹The difference in these two ratios is due to the small number of target minority persons applying to the Project.

60 words per minute, while others will require 80; all truck drivers must be able to drive trucks, but some employers require a high school education, while others do not. This type of refined examination of the "fit" of seekers to openings cannot be presented in this report.

A third qualitative issue pertains to the final selection criteria used by an employer. First, it is common knowledge that, if a number of applicants are "equally qualified" in terms of the skill and experience considered crucial, and if there are fewer openings than "qualified" applicants, a choice must be made. This choice may be made on a number of different bases: personal characteristics, assertiveness, family, friendship or organizational ties, race, and many others. Second, although some of these characteristics may be of no real importance to the applicant's ability to perform on the job, they often are the considerations which determine the employers' final decision. This aspect of the hiring process is the most difficult one to examine, but it is one which obviously has great relevance to a person's "employability". Unfortunately, it is one which cannot be fully examined in this study.

The final qualitative issue involves the generally accepted opinion that some people are "unemployable". This term seems to mean that some people, as a result of personal characteristics, background, etc., simply are not able to hold a job. As the term is loosely used, it seems to encompass those people who are deemed "untrainable" as well as those who are considered trainable. Needless to say, the process of placing individuals in any of these categories is a difficult one even when the categories are considered valid. Such categorization will not be attempted by this study.

Relationship between Jobs Started and Job Seekers

Returning to Figure 1, we see that the monthly total of jobs started by Project applicants increased slightly over the first sixteen months of operation. The number of people starting work rose from approximately 20 in September 1964, to approximately 122 in December of that year. The increase was steady throughout the period. The median ratio of persons starting jobs to new job seekers each month was 1:4. The median ratio of people starting jobs to total job seekers each month was considerably different over the same period. That figure was 1:27. These findings indicate that whether we compare placement ratios for all new job seekers or for total job seekers each month, only a relatively small percentage of Project applicants obtained jobs.

Even though the above is true, a positive trend did develop over the sixteen-month period in regard to the ratio of jobs started to new job seekers. During the last quarter of 1964, an average of one Project applicant started a job for every seven new applicants who registered. By the last quarter of 1965, an average of one Project applicant began working for every three new applicants.¹ These ratios show a general improvement in placement successes in spite of the fact that during the first quarter of 1965 the ratio of jobs started to new job seekers was 1:11, an occurrence which was probably a result of a seasonal fluctuation in employment. No comparable improvement was found in the ratios of jobs

¹It should be pointed out that the people who began work during the quarter may or may not have registered during that quarter.

started to total job seekers, however.

When the number of jobs started in which the anticipated duration was three days or more is compared monthly with either the total number of minority group new job seekers (Figure 2), or with the total target minority group new job seekers (Figure 3), it can be seen that a relatively small percentage of Project applicants obtained such jobs. On the average, there were nearly seven times as many minority group persons seeking jobs for the first time from the Project during the first sixteen months as there were minority group persons who obtained a job expected to last three days or more. During the same period, there were more than six times as many target minority group people looking for jobs for the first time from the Project as there were target minority group persons who obtained a three-day-or-more job. As in the case of total new applicants, an improvement did occur over the sixteen-month period. During the last quarter of 1964, only one minority group person was hired on a job expected to last more than three days for every eleven minority persons who entered the Project. By the last quarter of 1965, the ratio was 1:4. Again, the record in the first quarter of 1965 was less favorable as evidenced by the ratio of 1:15. A similar trend was seen in the placement of target minority group persons. Whereas during the fourth quarter of 1964 one target person was placed on a three-day-or-more job for every nine target applicants, the ratio was 1:4 during the fourth quarter of 1965.¹

¹The ratio for the first quarter of 1965 was 1:13.

Summary

In Figures 1, 2, and 3, three different and important perspectives on the placement activities of the Project during its first sixteen months of operation are presented. The following is a summary of the findings:

1. Apparently, there has been no time during the Project's operation when, strictly from a quantitative standpoint, the monthly total supply of job openings was sufficient to match the monthly total demand for jobs (the demand of the current month plus the remainder from former months).

2. The monthly direct supply of jobs to the Project has apparently never exceeded 7 per cent (except in the unusual month of June) of the total jobs available to the Project applicants. The average monthly direct supply of jobs was closer to 5 per cent.

3. With the exception of the one unusual month, the direct supply of jobs never exceeded:

- a. the monthly demand for jobs by all new applicants,
 - b. the monthly demand for jobs by minority group new applicants,
or
 - c. the monthly demand for jobs by target minority new applicants.
4. All of the following average monthly ratios fell below 1:6 :
- a. total jobs started by all applicants to total job seekers,
 - b. three-day-or-more jobs started by minority group job seekers to total minority group job seekers, and
 - c. three-day-or-more jobs started by target minority group job seekers to total minority group job seekers.

5. In relation to 4(a) and (c) above, trends did develop during the first 16 months which indicated that an increasingly large proportion of applicants obtained jobs through Project efforts.

The crucial point of the findings summarized above is that, even though there has been some improvement in the proportion of people obtaining jobs through the Project, in absolute terms very few people started work. It seems fairly clear that at least two factors contributed to this situation:

1. there were substantially more Project applicants looking for jobs than there were jobs available to the Project, and
2. the Project developed an extremely small proportion of the total job openings which arrived at its offices.

Of course, more data must be collected and analyzed before any conclusion may be drawn. In particular, we must examine the characteristics of job openings and the characteristics of the applicants. This will be done to a limited degree in the sections which follow in this report. However, still greater refinements of Project data will be necessary and once these have been made, they must be compared with similar data from the Oakland Employment Office. It will be necessary to compute the ratios of job seekers to job openings (and the ratios of each of these to jobs started) for the Project and for the Oakland Employment Office. These will be analyzed using appropriate controls, i.e., job requirements and applicant qualifications, in order to determine whether the ratios obtained for the Project reflect a situation which is peculiar to the Project alone, is shared by the Oakland Employment Office, or is typical of the entire City

of Oakland. If it is found that these more refined Project ratios resemble those reported here, (i.e., that they also are low) and that they are peculiar to it, then the Project would have to be judged a failure. If it is found that similar ratios are characteristic of Oakland Employment Service operations as a whole, it will still signify failure on the part of the Project, for it was designed to obtain more jobs for minority group persons than those obtained by the main office. Low ratios throughout Oakland would also imply Project failure; for it would mean that as an experiment, and as a demonstration, the Project's using the techniques and methods in the way it did, failed to prevail against very strong economic and social trends - that the Project, although unique, did not provide an answer to the economic ills of this metropolitan community. In terms of these criteria, the only situation which would clearly indicate success is one where the Project has higher ratios than those for the other Oakland CSES operations.¹

¹It is extremely doubtful whether a study of the scope required to ~~examine~~ these variables in the context of Oakland as a whole can be made by this limited Follow-up Study. Therefore, Project success or failure will have to be measured in terms of CSES operations.

SECTION 2

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF JOB SEEKERS

Data Presentation

Comparisons between those individuals registering with the Project and those registering with the Oakland Employment Office must be confined to November and December 1965. This restriction is necessary because the data on Oakland Employment Office applicants required for such comparisons were first collected during the month of November 1965. In Table 1, data are presented in such a way that minority group applicants can be distinguished from non-minority group applicants at each operation, and that the number of applicants registering at each subdivision within the two operations can be determined. It should be remembered that the Project operated three separate offices during these months. Each was located in a section of the city designated as a poverty area and served all people who registered, regardless of the type of job sought. The Oakland Employment Office, on the other hand, had two sections serving adult applicants. One of these sections - Commercial and Professional - served applicants for white collar jobs, while the other -- Industrial and Service--provided service only to applicants seeking blue collar jobs.

Before more detailed comparisons are made between Project and Oakland Employment Office applicants, we will examine data relevant to applicants at the three Project offices (Tables 2 and 3). Although these tables will be discussed at length later, we can see from a glance at

TABLE 1

NEW JOB SEEKERS AT THE PROJECT AND OAKLAND EMPLOYMENT OFFICE BY MINORITY GROUP STATUS
AND OFFICE OF APPLICATION, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1965

Office	November				December			
	Total		Minority Group Persons		Total		Minority Group Persons	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Project								
Total	434	100.0	402	92.6	32	7.4	330	100.0
East Oakland	162	100.0	148	91.4	14	8.6	116	100.0
35th Avenue	84	100.0	73	86.9	11	13.1	74	100.0
West Oakland	188	100.0	181	96.3	7	3.7	140	100.0
Oakland Employment Office								
Total	2679	100.0	978	36.5	1701	63.5	1825	100.0
Commercial and Professional	1290	100.0	306	23.7	984	76.3	754	100.0
Industrial and Services	1389	100.0	672	48.4	717	51.6	1071	100.0
							707	38.7
							1118	61.3
							162	21.5
							592	78.5
							545	50.9
							526	49.1

TABLE 2

MINORITY GROUP NEW JOB SEEKERS AT PROJECT BY SEX AND OFFICE OF APPLICATION, MAY-JULY, 1965

Sex	Total		East Oakland		35th Avenue		West Oakland	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	869	100.0	359	100.0	116	100.0	394	100.0
Male	427	49.1	156	43.5	65	56.0	206	52.3
Female	442	50.9	203	56.5	51	44.0	188	47.7

TABLE 3

MINORITY GROUP NEW JOB SEEKERS AT PROJECT BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION,
OFFICE OF APPLICATION, AND SEX, MAY-JULY, 1965

Occupational Classification	Total		East Oakland		35th Avenue		West Oakland	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males								
Total	427	100.0	156	100.0	65	100.0	206	100.0
Professional, etc.	35	8.2	19	12.2	5	7.7	11	5.3
Clerical and Sales	47	11.0	17	10.9	6	9.2	24	11.7
Skilled	44	10.3	19	12.2	11	16.9	14	6.8
Agricultural, etc.	8	1.9	2	1.3	2	3.1	4	1.9
Unknown	1	.2	1	.6	0	.0	0	.0
Service	92	21.5	30	19.2	11	16.9	51	24.8
Semiskilled	98	23.0	36	23.1	12	18.5	50	24.3
Unskilled	102	23.9	32	20.5	18	27.7	52	25.2
Females								
Total	442	100.0	203	100.0	51	100.0	188	100.0
Professional, etc.	38	8.6	21	10.3	2	3.9	15	8.0
Clerical and Sales	129	29.2	52	25.6	15	29.4	62	33.0
Skilled	5	1.1	2	1.0	1	2.0	2	1.0
Agricultural, etc.	1	.2	1	.5	0	.0	0	.0
Unknown	2	.4	2	1.0	0	.0	0	.0
Service	182	41.2	94	46.3	9	17.6	79	42.0
Semiskilled	41	9.3	15	7.4	14	27.5	12	6.4
Unskilled	44	10.0	16	7.9	10	19.6	18	9.6

Table 3 that there were no marked differences among the types of jobs people were seeking at the three offices. Therefore, there is little reason to present data on the three offices separately in subsequent analysis.

Further comparisons between Project and Oakland Employment Office applicants must be limited to the month of November. A random sample was taken of those minority group applicants who registered with the Project in November and a similar sample was taken for Oakland Employment Office applicants. Descriptive breakdowns were made along the following dimensions: occupational classification, sex, ethnic group membership, age, and target group membership. The results of these breakdowns are presented in Tables 4 through 10. The ordering of the occupational classification column of all tables permits an easy distinction between jobs requiring a relatively high level of skill (professional and managerial, clerical and sales, and skilled) and those requiring a relatively low level of skill (service, semiskilled and unskilled). Although there are many limitations in this distinction, it is the one we are forced to use at this time. In future reports, we hope to be able to make more valid distinctions which will reflect the fact that jobs within some occupational categories vary greatly in terms of the skill required. For example, at the least precise level of coding, hand bill passers and court clerks are given the same classification. Part of the difficulty reflected in this report is an inherent characteristic of the classification system, but, part is due to the fact that the ultimate refinements planned for the data have not yet been instituted.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MINORITY GROUP NEW JOB SEEKERS AT THE PROJECT AND OAKLAND EMPLOYMENT OFFICE,
BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, ETHNIC GROUP AND SEX, NOVEMBER, 1965^a

Occupational Classification	Project			Oakland Employment Office		
	Total	Negro	Mexican-American and others	Total	Negro	Mexican-American and others
Males						
Total Number	88	66	22	110	84	26
Percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Professional, etc.	2	1	5	3	1	11
Clerical and Sales	8	8	9	14	16	8
Skilled	3	5	0	11	11	12
Agricultural, etc.	3	0	14	3	2	4
Unknown	0	0	0	2	0	8
Services	24	30	4	18	20	11
Semiskilled	29	26	36	22	21	23
Unskilled	31	30	32	27	29	23
Females						
Total Number	112	96	16	90	74	16
Percentage	100	100	100	100	100	100
Professional, etc.	4	4	0	8	7	13
Clerical and Sales	23	22	31	39	41	31
Skilled	0	0	0	1	0	6
Agricultural, etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	1	1	0	0	0	0
Services	45	53	0	36	36	31
Semiskilled	11	7	31	5	4	13
Unskilled	16	13	38	11	12	6

^aTable is based on random sample of 200 applicants each from Project and Oakland Employment Office.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION^a OF MINORITY GROUP NEW JOB SEEKERS AT THE PROJECT AND OAKLAND EMPLOYMENT OFFICE,
BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, AGE, AND SEX, NOVEMBER, 1965^b

Occupational Classification	Project				Oakland Employment Office			
	Total	Under 22	22-35	36-65	Total	Under 22	22-35	36-65
Males								
Total Number	88 ^c	25	33	28	110	10	63	37
Percentage	100	100	100	100	100	..	100	100
Professional, etc.	2	4	3	0	4	..	5	0
Clerical and Sales	8	16	3	7	13	..	22	3
Skilled	3	0	3	4	11	..	10	10
Agricultural, etc.	3	8	3	0	3	..	0	8
Unknown	0	0	0	0	2	..	3	0
Service	24	16	27	29	18	..	17	22
Semiskilled	29	32	21	32	22	..	24	19
Unskilled	31	24	40	28	27	..	19	38
Females								
Total Number	112	26	56	30	90 ^d	13	53	22
Percentage	100	100	100	100	100	..	100	100
Professional, etc.	4	4	4	3	8	..	7	9
Clerical and Sales	23	46	23	3	39	..	49	5
Skilled	0	0	0	0	1	..	2	0
Agricultural, etc.	0	0	0	0	0	..	0	0
Unknown	1	0	2	0	0	..	0	0
Service	45	27	48	57	36	..	32	54
Semiskilled	11	15	5	17	5	..	4	14
Unskilled	16	8	18	20	11	..	6	18

^aPercentage distribution for categories containing less than 15 cases is not reported in this table.

^bTable is based on random sample of 200 applicants each from Project and Oakland Employment Office.

^cThere were two males over sixty-five years of age.

^dThere was one female over sixty-five and one who did not report her age.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION^a OF MALE MINORITY GROUP NEW JOB SEEKERS AT THE PROJECT AND OAKLAND EMPLOYMENT OFFICE BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, AND AGE, NOVEMBER, 1965^b

Occupational Classification	Project						Oakland Employment Office					
	Total N	%	Under 22	22-35	36-65	Over 65	Total N	%	Under 22	22-35	36-65	Over 65 & Unknown
Total	88	100	28	38	32	2	110	100	9	57	34	0
High Skill	12	100	42	25	25	8	31	100	10	74	16	0
Agricultural, etc.	3	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
Unknown	0	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Services	21	100	19	43	38	0	20	100	5	55	40	0
Semiskilled	25	100	32	28	36	4	24	100	8	63	29	0
Unskilled	27	100	22	48	30	0	30	100	13	40	47	0

^aPercentage distribution for categories containing less than 15 cases is not reported in this table.

^bThis table is based on random sample of 200 applicants each from Project and Oakland Employment Office.

^cThis category combines Professional and Managerial, Clerical and Sales, and Skilled occupations.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION^a OF FEMALE MINORITY GROUP NEW JOB SEEKERS AT THE PROJECT AND OAKLAND EMPLOYMENT OFFICE,
BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, AGE AND SEX, NOVEMBER, 1965^b

Occupational Classification	Project						Oakland Employment Office					
	Total		Under 22	22-35	36-65	Over 65	Total		Under 22	22-35	36-65	Over 65 & Unknown
	N	%					N	%				
Total	112	100	23	50	27	0	90	100	14	59	25	2
Professional, etc.	4	..	..	..	..	..	7	100	14	57	29	0
Clerical and Sales	26	100	46	50	4	0	35	100	23	74	3	0
Skilled	0	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Agricultural, etc.	0	..	..	..	..	..	0	..	..	..	..	..
Unknown	1	..	..	..	..	..	0	..	..	..	..	..
Service	51	100	14	53	33	0	32	100	9	53	38	0
Semiskilled and Unskilled	30	100	20	43	37	0	15	100	7	33	46	14

^aPercentage distribution for categories containing less than 15 cases is not reported in this table.

^bTable is based on random sample of 200 applicants each from Project and Oakland Employment Office.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MINORITY GROUP NEW JOB SEEKERS AT THE PROJECT AND OAKLAND EMPLOYMENT OFFICE,
BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, GROUP MEMBERSHIP, AND SEX, NOVEMBER, 1965^a

Occupational Classification	Project		Oakland Employment Office		
	Total	Target ^b	Non-target	Total	Target ^b Non-target
Males					
Total Number	88	35	53	110	62 48
Percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Professional, etc.	2	3	2	4	2 6
Clerical and Sales	8	0	13	13	11 17
Skilled	3	6	2	11	11 10
Agricultural, etc.	3	0	6	3	5 0
Unknown	0	0	0	2	2 2
Service	24	20	26	18	18 19
Semiskilled	29	23	32	22	24 19
Unskilled	31	48	19	27	27 27
Females					
Total Number	112	37	75	90	18 72
Percentage	100	100	100	100	100
Professional, etc.	4	3	4	8	6 8
Clerical and Sales	23	13	28	39	28 42
Skilled	0	0	0	1	0 1
Agricultural, etc.	0	0	0	0	0 0
Unknown	1	3	0	0	0 0
Service	45	46	45	36	61 29
Semiskilled	11	8	12	5	5 6
Unskilled	16	27	11	11	0 14

^aThis table is based on a random sample of 200 applicants each from Project and Oakland Employment Office.

^bPersons twenty-two years or older, head of household and resident of Oakland.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION^a OF MALE MINORITY GROUP NEW JOB SEEKERS AT THE PROJECT AND OAKLAND EMPLOYMENT OFFICE, BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, AND TARGET GROUP MEMBERSHIP, NOVEMBER, 1965^b

Occupational Classification	Project			Oakland Employment Office		
	Total N	%	Target ^c Non-target	Total N	%	Target ^c Non-target
Total	88	100	40 60	110	100	56 44
High Skill ^d	12	..	..	31	100	48 52
Agricultural, etc.	3	..	..	3	..	.. ..
Unknown	0	..	..	2	..	.. ..
Services	21	100	33 67	20	100	55 45
Semiskilled	25	100	32 68	24	100	63 37
Unskilled	27	100	63 37	30	100	57 43

^aPercentage distribution for categories containing less than 15 cases is not reported in this table.

^bTable is based on random samples of 200 applicants each from Project and Oakland Employment Office.

^cResidents of Oakland who are twenty-two years of age or older and heads of household.

^dThis category combines Professional and Managerial, Clerical and Sales, and Skilled occupations.

A limitation inherent in all of the data presented in this section bears mentioning: the occupational classification is completely determined by the code given applicants by employment service interviewers. The occupational classification assigned is determined by the interviewer's evaluation of the applicant's work experience, his training, and his personal characteristics (such as, physical condition, vocational preference and aptitudes). Occasionally, some of these factors are contradictory, and at such times, interviewer judgment is required. Although the Employment Service manual is specific about how contradictions in evidence should be resolved, there is, as in all systems of classification, the possibility that error or classifier bias may become involved. The manual also permits secondary or tertiary classifications in an attempt to resolve some of the difficulties. Classifications used throughout this report, however, refer only to the primary code assigned.

Discussion

During the months of November and December 1965, there was a sharp contrast in the ethnic composition of the groups of persons served by the two offices (Table 1). Although the Oakland Employment Office was apparently serving more than twice as many minority group persons as was the Project, the percentage of minority persons registering with the Project each month was much larger than the percentage registering with the Oakland Employment Office (90 versus 38 per cent).¹ It should also be noted

1

The percentages cited are mean figures for November and December.

that although the Oakland Employment Office consistently had more blue collar than white collar applicants, this relationship was attributable primarily to the prevalence of blue collar occupations among minority group applicants. Whereas approximately 73 per cent of the minority group persons were registered for blue collar jobs, roughly 45 per cent of the non-minority group persons were so registered. Similar comparisons for Project applicants cannot be made on the basis of data presented in the tables. However, by combining information about minority group persons in Table 1 with information about non-minority group persons not included, we find that during November, 79 per cent of the minority group persons who registered with the Project were classified as blue collar workers whereas only 63 per cent of the non-minority group persons were so classified. Comparable figures for Oakland Employment Office applicants for November were: minority group persons, 69 per cent, and non-minority group persons, 42 per cent.

In summary, during the month of November, a greater percentage of blue collar workers entered the Project than entered the Oakland Employment Office. This statement holds true whether we refer to minority group persons or to non-minority group persons. However, the proportion of people classified for blue collar jobs exceeded the proportion classified for white collar jobs by a larger margin at the Project than at the Oakland Employment Office, and regardless of location, a larger proportion of minority group than non-minority group persons were classified for blue collar occupations.

In order to examine in greater detail the characteristics of

minority group persons who registered with the Project, let us look at the period May through July 1965. On the whole, there were only slightly more females applying than males (Table 2). Closer examination, however, reveals that this gross figure is somewhat misleading because only in one of the three Project offices did this condition hold. At both the 35th Avenue and West Oakland offices the number of males exceeded the number of females. However, the number of people involved at those two offices was not large enough to counterbalance the number of female applicants at the East Oakland office.

Observing Table 2 from a different perspective, we can see that the bulk of minority group persons entered the Project through the East Oakland and West Oakland Offices. Together, these two offices account for nearly 87 per cent of the applicants. It will be remembered that these two offices are located in neighborhoods where the population is primarily Negro, whereas the population in the vicinity of the 35th Avenue office is primarily Mexican-American.

In Table 3, we may observe a relationship which is obvious throughout the remaining tables in this section, i.e., that the majority of the applicants to the Project were classified for jobs which require little or no skill, as the term is conventionally used. Regardless of the sex of the applicant, the office of application, or the time of application, our data show that more than half of the minority group applicants to the Project were classified either for service, semiskilled or unskilled occupations. When Table 3 is compared with Tables 4 through 10, we see (for both males and females) that the proportion of low-skill job classi-

fications increased between the May through July period and the month of November. The actual figures are as follows: 68 per cent of the males and 61 per cent of the females were classified for low-skill jobs in the early period, while 84 per cent of the males and 72 per cent of the females were so classified in November. It is impossible to determine at this time whether the increase observed was the result of a steady trend over the months or whether November was unique.

Using another comparison drawn from Table 4, it should be pointed out that, at least in November, more minority group persons who registered at the Oakland Employment Office were classified for low-skill than for high-skill jobs. However, the proportion of applicants in low-skill jobs was substantially smaller at the Oakland Employment Office than at the Project. During November at the Oakland Employment Office, 67 per cent of the men and 52 per cent of the women were assigned low-skill job classifications.

Both in the spring and fall of 1965, the occupational classifications of Negro men who applied to the Project were fairly evenly distributed among the three low-skill occupations. The situation was quite different, however, for Negro women. Their occupational classifications were primarily confined to two categories, one (service) in the low-skill area and the other (clerical-sales) in the high-skill.

We are severely limited in our discussion of Mexican-Americans because of the small number of that group included in our present samples. Some background information is necessary at this point. Before drawing the samples, the decision was made that they would not be stratified in

order to include a predetermined proportion of Mexican-Americans each month. When quarterly data is examined, there are no problems; but for any single month, too few Mexican-Americans are selected to yield reliable distributions by occupation or other characteristics. For this reason the Mexican-Americans who registered in November were combined with "other minority group persons" who registered that month. Consequently, data concerning this combined group cannot be interpreted as if it applied strictly to Mexican-Americans; and we can make only tentative statements about them or about the patterns which may seem to exist among them.

Remembering the qualifications made above, it appears that the non-Negro minority group persons who registered at the Project differ from those who registered at the Oakland Employment Office in the following ways: at the Project, in the low-skill categories, service classifications were given much less frequently to both men and women than were semiskilled or unskilled ones. Among those who registered at the Oakland Employment Office, however, there was a strong tendency, especially among women, to seek service jobs.

It is interesting to note that the most significant variable affecting the occupational classification of women, especially Negro women, was age (Table 5). The proportion of women who were classified for clerical-sales and service occupations varies with age. For clerical-sales occupations, the proportion registered decreased as age increased; but, the reverse was true for service occupations. In other words, young Negro women looked for white collar jobs, whereas the older ones

tended to seek the more traditional service jobs. This pattern was consistent in the Project and in the Oakland Employment Office and it is a pattern which is generally characteristic of women.

No similar clear-cut age-occupation pattern emerged in the case of men (Table 5). Relatively few young men sought jobs in the service fields, but to a degree, as age increased, the proportion increased. At both the semiskilled and unskilled levels, the distribution of occupational classifications of men under 22 resembled that for men between 36 and 65 more than that for men between 25 and 35; proportionally fewer men looked for jobs at the semiskilled level, while proportionally more men sought unskilled jobs.

During the month of November, 28 per cent of all the men applying to the Project were under 22 years of age (Table 6). This finding is surprising not only because the focus of the Project has always been on adults, but also because by November, the Oakland Youth Opportunity Center was already partially operative at the Oakland Employment Office. Moreover, nearly one-quarter of the women who registered with the Project were under age 22 (Table 7). As in the case of males, this proportion was larger than the proportion in that age group that registered at the adult sections of the Oakland Employment Office.

As was indicated in the Introduction, although it is difficult to delineate clearly the major group of people which the Project serves, it appears that it was designed to serve long-term unemployed, adult minority heads of household who reside in Oakland. For this report we have not been able to determine the employment status of applicants, but

we have identified those persons who possess all of the other characteristics listed above and have labeled them "target" persons.

A larger proportion of target than non-target persons was consistently classified at the low-skill levels both at the Project and at the Oakland Employment Office (Table 8). Among males registered with the Project, the proportion of target males, as a whole, was smaller than the proportion of non-target males (Table 9). It was only at the unskilled level that there were more target than non-target males. For men applying at the Oakland Employment Office, however, target men outnumbered the non-target men although the difference between proportions was not as great.¹

In all categories including numbers large enough to permit calculation of the percentage distributions, fewer target females than non-target females applied (Table 10). This difference was most noticeable in the case of Project women given clerical-sales classifications and was least marked for those in semiskilled and unskilled classifications. At the Oakland Employment Office, on the other hand, the contrast was greatest at the semiskilled and unskilled levels where only 7 per cent of the women registering in those categories were target persons.

¹At the Project, 40 per cent of the males were target persons and 60 per cent were non-target. At Oakland Employment Office, 56 per cent were target and 44 per cent were non-target.

Summary

At present, our ability to compare the personal characteristics of applicants to the Project with those of applicants to the Oakland Employment Office is quite limited. The data not only are restricted for the most part to the month of November 1965, but also are deficient in that they do not permit comparisons by educational level, work experience, or length of unemployment. Both shortcomings will be corrected in future reports.

The findings at this point can be summarized as follows:

1. In November 1965, the Oakland Employment Office served numerically more than twice as many minority group persons as did the Project, but this group accounted for approximately nine-tenths of all people served by the Project, as compared with less than two-fifths of the Oakland Employment Office clientele.
2. In both operations a higher proportion of minority group persons were classified for blue-collar than for white-collar jobs, the proportion being slightly greater at the Project. Similarly, the proportion of non-minority group persons receiving blue collar classifications was smaller than the proportion of minority group persons so classified.
3. Similar tendencies were found when we compared the proportion of minority group persons classified for low-skill jobs (jobs in the service, semiskilled and unskilled areas) and for high-skill jobs (professional and managerial, clerical and sales, and skilled occupations). That is, minority applicants at both

operations were more frequently classified for low-skill jobs than for high-skill jobs, but the proportion so classified was larger at the Project. In both operations, however, the proportion of males assigned low-skill classifications was higher than the proportion of females. There was evidence indicating that the Project might have had an increasingly larger proportion of minority group persons at the low-skill level as the year progressed.

4. In terms of total numbers, minority group women used the Project during May through July to a slightly greater degree than men even though in two of the three Project offices more minority group men than women applied. In November, the proportion of women was even larger. Here again, however, we were unable to determine whether these findings were indicative of a steady trend or whether November was an atypical month.
5. In November 1965, both at the Project and at the Oakland Employment Office, three-quarters of the occupational classifications of Negro women were limited to service and clerical-sales fields.
6. Age seemed to play a very important part in the classification of Negro women. The proportion receiving service classifications varied directly with age, but the proportion receiving clerical and sales classifications varied inversely with age.
7. Negro men were evenly distributed among the three low-skill occupational categories.
8. Most non-Negro minority group applicants to the Project were

given semiskilled and unskilled job classifications. A significantly different situation existed at the Oakland Employment Office in November, however, when a sizeable proportion of women was assigned a classification for service jobs.

9. When we consider that the Project is designed to give particular attention to adult, minority group residents of Oakland who are heads of household (target persons), the data for November suggest that the Project is attracting this group of people to a lesser degree than minority persons who do not meet these qualifications. There is also evidence that, at least in the case of males, the Oakland Employment Office is serving a greater proportion of that group than is the Project. Only in the case of men with unskilled classifications did the Project receive more target than non-target applicants. In addition, a larger proportion of the target than non-target persons received classifications for low-skill jobs, and it was at the Project that the proportions were greatest.
10. The data we have (not all of which is reported), suggests that age and head of household status are the two most critical variables in differentiating between target and non-target persons. We discovered that, approximately one-fourth of applicants to the Project were less than twenty-two years old. This proportion is surprising since (a) the Project was designed to serve adults, (b) only slightly more than one-tenth of the minority applicants to the adult section of Oakland Employment

Office were youths, and (c) there was an embryonic Youth Opportunities Center at the Oakland Employment Office in November. This finding seems to underscore the fact that the Project accepts all people who go to its offices even though it is designed to service a particular group. But it probably also reflects a tendency for young minority group persons, among whom unemployment rates are relatively high, and who may have had discouraging experiences in previous jobseeking efforts through other channels, to entertain a hope that Project offices may prove to be a more successful avenue to a job.

SECTION 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF JOB OPENINGS

Data Presentation

Data on job openings available through Project offices during April through September 1965, are presented in Table 11. Comparisons can be made between direct openings and two types of indirect openings: (1) those given first to Oakland Employment Office, and (2) those given first to other CSES offices throughout the state (i.e., clearance orders).¹

In Tables 12 and 13, distribution of job openings by occupational category are presented. The number of openings in the two tables are identical, but the percentage distributions differ. In Table 12, the openings in each occupational category are distributed among the major job order sources. In Table 13, on the other hand, the percentages are computed to indicate how openings from each major source are distributed among occupational classifications.

Using data from Table 14, the anticipated permanence of direct and Oakland Employment Office openings in each occupational category may be determined. Clearance orders have been eliminated from this table because they indicated the availability of work outside of the immediate Oakland area, and are, therefore, considered a poor source of openings for Project applicants.

¹The Oakland Employment Service area consists of five cities: Oakland, Alameda, San Leandro, Emeryville, and Piedmont.

TABLE 11

TOTAL JOB OPENINGS BY SOURCE APRIL-SEPTEMBER, 1965

Month	Total		Indirect						Direct	
	N	%	Total		Oakland Employment Office		Other		N	%
			N	%	N	%	N	%		
Total	6449	100.0	5961	92.4	3523	54.6	2438	37.8	488	7.6
April	708	100.0	660	93.2	463	65.4	197	27.8	48	6.8
May	1230	100.0	1164	94.6	484	39.3	680	55.3	66	5.4
June	1053	100.0	805	76.5	576	54.7	229	21.8	248	23.5
July	1041	100.0	998	95.9	491	47.2	507	48.7	43	4.1
August	1063	100.0	1027	96.6	667	62.7	360	33.9	36	3.4
September	1354	100.0	1307	96.5	842	62.2	465	34.3	47	3.5

TABLE 12

JOB OPENINGS BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION AND MAJOR SOURCE, APRIL-JULY, 1965^{ab}

Occupational Classification	Total		Indirect						Direct	
			Total		Oakland Employment Office		Other			
					N	%					N	%
Total	3832	100.0	3627	94.7	2014	52.6	1613	42.1	205	5.3
Professional, etc.	19	100.0	9	47.4	9	47.4	0	.0	10	52.6
Clerical and Sales	1121	100.0	1084	96.7	1082	96.5	2	.2	37	3.3
Skilled	1547	100.0	1537	99.4	229	14.8	1308	84.6	10	.6
Agricultural, etc.	5	100.0	5	100.0	1	20.0	4	80.0	0	.0
Service	337	100.0	295	87.5	273	81.0	22	6.5	42	12.5
Semiskilled	621	100.0	580	93.4	305	49.1	275	44.3	41	6.6
Unskilled	182	100.0	117	64.3	115	63.2	2	1.1	65	35.7

^aOpenings from 21 job orders during this period have not been tallied because the information contained on them was insufficient for classification purposes.

^b200 openings for a special summer youth project have been excluded.

TABLE 13

JOB OPENINGS BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION AND MAJOR SOURCE, APRIL-JULY, 1965^{ab}

Occupational Classification	Total		Indirect						Direct			
			Total		Oakland Employment Office						Other	
					N	%	N	%					N	%
Total	3832	100.0	3627	100.0	2014	100.0	1613	100.0	205	100.0		
Professional, etc.	19	0.5	9	0.3	9	0.4	0	0.0	10	4.9		
Clerical and Sales	1121	29.3	1084	29.9	1082	53.7	2	.1	37	18.0		
Skilled	1547	40.4	1537	42.4	229	11.4	1308	81.1	10	4.9		
Agricultural, etc.	5	.1	5	.1	1	.1	4	.3	0	.0		
Service	337	8.8	295	8.1	273	13.6	22	1.4	42	20.5		
Semiskilled	621	16.2	580	16.0	305	15.1	275	17.0	41	20.0		
Unskilled	182	4.7	117	3.2	115	5.7	2	0.1	65	31.7		

^aOpenings from 21 orders during this period have not been tallied because the information contained on them was insufficient for classification purposes.

^b200 openings for a special summer youth project have been excluded.

TABLE 14

JOB OPENINGS BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, ANTICIPATED DURATION AND MAJOR SOURCE, APRIL-JULY, 1965^{ab}

Occupational Classification	Total		Three Days or More						Less Than Three Days	
	N	%	Total		Full Time		Part Time		Total	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Openings from Oakland Employment Office										
Total	2014	100.0	1968	97.7	1812	90.0	156	7.7	46	2.3
Professional, etc.	9	100.0	9	100.0	8	88.9	1	11.1	0	0.0
Clerical and Sales	1082	100.0	1048	96.8	933	86.2	115	10.6	34	3.2
Skilled	229	100.0	224	97.8	220	96.1	4	1.7	5	2.2
Agricultural, etc.	1	••	1	••	1	••	0	••	0	••
Service	273	100.0	269	98.5	247	90.5	22	8.0	4	1.5
Semiskilled	305	100.0	302	99.0	292	95.7	10	3.3	3	1.0
Unskilled	115	100.0	115	100.0	111	96.5	4	3.5	0	0.0

TABLE 14 CONTINUED

Direct Openings ^c											
Total	205	100.0	152	74.1	137	66.8	15	7.3	53	25.9	
Professional, etc.	10	100.0	9	90.0	8	80.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	
Clerical and Sales	37	100.0	36	97.3	28	75.7	8	21.6	1	2.7	
Skilled	10	100.0	10	100.0	10	100.0	0	.0	0	.0	
Agricultural, etc.	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .	
Service	42	100.0	27	64.3	24	57.2	3	7.1	15	37.5	
Semiskilled	41	100.0	40	97.6	40	97.6	0	.0	1	2.4	
Unskilled	65	100.0	30	46.2	27	41.5	3	4.6	35	53.8	

^aOpenings from 21 orders during this period have not been tallied because the information contained on them was insufficient for classification purposes.

^bPercentage distribution for categories containing less than five cases is not reported in this table.

^c200 openings from a special summer youth project have been excluded.

Discussion

Examination of Table 11 reveals that, except for June, the number of direct openings available to the Project remained relatively constant from April through September. It becomes abundantly clear that when we include the two orders for a summer youth project which resulted in 200 openings in June, the overall picture is distorted. For example, nearly one-fourth of the openings received in June came to the Project directly, but only approximately one-twentieth of the openings during the remaining five months arrived in that manner. Because of this type of distortion, the 200 openings have been eliminated from the remaining tables.

When we subtract the 200 from Table 11, we see that a significant pattern exists. The total number of indirect openings increased during the six-month period, while the number of direct openings remained relatively constant. However, only those indirect openings from the Oakland Employment Office displayed a steady increase; the number of clearance orders, on the other hand, fluctuated considerably from month to month. What appears to have happened was that the Oakland area experienced a general economic expansion from April through September, an expansion which was not reflected in the number of direct openings to the Project.

During the first four months of that period, the Project received most of its openings for skilled and clerical-sales occupations (Table 12). Eighty-four per cent of all the skilled jobs came from outside the Oakland area on clearance orders and 97 per cent of all clerical-sales jobs came through the Oakland Employment Office. In only two occupational categories did direct orders account for a sizeable proportion

of the openings received. Fifty-three per cent of the professional-managerial and 36 per cent of the unskilled openings arrived directly. It must be remembered, however, that during that time the Oakland Employment Office was not automatically sending professional-managerial openings to the Project. As a result, the proportion presented in Table 12 is misleading. Since there are indications that substantial numbers of professional-managerial job orders are received regularly by the Oakland Employment Office, we should pay little attention to the data concerning that category. We are left with the finding that only at the unskilled level did a relatively large proportion of the job openings come directly to the Project.

That unskilled jobs also constitute a substantial proportion of all openings obtained directly, is revealed in Table 13. Nearly one-third of all the openings obtained directly by the Project were at the unskilled level. When we add to this category the service and semi-skilled openings, roughly three-quarters of all the direct openings are accounted for. By comparison, three-quarters of the indirect openings were in the three high-skill categories. However, Oakland Employment Office and clearance orders were distributed in very different ways. Four-fifths of all clearance openings were for skilled jobs, but the majority (54 per cent) of Oakland Employment Office openings were for clerical-sales jobs and only 34 per cent were in the three low-skill occupations. In interpreting these data, however, it should be noted that openings in domestic service were not transmitted to Project offices from the Oakland Employment Office. Even if this qualification

is kept in mind, these comparisons certainly appear to support the speculation that the Project is perceived as a source of low-skill labor.

Roughly one-quarter of all the direct openings received were for jobs expected to last at most for two days (Table 14). While this proportion is considerably larger among openings received from the Oakland Employment Office (2 per cent), it is probably not indicative of Oakland Employment Office activity. This is explained not only by the fact that the Oakland Employment Office did not forward certain categories of openings, but also that it followed the practice of not sending its openings for short-term jobs to Project offices. Those short-term openings which did arrive at the Project were apparently sent through special arrangement or in error.

Finally, it should be noted that virtually all the short-term direct openings were restricted to unskilled and service occupations. Fifty-four per cent of all unskilled jobs and 38 per cent of all service jobs were expected to last less than three days.

Summary

In order to present a representative picture of the pattern of job openings received by the Project during the spring and summer of 1965, it was necessary to adjust the June data by eliminating two job orders containing 200 openings. The adjusted data yield the following findings:

1. The total number of job openings made available to the Project each month increased over the April through September period, although the number of direct openings remained substantially

unchanged. Since the increase in job openings reflected primarily the steady increase in openings received from the Oakland Employment Office, it appears that there was a general or seasonal expansion in Oakland's economy which was not reflected in the openings received directly by the Project.

2. Very few (five per cent) of all openings received by the Project were communicated directly to it. Even if clearance openings are eliminated, on the ground that they are much less likely to be filled by Oakland jobseekers than other openings, direct openings accounted for only nine per cent of all openings. Since direct orders are the only tangible evidence of results produced by the Project's job development component, this finding is extremely important and will be discussed at length in Section 6.
3. Three-fourths of the direct openings received were for low-skill jobs (service, semiskilled and unskilled). The proportion with which this should be compared, that of low-skill Oakland Employment Office openings, is only slightly more than one-third. It must be noted again, however, that this comparison is somewhat misleading because of the decision not to transmit professional-managerial openings from Oakland Employment Office.
4. One-third of all direct openings were for unskilled jobs, and these accounted for roughly one-third of the total unskilled job openings received by the Project.

5. The specialized nature of the openings which arrive through clearance orders is pointed up by the fact that 81 per cent. of all clearance openings were for skilled jobs and that 85 per cent of all skilled openings arriving at the Project came from clearance orders.
6. Slightly more than one-quarter of all direct openings received by the Project were for jobs expected to last no more than two days. The short-term jobs were most frequently in unskilled and service occupations. Comparison with Oakland Employment Office activity is difficult because even though a mere 2 per cent of all openings received from Oakland Employment Office were short-term jobs, this figure is not representative of the proportion of all jobs received by the Oakland Employment Office which were short-term. Openings for jobs expected to last less than three or more days were not supposed to be forwarded by the Oakland Employment Office.

In connection with these findings, however, it must be kept in mind that comparisons between the types of jobs received directly by the Project and through the Oakland Employment Office have consistently been made with caution because, although most of the openings received by the Project came through the Oakland Employment Office, the Project did not receive all of the openings originally received by the Oakland Employment Office. More specifically, professional-managerial, domestic and short-term openings were not forwarded to the Project.

SECTION 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF JOBS STARTED

Data Presentation

The distributions of jobs started by Project applicants from April through July 1965 are presented by source of order in Tables 15 and 16. Excluded from these tables are 26 jobs which were connected with the summer youth project. In Table 15, percentages were computed so that the proportion of jobs in each occupational category which resulted from direct and indirect orders can be seen. On the other hand, Table 16 was designed to show the occupational distribution within each source category.

From Table 17, the proportion of jobs started as a result of indirect and direct orders according to the anticipated duration of the job can be determined. The characteristics of jobs started which were expected to last three days or more are presented in Tables 18 through 20.

Discussion

Excluding the placements on the summer youth project, a total of 285 jobs were started¹ between the first of April and the end of July

¹Because the records kept by the employment service do not consistently reflect the date a person begins work, the Follow-up Study uses the date of that referral which led to subsequent hiring when "jobs started" are reported. Therefore, a more accurate statement would be that between April and July inclusive, there were 285 referrals which subsequently led to jobs. As a result of this different method of measurement, placement data presented by the Follow-up Study will differ from that presented in the Project Director's monthly reports.

TABLE 15
TOTAL JOBS STARTED^a BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION AND MAJOR SOURCE, APRIL-JULY, 1965^b

Occupational Classification	Total		Indirect						Direct	
	N	%	Total		Oakland Employment Office		Other		N	%
			N	%	N	%	N	%		
Total	285	100.0	171	60.0	160	56.1	11	3.9	114	40.0
Professional, etc.	4	..	1	..	0	..	1	..	3	..
Clerical and Sales	42	100.0	30	71.4	28	66.6	2	4.8	12	28.6
Skilled	9	100.0	8	88.9	6	66.7	2	22.2	1	11.1
Agricultural, etc.	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
Service	45	100.0	14	31.1	13	28.9	1	2.2	31	68.9
Semiskilled	104	100.0	93	89.4	93	89.4	0	.0	11	10.6
Unskilled	81	100.0	25	30.9	20	24.7	5	6.2	56	69.1

^a Twenty-six jobs which were started as a result of a special summer youth project have been excluded.

^b Percentage distribution for categories containing less than 5 cases is not reported in this table.

TABLE 16

TOTAL JOBS STARTED^a BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION AND MAJOR SOURCE, APRIL-JULY, 1965

Occupational Classification	Total		Indirect						Direct	
	N	%	Total		Oakland Employment Office		Other		N	%
			N	%	N	%	N	%		
Total	285	100.0	171	100.0	150	100.0	11	100.0	114	100.0
Professional, etc.	4	1.4	1	.6	0	.0	1	9.1	3	2.6
Clerical and Sales	42	14.7	30	17.5	28	17.5	2	18.2	12	10.5
Skilled	9	3.2	8	4.7	6	3.8	2	18.2	1	.9
Agricultural, etc.	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Service	45	15.8	14	8.2	13	8.1	1	9.1	31	27.2
Semiskilled	104	36.5	93	54.4	93	58.1	0	.0	11	9.7
Unskilled	81	28.4	25	14.6	20	12.5	5	45.4	56	49.1

^aTwenty-six jobs which were started as a result of a special summer youth project have been excluded.

TABLE 17
JOBS STARTED^a BY ANTICIPATED DURATION OF JOB AND MAJOR SOURCE OF ORDER, APRIL-JULY, 1965

Anticipated Duration	Total		Indirect						Direct	
			Total		Oakland Employment Office		Other			
	N	%			N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	285	100.0	171	100.0	160	100.0	11	100.0	114	100.0
Three Days or More	220	77.2	155	90.6	145	90.6	10	90.9	65	57.0
Less Than Three Days	64	22.6	16	9.4	15	9.4	1	9.1	48	42.1
Unknown	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.9

^aTwenty-six jobs which were started as a result of a special summer youth project have been excluded.

TABLE 18

JOBS STARTED WHERE ANTICIPATED DURATION WAS THREE DAYS OR MORE BY SEX
AND MINORITY GROUP STATUS, APRIL-JULY, 1965^a

Sex	Total		Minority Group Persons		Non-minority Group Persons	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	220	100.0	196	100.0	24	100.0
Male	169	76.8	151	77.0	18	75.0
Female	51	23.2	45	23.0	6	25.0

^aTwenty-six jobs which were started as a result of a special summer youth project have been excluded.

TABLE 19

JOBS STARTED^a WHERE ANTICIPATED DURATION WAS THREE DAYS OR MORE BY
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, GROUP MEMBERSHIP,
AND SEX, APRIL-JULY, 1965^b

Occupational Classification	Total		Minority Group Persons					
			Negro					
			Total		Target		Non-Target	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males								
Total	169	100.0	107	100.0	63	100.0	44	100.0
Professional, etc.	3	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Clerical and Sales	12	7.1	7	6.5	3	4.8	4	9.1
Skilled	8	4.7	3	2.8	3	4.8	0	.0
Agricultural, etc.	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Service	14	8.3	8	7.5	4	6.3	4	9.1
Semiskilled	91	53.8	58	54.2	35	55.5	23	52.3
Unskilled	41	24.3	31	29.0	18	28.6	13	29.5
Females								
Total	51	100.0	34	100.0	12	100.0	22	100.0
Professional, etc.	1	2.0	1	2.9	1	8.3	0	0.0
Clerical and Sales	22	43.1	19	55.9	5	41.7	14	63.6
Skilled	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Agricultural, etc.	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Service	17	33.3	8	23.5	4	33.3	4	18.2
Semiskilled	8	15.7	6	17.7	2	16.7	4	18.2
Unskilled	3	5.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

^aTwenty-six jobs which were started as a result of a special summer project have been excluded.

^bPercentage distribution for categories containing less than five cases is not reported in this table.

TABLE 19—Continued

Minority Group Persons							Non-minority		
Mexican American					Other & Unknown				
Total		Target		Non-target		Total		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males									
31	100.0	17	100.0	14	100.0	13	100.0	18	100.0
1	3.2	0	0.0	1	7.1	0	0.0	2	11.1
0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	2	15.4	3	16.7
1	3.2	0	.0	1	7.2	0	.0	4	22.2
0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
5	16.2	1	5.9	4	28.6	1	7.7	0	.0
20	64.5	15	88.2	5	35.7	7	53.8	6	33.3
4	12.9	1	5.9	3	21.4	3	23.1	3	16.7
Females									
10	100.0	1	..	9	100.0	1	..	6	100.0
0	.0	0	..	0	0.0	0	..	0	0.0
2	20.0	0	..	2	22.2	0	..	1	16.7
0	.0	0	..	0	.0	0	..	0	.0
0	.0	0	..	0	.0	0	..	0	.0
4	40.0	1	..	3	33.4	1	..	4	66.6
2	20.0	0	..	2	22.2	0	..	0	.0
2	20.0	0	..	2	22.2	0	..	1	16.7

TABLE 20

JOBS STARTED^a WHERE ANTICIPATED DURATION WAS THREE DAYS OR MORE BY
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, GROUP MEMBERSHIP,
AND SEX, APRIL-JULY, 1965^b

Occupational Classification	Total		Minority Group Persons					
			Negro					
			Total		Target		Non-target	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males								
Total	169	100.0	107	63.3	63	37.3	44	26.0
Professional, etc.	3	. .	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .
Clerical and Sales	12	100.0	7	58.3	3	25.0	4	33.3
Skilled	8	100.0	3	37.5	3	37.5	0	.0
Agricultural, etc.	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .
Service	14	100.0	8	57.2	4	28.6	4	28.6
Semiskilled	91	100.0	58	63.7	35	38.4	23	25.3
Unskilled	41	100.0	31	75.6	18	43.9	13	31.7
Females								
Total	51	100.0	34	66.6	12	23.5	22	43.1
Professional, etc.	1	. .	1	. .	1	. .	0	. .
Clerical and Sales	22	100.0	19	86.4	5	22.7	14	63.7
Skilled	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .
Agricultural, etc.	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .
Service	17	100.0	8	47.1	4	23.5	4	23.6
Semiskilled	8	100.0	6	75.0	2	25.0	4	50.0
Unskilled	3	. .	0	. .	0	. .	0	. .

^aTwenty-six jobs which were started as a result of a special summer youth project have been excluded.

^bPercentage distribution for categories containing less than five cases is not reported in this table.

TABLE 20--Continued

Minority Group Persons								Non-minority	
Mexican American						Other & Unknown			
Total		Target		Non-target		Total		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males									
31	18.4	17	10.1	14	8.3	13	7.7	18	10.6
1	..	0	..	1	..	0	..	2	..
0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	2	16.7	3	25.0
1	12.5	0	.0	1	12.5	0	.0	4	50.0
0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
5	35.7	1	7.1	4	28.6	1	7.1	0	.0
20	22.0	15	16.5	5	5.5	7	7.7	6	6.6
4	9.8	1	2.5	3	7.3	3	7.3	3	7.3
Females									
10	19.6	1	2.0	9	17.6	1	2.0	6	11.8
0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
2	9.1	0	.0	2	9.1	0	.0	1	4.5
0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
4	23.5	1	5.9	3	17.6	1	5.9	4	23.5
2	25.0	0	.0	2	25.0	0	.0	0	.0
2	..	0	..	2	..	0	..	1	..

1965 (Tables 15 and 16).¹ Fifty-six per cent of them resulted from openings received from the Oakland Employment Office, and 40 per cent resulted from direct openings (Table 15). When Table 15 is compared with Table 12, we discover that although a very small percentage of the total openings received by the Project was filled by Project applicants, a relatively large proportion of the placements resulted from direct openings. While only 5 per cent of all openings received by the Project came to it directly, 40 per cent of all jobs started were a result of direct openings. Using data included in Tables 12 and 15, calculations were made which highlight these findings still further. Taken as a whole, one job was started for every thirteen job openings received by the Project, although, when the source of job openings is held constant, striking differences emerge. On Oakland Employment Office orders there was one job started for every twelve openings; for clearance orders, however, the ratio was 1:14.7; but, on direct orders, it was 1:2.² It is clear that, relative to the number received, more Project applicants were placed through direct orders than through any other source. Unfortunately, direct openings accounted for the smallest group of openings received by the Project.

Direct openings were particularly important in the placement of unskilled Project applicants; half of them were for unskilled labor (Table 16), accounting for almost 70 per cent of all the jobs started in that

¹Of the 26 jobs started in connection with the special summer youth project, 5 women obtained clerical jobs and 21 men obtained unskilled jobs.

²The ratios are given in this rather cumbersome form in order to make it clear that the jobs started during the period were not necessarily a result of openings received during the same period.

category (Table 15). Jobs started in service fields constituted the second largest portion resulting from direct openings. These two occupational categories accounted for more than three-quarters of all the placements made on the basis of direct openings, although only 53 per cent of direct job openings were in these categories. It appears that employers placing orders directly with the Project hire workers for service and unskilled jobs at a higher rate than would be expected on the basis of job openings alone. It is not now possible to determine the cause of this phenomenon.

Almost one-fourth of the jobs started from April through July were expected to last less than three days (Table 17). That the proportion of short-term jobs started was greater than the proportion of openings for similar jobs is revealed when we compare Tables 14 and 17. On the one hand, 2 per cent of the openings received from Oakland Employment Office were for less-than-three-day jobs (Table 14), while 9 per cent of the jobs started on Oakland Employment Office openings were in that category (Table 17). On the other hand, 26 per cent of openings received directly were for short-term jobs (Table 14), while 42 per cent of the jobs started on direct openings were in that category (Table 17). It does seem clear that, at least from April through July 1965, employers who placed orders directly with the Project hired a larger percentage of people for short-term jobs than would have been expected.

It was mentioned earlier that slightly more women than men applied to the Project (Table 2). The proportion of men who obtained jobs, however, was much larger than the proportion of women who did (Table 18).

At least three-quarters of all the jobs started, regardless of minority group status, went to men. On the other hand, the jobs women did obtain tended to be those at higher status levels (because of clerical-sales placements), than those of the men (Table 19). Only 55 per cent of the women who started three-day-or-more jobs during the months examined were employed in a low-skill job, as opposed to 86 per cent of the men. A striking imbalance is seen, however, when three-day-or-more jobs started by minority group men are compared with those started by non-minority group men: 91 per cent of the former, and only 50 per cent of the latter group obtained low-skill jobs. Almost the reverse was true in the case of women: 51 per cent of the minority group women who found employment obtained low-skill jobs, whereas, 83 per cent of the jobs found for non-minority women were at the low-skill level.

For both minority group men and women, more than three-quarters of all the three-day-or-more jobs started were concentrated in two occupational categories. Eighty-one per cent of the jobs started by men were either semiskilled or unskilled, and 67 per cent of the jobs started by women were either clerical-sales or service. In the case of men, semiskilled jobs predominated for both Negroes and Mexican-Americans; this tendency was strongest in the case of Mexican-American target males, 88 per cent of whom obtained semiskilled jobs.

While the placement patterns for men were basically similar for Negro and Mexican-American men, such was not the case for the minority group women. The majority of Negro, but not Mexican-American, women were employed in the office or store: 56 and 20 per cent respectively

started clerical or sales jobs (Table 19). In interpreting these comparisons, however, it should be kept in mind that the percentage distribution for Mexican-American women is based on a small number of cases. It should also be noted that most of these jobs went to non-target women. Roughly 11 per cent of all jobs started went to non-minority group persons (Table 20). This percentage was consistent with their relative number among the applicants (Table 1). It is important to note, however, that a disproportion does exist when status or skill level of the jobs is considered. Half of all the skilled jobs and one-quarter of the clerical-sales jobs obtained by men went to non-minority males. However, slightly less than one-quarter of the service jobs for which women were hired went to non-minority persons. These findings indicate that minority group men obtained jobs which were at lower levels than those obtained by non-minority group men. Minority group women, on the other hand, obtained higher level jobs than did non-minority group women.

Summary

The major findings about the characteristics of jobs started by Project applicants from April through July are summarized as follows:

1. The total number of jobs started was very small relative to the number of job openings received by the Project during that period.
2. Direct openings provided the best source of placement, and clearance orders, the worst.
3. A larger proportion of jobs started on direct openings were

for unskilled and short-term work than would have been predicted on the basis of the distribution of openings.

4. Relative to the total number of jobs obtained, men fared much better than women both in absolute terms and as compared with the intake ratios.
5. Most of the jobs obtained by minority men were semiskilled and unskilled (in that order); while those obtained by minority women tended to be clerical-sales and service jobs.
6. In relation to the skill level of the jobs obtained, minority group men fared the worst, in that they were placed in jobs of lower level than either non-minority men or by Negro women. Qualitatively, Negro women (especially the young, non-heads of household) fared best, obtaining a preponderance of clerical-sales jobs.

SECTION 5

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN JOB SEEKERS, JOB OPENINGS AND JOBS STARTED

Data Presentation

Although some comparisons between job seekers, job openings and jobs started have been made, it is possible to extend these comparisons somewhat in this section. One of the difficulties with earlier comparisons was that it was not always possible to use a common time period. In this section, however, only data for the months of May through July will be used. They are presented in Tables 21 and 22. The major differences between the two tables are that job openings are included in the former, but not in the latter, and that data for males and females are presented separately in Table 22, but not in Table 21. It should be pointed out that Table 21 is a numerical representation of a portion of the data graphically presented in Figure 1.

Discussion

The Project received roughly twice as many openings for jobs in the Oakland area as it received new job applications between May and July 1965 (Table 21). Although the ratios of openings to new applicants varied at the different occupational levels, those for semiskilled and unskilled occupations were consistent with the overall 2:1 ratio. It should be noted that over half of the jobs started were distributed between these two categories. The most favorable ratio existed for the

TABLE 21

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN JOBS STARTED, JOB OPENINGS AND JOB SEEKERS, MAY-JULY, 1965

Occupational Classification	Numbers			Ratios ^c			
	Total Jobs Started	Job Openings ^a	New Job Seekers	Total Job Seekers ^b	Jobs Started to Job Openings ^a	Jobs Started to New Job Seekers	Jobs Started to Total Job Seekers ^b
Total	219	1908	961	2992	2:1	1:2	1:14
Professional, etc.	3	13	79	235	••	••	••
Clerical and Sales	32	952	201	506	5:1	2:1	1:16
Skilled	6	179	59	135	3:1	1:1	1:23
Agricultural, etc.	0	1	9	31	••	••	••
Unknown	0	0	3	3	••	••	••
Service	40	249	290	902	1:1	1:4	1:23
Semiskilled	63	249	158	475	2:1	1:2	1:7
Unskilled	75	260	162	705	2:1	1:3	1:9

^aOnly direct openings and openings received from Oakland Employment Office are included.^bFigures of total job seekers are based on an estimate of the May active file plus the new applicants entering during May through July.^cRatios involving numbers less than 5 were not computed for this table.

TABLE 22
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN JOBS STARTED AND JOB SEEKERS BY SEX, MAY-JULY, 1965

Occupational Classification	Numbers			Ratios ^b	
	Total Jobs Started	New Job Seekers	Total Job Seekers ^a	Jobs Started to New Job Seekers	Jobs Started to Total Job Seekers ^a
Males					
Total	175	487	1735	1: 3	1:10
Professional, etc.	2	41	159	..	..
Clerical and Sales	11	57	140	1: 5	1:13
Skilled	6	53	110	1: 9	1:18
Agricultural, etc.	0	8	30	..	..
Unknown	0	1	1	..	..
Service	24	97	338	1: 4	1:14
Semiskilled	59	116	406	1: 2	1: 7
Unskilled	73	114	551	1: 2	1: 8
Females					
Total	44	474	1257	1:11	1:29
Professional, etc.	1	38	76	..	..
Clerical and Sales	21	144	366	1: 7	1:17
Skilled	0	6	25	..	..
Agricultural, etc.	0	1	1	..	..
Unknown	0	2	2	..	..
Service	16	193	564	1:12	1:35
Semiskilled	4	42	69	..	..
Unskilled	2	48	154	..	..

^aFigures of total job seekers are based on an estimate of the May active file plus the new applicants entering during May through July.

^bRatios involving numbers less than 5 were not computed for this table.

clerical-sales occupations where, because of the extremely large number of openings (most of which arrived indirectly through the Oakland Employment Office), five times as many jobs were available as there were applicants. On the other hand, because of the large number of applicants, there were actually slightly more people seeking service jobs than there were openings. In interpreting these ratios, however, it should be kept in mind that applicants at the Oakland Employment Office were also competing for indirect job openings.

When the number of applicants who registered prior to May, but who were still looking for jobs after that month, i.e., total job seekers, is used in the computations, the overall ratio of openings to applicants is 1:2. Again, differences were noted at each occupational level. In this case, only at the clerical-sales and skilled levels were there insufficient backlogs of applicants to effect a reversal in the ratio.

When both the ratios of jobs started to job openings and jobs started to new job seekers are considered, it seems evident that, for low-skill jobs, both of the following conditions were true: (1) a relatively large proportion of openings was filled, and (2) a relatively large proportion of seekers found jobs. Such was not the case for the high-skill jobs, however. The ratio of placements to seekers for clerical-sales was similar to that for the low-skill jobs, but as would be predicted from the earlier discussion, the number of jobs started in relation to job openings was quite small. It must be emphasized, however, that these statements refer to relative ratios at the various

skill levels. The overall proportion of job openings filled by project applicants was low, and the overall proportions of new job seekers and, more emphatically, of total job seekers who were placed were also low.

That placement ratios for women were lower than for men is apparent from examination of Table 22. Less favorable ratios exist both for new and total job seekers at the individual job levels as well as when all levels are combined. It is even clearer that during this period (just as we found during longer periods) placement of women was virtually restricted to clerical-sales and service fields. Men, on the other hand, were most successful in obtaining semiskilled and unskilled jobs, although they were not limited to these two fields.

At this time we have minimal data on aggregative placement ratios for the Project and the Oakland Employment Office. Although it has not been presented in tabular form, it will be discussed briefly here. For each of the months November 1965 through January 1966, a sample (of 200 persons) has been drawn from the minority group applicants to the Project and to the Oakland Employment Office. Approximately 7 per cent of the records of these 200 persons have not been located at this time.

The current data indicate that during the entire three month period, there were no significant differences between the proportions of minority group persons hired through the Project within three months of registration, and of those hired through the Oakland Employment Office within the same time period. For those minority group persons who registered during November and December, approximately 15 per cent obtained at least one job within three months--regardless of whether registration had

taken place at the Project or at the Oakland Employment Office. Only about 9 per cent of those who registered in January 1966 found work within three months. This seems to be a reflection of normal seasonal fluctuation in employment. Although there were slight differences between the proportions who found work using the two sections of the Oakland Employment Office and the three¹ offices of the Project, on the whole, they were insignificant.

None of the refined analyses which will ultimately be made have been attempted. Although a clearer picture should emerge from these, a salient finding is apparent from a rough analysis of the data: not only did a relatively small proportion of minority group persons obtain jobs through the employment service in Oakland, but also, the Project appeared to be no more successful in effecting minority group placement than was the main office. In light of the discussion in Section 1, these results suggest that during the November 1965 to January 1966 period, the Project had little success in terms of its goal of obtaining jobs for minority group persons.

¹Four in January.

SECTION 6

JOB DEVELOPMENT

An Overview

An integral part of the Project (and of CSES as a whole) is an activity known as "job development". The term seems to refer to a wide range of interaction between representatives of the Project and the "employer community". Activities range from attempts to persuade employers to use the Project when workers are needed, instead of, or in addition to, using other recruitment channels (e.g., classified advertising, personal recommendations, private agencies, or the main Oakland Employment Office) in efforts to solicit jobs for specific applicants.

Job development is of particular importance to the Project for two reasons. First of all, because the Project is new and has no employer clientele of its own, every direct order received at first must have been the result of its own job development efforts. That is, an employer who used the Project must have been informed of its existence through personal contact with someone involved with it, through publicity in the mass media, or through formal contact, most probably receipt of one of the form letters sent periodically to employers in the Oakland area, but in some cases through an "industry-wide meeting" arranged for selected groups of employers by those engaged in job development. Later, as the Project has developed, knowledge of it has probably been transmitted through conversations with employers who use it or employees who have learned of it from friends,

relatives, unions, churches, or through informal conversation.

Secondly, the Project was designed to serve a special group of people who have had severe difficulty obtaining employment in Oakland in the past. Probably for these two reasons, "job development" was viewed as an integral component of the Project, and is considered as one of its unique features. It was outlined in the proposals as follows: "Volunteer business, industrial and union leaders are to engage in an organized program of personal diplomacy to open the doors to greater minority employment".¹

As a result of original Project design and subsequent modification, job development has become the responsibility of three groups of people: the CSES Staff, members of the Advisory Committee, and the job development Specialists (formally known as "Directors of Industry and Labor Liaison").

The duties of the California State Employment Service staff in respect to job development are fully outlined in its manual² but, in brief, these activities consist of telephone calls and visits to employers for one of the following purposes: (a) to promote the employment service, (b) to solicit job orders for groups of applicants, or (c) to solicit a job order for a specific applicant. Although interviewers may engage in job development in the course of their work, CSES also has "Employer Relations Representatives", two of whom³ were assigned to the Project originally.

¹Ibid., p. 1.

²Local Office Manual, Department of Employment, State of California.

³Although still working at the Project as interviewers, they no longer engage in special job development. As of January 1965, (when the Employer Relations Representatives were made interviewers), the only job development at the Project offices has been done via telephone, i.e., no field visits have been made.

Half of the time of these representatives is devoted exclusively to "developing jobs", that is, making visits and engaging in other public relations activities with firms who do not regularly use the employment service.

As outlined in the proposal, the Advisory Committee (volunteer business, labor and minority representatives), through "personal diplomacy" is responsible for encouraging the use of the Project through its members' daily contacts with business, industry, and labor. In addition to this, members who represent employers "personalize" letters which are periodically sent to business and industrial firms¹. These letters urge employers to use the Project and to complete an enclosed questionnaire concerning any immediate and proposed future employment requirements.

The Specialists, in addition to handling the mechanical aspects of the mailings (i.e., arranging for printing, addressographing, personalization and the stuffing of envelopes), receive the responses, supervise their recording and tabulation, and transmit certain information to the Project² or to other appropriate places. The Specialists report that they have sent letters to every large employer (those who employ above 25) as well as to many of the smaller ones in the area. The extent to which

¹Letters are sent quarterly to business firms; one mailing was sent to union locals and was personalized by labor members.

²Until December 1965, the Specialists' secretary would call one of the Project offices when an "immediate" lead was received. One of the CSES staff members then telephoned the employer, took any actual orders, and transmitted them to other offices. At present, these leads are turned over by the Administrative Assistant to the Project Director who immediately calls the employer, takes the orders, and notifies the offices (a much more efficient system, since these men share office space).

this information has been disseminated within a firm, of course, is unknown. Letters have been sent quarterly since October 1964. They use "leads" from mailings as guides for follow-up visits to employers and as bases for invitations to "industry-wide meetings" (although these are not restricted to respondents to mailings).

In the course of these contacts, the Specialists provide education and information about the Project's program and encourage use of and cooperation with it. Immediate openings developed in this way are telephoned to a CSES staff member who calls the employer to verify his need for employees and to record the information essential to writing the actual order. It is not until an order is written that the Project may take any action (i.e., refer applicants). Some of those contacted have no immediate vacancies and may call the Project when they arise. The Specialists, then, have little continuing communication with employers--they view the liaison function as establishing initial contact between Project and employer rather than acting as a permanent link between the two, as the denotation of "liaison" would lead one to expect.

Data Presentation and Discussion

While examining the results of job development activity, it is important to keep in mind certain applicant characteristics reported earlier. As was stated in Section 2, approximately 90 per cent of the applicants to the Project were minority group members (Table 1), and roughly 75 per cent of the applicants were Negroes--about half males and half females (Table 4). Most of the applicants were unemployed and only 34 per cent of the minority group applicants were seeking white collar or

skilled jobs (Table 3).

Table 23 provides the information needed to compare Project applicants with the employed populations of the Bay Area, Alameda County, and Oakland, as well as with the non-whites in Oakland. The most relevant data available for Mexican-Americans are shown in the occupational distribution of people with Spanish surnames in the Bay Area for 1960. The vast discrepancy between skill level of jobs held by non-whites and by the total population of Oakland may be seen by examining this table. Although it must be remembered that the Spanish surname data cannot be considered precisely representative of Mexican-Americans in Oakland, they are useful to a degree, and indicate that they are not as heavily concentrated in the less skilled occupations as are the non-whites.

Examination of the table reveals that the distribution of non-white employment reported in the 1960 census varied inversely with that of total employment. This was true for both sexes. The occupational distribution of Project applications between May and July 1965 (Table 3) indicates that male applicants were seeking jobs no higher in the status continuum than the jobs held by non-white males six years earlier. In fact, even greater proportions of applicants were seeking service, semiskilled and unskilled jobs than those of non-whites who held such jobs in 1959¹.

¹It must be emphasized that comparisons between (a) people who held jobs, and (b) people who want jobs are dangerous. These are being made only because (1) the census gives no occupational breakdown of job seekers, only of job holders; and (2) no other source exists from which data of this type (employment status by color) are available. Extreme caution must be exercised when drawing inferences from basically incomparable data. For instance, when a change away from "traditional" employment toward majority employment is noted, it may mean (a) an increase in skill level and training, (b) an increase in aspirations (in those previously trained

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION ^a OF SELECTED GROUPS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, SEX, AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE, 1960

Occupational Classification	Total Employed Population ^b				Non-white ^c		Spanish Surname ^d
	San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	Alameda County	City of Oakland	City of Oakland	City of Oakland	San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	
Males							
Percentage	94	93	90	84		87	
Professional, etc.	27	25	21	8		11	
Clerical and Sales	17	15	16	10		11	
Skilled	20	21	18	12		20	
Service	8	7	8	14		9	
Semiskilled	15	17	17	19		24	
Unskilled	7	8	10	21		12	
Females							
Percentage	93	92	89	86		• •	
Professional, etc.	19	20	17	8		• •	
Clerical and Sales	47	44	42	19		• •	
Skilled	1	1	1	0		• •	
Service	17	18	20	45		• •	
Semiskilled	9	9	9	12		• •	
Unskilled	0	0	0	2		• •	

^aPercentages do not add to 100 because "agricultural" and "occupation not reported" categories have been omitted.^bU. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-137. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962.^cIbid., Data for Non-white population include only those Non-whites living in census tracts with 400 or more such persons (51 of 102; 96 percent of the Negroes and 74 percent of the other Non-whites*).^dState of California, Department of Industrial Relationships, Division of Fair Employment Practices, California of Spanish Surname, San Francisco, 1963.

The situation was not quite the same among women. Whereas the male applicant demand pattern was more discrepant from the 19⁶⁰~~59~~ total employment pattern than the 19⁶⁰~~59~~ non-white employment pattern was from the total employment pattern, such was not the case for females. The female employment demand in 1965 (as reflected in Project applications) appeared less discrepant from the 19⁶⁰~~59~~ total employment pattern than did the 19⁶⁰~~59~~ non-white employment pattern. The change was most obvious in the clerical-sales and service occupations and was definitely weakest at the unskilled level.

Examination of job development activities is limited at this time because the data available are neither complete nor comprehensive. Nevertheless, this minimum of information provides a rough basis from which to evaluate the efforts of those concerned with job development. As a whole, these data were collected from the perspective of placement, and since those most crucial to a comprehensive evaluation of job development will not be available until the next report, no conclusions regarding the efficacy or efficiency of the various methods may be drawn at this time.

The most conspicuous fault of the data is their failure to furnish precise information regarding the "source" of an order. It was not until January 1966, that the Project offices were asked to ascertain the

and underemployed or in those recently or presently preparing for an occupation), (c) a decrease in people actually employed which led to an increase in demand for jobs of a particular type, (d) no actual change at all (i.e., examination of data showing unemployed job classifications in 1960 would show a status quo), or (e) change in direction opposite to that indicated (i.e., comparison of data showing unemployed job classifications in 1960 with the similar current data would show that even more "traditional" employment is being sought today). Therefore, we cannot legitimately infer increased or decreased skills or demand for specific jobs from the data.

"solicitor"¹ of every order received. A large number of the orders placed prior to that date were recorded as "employer call-ins". For purposes of this report, these have been termed "solicitor unknown".²

Lack of information about the source of the orders makes it impossible to say, even tentatively, anything about the efficacy of the job development activities of the Advisory Committee. It is possible that members of the Advisory Committee did influence other employers, but that the orders which resulted were classified as "employer call-ins" since members of the Project staff had not been specifically directed to make note of all referral sources. However, it is also conceivable that no orders were creditable to the "personal diplomacy" campaign.³

Examination of the records of Project applicants who were hired was made to determine how many were employed by firms or organizations with representation on the Advisory Committee. These tabulations appear in Table 24. Thirty-seven per cent of the people who obtained full time jobs expected to last three days or more as a result of direct orders

¹For lack of a better word, the term "solicitor" will be used through out this paper in reference to any of the three groups of job developers.

²The first term implies that the orders were made through the initiative of the employer. Since at this time, we are unable to either prove or disprove that implication, we have chosen the alternate term.

³It must be mentioned that the nature of job development is one which does not lend itself to precise record-keeping. For a member of the Advisory Committee to request that a friend with whom he has just concluded a "personal diplomacy" campaign be sure to mention his name when calling the Project, not only seems petty, but also, the probability of its being heeded (if made) seems very low. It is possible that a number of orders about which we have no "source of solicitation" knowledge were a result of Advisory Committee member activity, but there is no evidence which would support or refute this possibility. In the future, however, such a determination will be feasible.

TABLE 24

JOBS STARTED WHERE ANTICIPATED DURATION WAS THREE DAYS OR MORE AS A RESULT OF
DIRECT ORDERS, BY SOLICITOR AND ORGANIZATION, APRIL-JULY, 1965

Solicitor	Organization		
	Total	Representation on Advisory Committee	No Representation on Advisory Committee
Total	91	34	57
Calif. State Employment Services Staff	20	1	19
Specialists	13	7	6
Collective	26	26	0
Unknown	32	0	32

were employed by Advisory Committee organizations. The category labeled "Collective" refers to two orders totaling 200 openings by an agency conducting a summer youth project.¹ Examination of the others shows that most were credited to the Specialists, and that these seven jobs accounted for most (54 per cent) of the people hired as a result of the Specialists' efforts. In addition to those enumerated in Table 24, three persons were hired by Advisory Committee firms from indirect orders, i.e., from orders placed at the main office and transmitted to the Project.

It appears then, that although the total number of Project applicants employed by the Advisory Committee firms is small, it accounts for 16 per cent of those who found jobs expected to last three days or more through direct orders received by the Project during the summer of 1965. Furthermore, when the Project receives orders from these firms, "credit" tends to be given to the Specialists, indicating that the Advisory Committee members do not consider job development a primary function of the Advisory Committee. Whether they are engaged in a campaign of "personal diplomacy" in the course of which they influence fellow businessmen or whether they consider that this area, too, should be delegated to the Specialists, cannot be determined from available data.

The number of openings received from direct and indirect sources is shown in Table 25, as are the job development divisions to which the

¹The openings referred to above were officially credited to the Specialists--however, efforts were made by the Project Director as well as by one of the office supervisors to have the Project included as a possible source of participants, and the agency which sponsored the summer project itself has a representative on the Advisory Committee. Securing these orders, then, seems to have been a joint effort of all three of the solicitor "arms" of job development.

TABLE 25
OPENINGS BY SOURCE OF ORDER, APRIL-JULY, 1965

Item	Total Openings		Openings for three or more days	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	4032	100.0	3933	100.0
Indirect	3627	90.0	3581	91.0
Oakland Employment Office	2014	49.9	1968	50.0
Other	1613	40.1	1613	41.0
Direct	405	10.0	352	8.9
Unknown	110	2.7	59	1.5
California State Employment Service Staff	66	1.6	64	1.6
Specialists	29	.7	29	.7
Collective	200	5.0	200	5.1

direct openings are credited by the CSES staff. Note that the summer project (Collective) orders accounted for half of the direct openings secured during the four months studied and that more than twice as many openings were obtained by the CSES staff as by the Specialists.

For the most part, only data concerning jobs expected to last three or more days will be presented in this section. Because the Project's emphasis is on adult heads of household, it is felt that short term employment contributes relatively little to the solution of their employment problems. It must be restated that the choice of "three days or more" as a definition of "permanent" employment was made necessary by the CSES definition of "permanent" placement; and that furthermore, there are no data yet available which could supply information as to whether someone hired in May 1965 for a "permanent" job is working today, or indeed, was working in June 1965.

We shall look most closely at direct openings and their results (jobs started) for it is only from these that the special job development aspects of the Project may be assessed at this time. In the future, data will be gathered which will allow comparisons to be made among the different methods used by the various solicitors. Comparisons of direct and indirect openings in terms of occupational distributions have been made earlier (see Table 12).

The figures in Table 26 represent the occupational distributions of job openings developed by the solicitors and of those of unknown solicitation. The appearance of different patterns between the solicitors could indicate that their methods vary, that they are differentially successful,

TABLE 26

DIRECT JOB OPENINGS WITH ANTICIPATED DURATION OF THREE DAYS OR MORE,
BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION AND SOLICITOR, APRIL-JULY, 1965^a

Occupational Classification	Solicitor									
	Total		Unknown		OSES Staff		Specialists			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Total	152	100.0	59	100.0	64	100.0	29	100.0		
Professional, etc.	9	5.9	2	3.4	5	7.8	2	6.9		
Clerical and Sales	36	23.7	23	39.0	4	6.3	9	31.0		
Skilled	10	6.6	3	5.1	4	6.3	3	10.3		
Agricultural, etc.	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0		
Service	27	17.8	10	16.9	15	23.4	2	6.9		
Semiskilled	40	26.3	5	8.5	33	51.5	2	6.9		
Unskilled	30	19.7	16	27.1	3	4.7	11	38.0		

^a200 openings for a special summer youth project have been excluded.

or that they concentrate on different types of employers or on special occupational areas. We have established that they use different methods; we do not have information at this time indicating what proportion of the solicitation attempts led to receipt of job orders. However, we can examine information pertinent to the remaining possibility. Note that the majority of the Specialists' openings were for clerical-sales and unskilled jobs, while most of the CSES openings fell into semiskilled and service classifications. The patterns varied inversely and suggest that division of labor may have taken place among solicitors. However, there is no direct evidence that such a policy decision was in effect from April through July 1965. The concentrations are not those one would expect if the divisions had been made on a logical basis, and there is no evidence in the narrative reports of the Specialists, in the minutes of the Advisory Committee meetings, or in discussions with the CSES staff, that any plan of complementary activity had been considered or attempted.

A significant related issue is that some of the leads furnished the Project staff by the Specialists resulted in orders requesting people having professional or technical qualifications and experience so high that the orders were disregarded by the staff. The explanation given for failure to write the orders was that the Project had no applicants qualified to fill such jobs. It was decided in July 1965, to write all orders which came to the Project from the Specialists, regardless of requirements. Since our study months predate this decision, it is very possible that some of the Specialists' orders were not considered and, therefore, that the distribution of openings presented in Table 26 does not truly reflect

the results of solicitation by the Specialists. We would expect, however, that more complete information would only intensify the differences already evident in Table 26. For these reasons, there seems to be no basis for a belief that a policy decision brought about the different patterns of openings resulting from CSES staff and Specialist efforts at job solicitation.

Table 26 also contains the occupational distribution of openings of unknown solicitation, which appear to approach the applicant demand more closely than do those of either solicitor. Despite the lack of detailed information on these orders, we may speculate about their character. It is possible that the occupational distribution of these openings may reflect the trends of the labor and job markets as a whole. However, it has been noted that neither the female nor the male applicants' occupational profiles match those of the employed population of Oakland as reported in the 1960 Census; neither does their combined profile match that derived from calculations of Oakland's total employed labor force. There is a striking similarity between the distribution of "Unknown" openings and the pattern of employment for Oakland's female population which, as was noted, is severely restricted in choice of jobs. In essence then, the orders resulting from unknown solicitors, the employer "call-ins", which we had speculated might mirror the general job market, have instead, a very strong tendency to reflect a discriminatory job market.

In Table 27, the occupational distribution of those applicants hired for permanent full time jobs from orders received directly and indirectly, is shown. Remembering that Project applicants probably have a better chance to be hired from direct orders, we see that 31 per cent of

TABLE 27

JOB'S STARTED WHERE ANTICIPATED DURATION WAS THREE DAYS OR MORE BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION
AND MAJOR SOURCE OF ORDER, APRIL-JULY, 1965^a

Occupational Classification	Total		Indirect ^b		Direct ^b	
	Number	Percentage of jobs started in occupational category	Percentage of all jobs started by job seekers	Number	Percentage of jobs started in occupational category	Percentage of all jobs started by job seekers
Total	210	100.0	100.0	145	69.0	69.0
Professional, etc.	3	• •	1.4	0	• •	0.0
Clerical and Sales	32	100.0	15.2	21	65.6	10.0
Skilled	7	100.0	3.4	6	85.7	2.9
Agricultural, etc.	0	• •	.0	0	• •	.0
Service	30	100.0	14.3	12	40.0	5.7
Semiskilled	99	100.0	47.2	89	89.9	42.4
Unskilled	39	100.0	18.5	17	43.6	8.0

^aPercentage distribution for categories containing less than five cases is not reported in this table.

^bIndirect refers only to those jobs started which resulted from orders placed directly to the Oakland Employment office. Jobs started as a result of Direct orders exclude those of youths who participated in the summer youth project.

the jobs started result from the orders whose openings account for only ten per cent of the total. These direct orders seem to be a relatively fruitful source of service and unskilled jobs, since 60 and 56 per cent (respectively) of the placements in those categories were due to direct orders. However, when absolute numbers are considered, the results seem much less impressive, e.g., the 40 people placed account for 19 per cent of all Project placements.

In Table 28 the types of job development that generated orders resulting in jobs for Project applicants are presented. These data reveal that, although 9 (nearly one-third) of the Specialists' openings were in clerical-sales occupations (Table 26), only one person was hired in this category as a result of their efforts as compared with 9 persons in unskilled jobs, a category for which the Specialists provided 11 openings. The CSES staff's distribution, on the other hand, more closely resembled that of its openings.

Examination of Table 29 indicates that, for all occupational categories but one, the majority of the jobs started resulted from openings of unknown solicitation. The exception was the semiskilled area, in which 70 per cent of all the jobs started were credited to staff solicitation.

In Table 30, sex differences in types of jobs started may be seen very clearly. Females were hired primarily in two occupational categories: clerical-sales and service. Women who were hired for jobs which resulted from direct orders were hired only in these two categories, while indirect openings enabled them to find work in semiskilled and

TABLE 28

JOBS STARTED AS A RESULT OF DIRECT ORDERS WHERE ANTICIPATED DURATION WAS THREE DAYS OR MORE,
BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION AND SOLICITOR, APRIL-JULY, 1965^a

Occupational Classification	Solicitor							
	Total		Unknown		GSES Staff		Specialists	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	65	100.0	32	100.0	20	100.0	13	100.0
Professional, etc.	3	3.3	0	0.0	3	15.0	0	0.0
Clerical and Sales	11	17.6	7	21.9	3	15.0	1	7.7
Skilled	1	1.1	0	.0	1	5.0	0	.0
Agricultural, etc.	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Service	18	19.8	10	31.3	6	30.0	2	15.4
Semiskilled	10	11.0	2	6.2	7	35.0	1	7.7
Unskilled	22	47.2	13	40.6	0	0.0	9	69.2

aTwenty-six jobs which were started as a result of a special summer youth project have been excluded.

TABLE 29

JOBS STARTED AS A RESULT OF DIRECT ORDERS WHERE ANTICIPATED DURATION WAS THREE DAYS OR MORE,
BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION AND SOLICITOR, APRIL-JULY, 1965^{ab}

Occupational Classification	Solicitor							
	Total		Unknown		CSES Staff		Specialists	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	65	100.0	32	49.2	20	30.8	13	20.0
Professional, etc.	3	..	0	..	3	..	0	..
Clerical and Sales	11	100.0	7	63.6	3	27.3	1	9.1
Skilled	1	..	0	..	1	..	0	..
Agricultural, etc.	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
Service	18	100.0	10	55.6	6	33.3	2	11.1
Semiskilled	10	100.0	2	20.0	7	70.0	1	10.0
Unskilled	22	100.0	13	59.1	0	0.0	9	40.9

^aPercentage distribution for categories containing less than 5 cases is not reported in this table.

^bTwenty-six jobs which were started as a result of a special summer youth project have been excluded.

TABLE 30

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF JOBS STARTED WHERE ANTICIPATED DURATION WAS THREE DAYS OR MORE, BY SEX, OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION^a
AND MAJOR SOURCE OF ORDER, ^b APRIL-JULY, 1965^c

Sex	Professional		Clerical-Sales		Skilled		Service		Semiskilled		Unskilled	
	Indirect	Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect	Direct	Indirect	Direct
Total Number	0	3	21	11	6	1	12	18	89	10	17	22
Percentage	..	..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	..	..	52.4	9.1	100.0	100.0	58.3	38.9	91.0	100.0	82.4	100.0
Female	..	..	47.8	90.1	..	..	41.7	61.1	9.0	..	17.6	..

^a Agricultural occupations have been omitted from this table because there were no jobs started in this category.

^b Indirect refers only to those jobs started which resulted from orders placed to the Oakland Employment Office, Jobs started as a result of Direct orders exclude those of youths who participated in a summer youth project.

^c Percentage distribution for categories containing less than five cases is not reported in this table.

unskilled occupations.

The same data are presented in Table 31 in a different manner. Twenty-one, or 95 per cent, of the women who started direct-opening jobs were placed in clerical-sales or service categories, whereas, only 15 (58 per cent) of those who got indirect jobs were so placed. In the case of males, it should be noted that, with respect to both the quantity and quality (skill level) of jobs started, the more fruitful source was indirect orders. Not only was the total number of jobs started from this source much larger (119 versus 43), but also, placements in semiskilled jobs were more numerous--81 (68 per cent) versus 10 (23 per cent). The figures for unskilled jobs, by contrast, were 14 (12 per cent) and 22 (51 per cent).

Comparison of the data contained in Table 31 with the 1960 Census data (Table 23) reveals that the jobs started by Project applicants from April through July 1965 did not resemble the pattern of employment which existed for the City of Oakland as a whole in 19⁶⁰~~59~~. It may appear that, since the hires which resulted from direct orders (Table 31) are fairly similar in the occupational distribution to the jobs desired by the applicants (Table 3), the Project did an effective job in "meeting the needs" of its applicants. However, it has been established that the applicants tend to seek work which differs little from that held by non-whites in 1960, and that, despite great differences in the occupational distributions of the openings generated by the different sources, the distributions of hires which resulted from these openings, did not differ greatly. One could conclude, on the basis of this evidence, that

TABLE 31

JOBS STARTED WHERE ANTICIPATED DURATION WAS THREE DAYS OR MORE, BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION,
AND MAJOR SOURCE OF ORDER^a, APRIL-JULY, 1965

Occupational Classification	Total		Indirect		Direct	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males						
Total	162	100.0	119	100.0	43	100.0
Professional, etc.	2	1.2	0	0.0	2	4.7
Clerical and Sales	12	7.4	11	9.2	1	2.3
Skilled	7	4.3	6	5.0	1	2.3
Agricultural, etc.	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Service	14	8.7	7	5.9	7	16.3
Semiskilled	91	56.2	81	68.1	10	23.2
Unskilled	36	22.2	14	11.8	22	51.2
Females						
Total	48	100.0	26	100.0	22	100.0
Professional, etc.	1	2.1	0	0.0	1	4.5
Clerical and Sales	20	41.7	10	38.5	10	45.5
Skilled	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Agricultural, etc.	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0
Service	16	33.3	5	19.2	11	50.0
Semiskilled	8	16.7	8	30.8	0	.0
Unskilled	3	6.2	3	11.5	0	0.0

^a Indirect refers only to those jobs started which resulted from orders placed directly to the Oakland Employment Office. Jobs started as a result of Direct orders exclude those of youths who participated in the summer youth project.

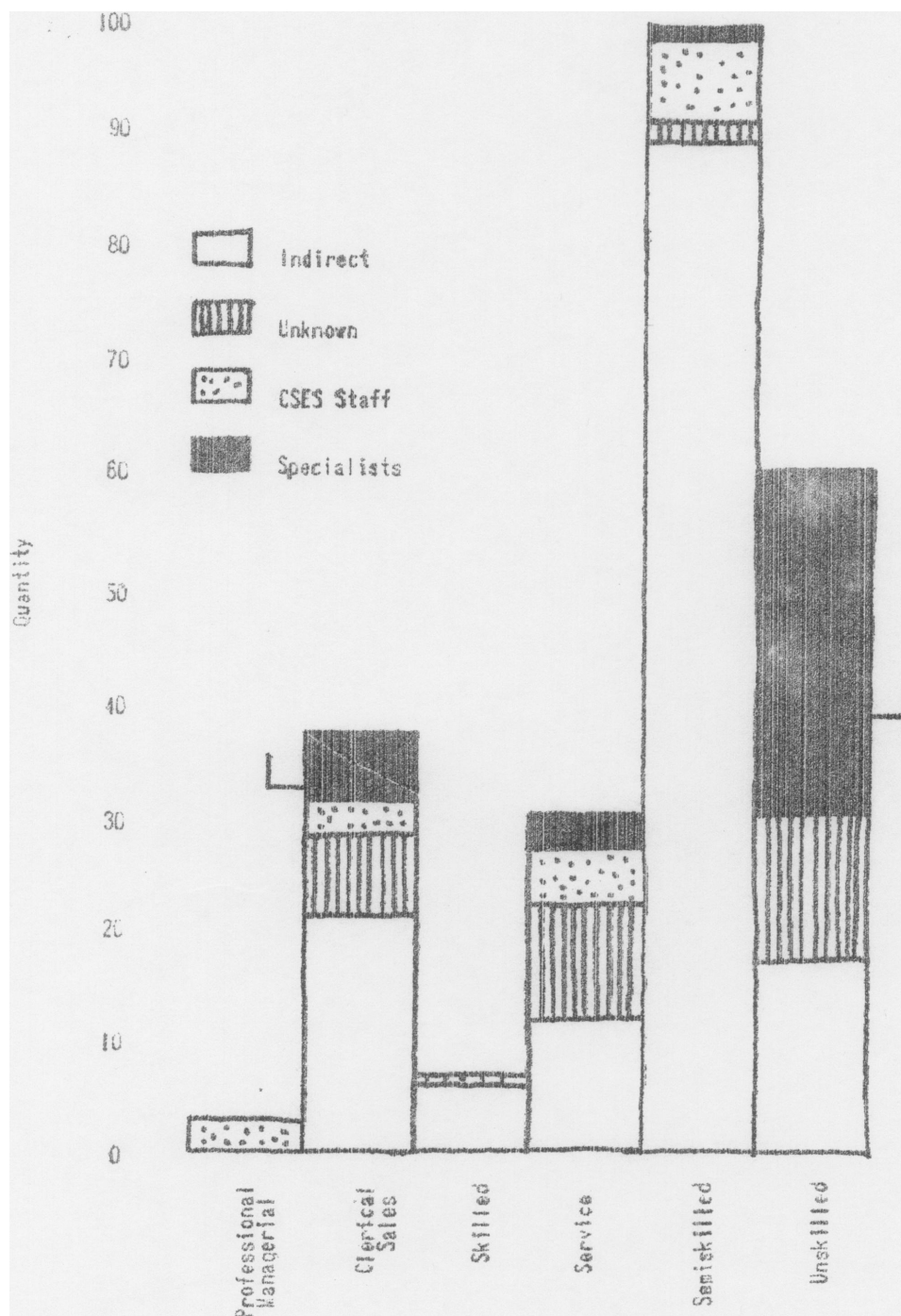
the applicants hired for jobs for which there were direct orders were hired in proportions which are characteristic of traditional minority hiring patterns, regardless of other possibilities.

A strong argument against this conclusion is the contention that applicants were not qualified for jobs which would result in a pattern different from the existing one. The validity of this statement can only be tested in our next report. However, at no time during this period were more direct jobs than applicants available in a particular category. Excluding the anomalous summer project openings, the ratios of direct openings to total job seekers for the study months were: professional-managerial, 1:26; clerical-sales, 1:14; skilled, 1:14; service, 1:33; semiskilled, 1:12; and unskilled, 1:24. An important consideration, mentioned in Section 1, must not be ignored, i.e., no differentiation such as that of a "good" secretary as opposed to an "excellent" secretary, can be made from available data. Another point to be remembered is that specialization usually varies with skill level; e.g., the fact that four Ph. D's in chemistry are looking for work is of no interest to a man who wants to hire a physicist.

Figure 4 illustrates some of the data already discussed. It represents the total number of positions secured through the Project which were expected to last three days or more. It also identifies the source or solicitor who provided or elicited the positions. If the temporary summer project placements (those above the line in the clerical-sales and unskilled labor bars), are disregarded, it is apparent that jobs started on direct orders to the Project compared favorably (numerically) with the

FIGURE 4

NUMBER OF THREE DAY OR MORE FULL TIME JOBS² STARTED BY APPLICANTS
APRIL - JULY, 1965



²Excludes jobs resulting from clearance orders.

main office only in the service and unskilled occupations. Even here, the majority of the hires resulted from orders telephoned to the Project by employers who may or may not have been solicited by the staff or by the Specialists. In only one category (professional-managerial) did the job development efforts of the Project, relatively and numerically, surpass those of the main office. The explanation for this seems apparent. As was indicated in Section 3 of this report, the main office did not routinely send professional and managerial orders to the Project during this period of time.

The Project staff was never directed to keep a record of job orders developed by members of the Advisory Committee. Therefore, we have no data which could indicate the influence exerted by the Advisory Committee on behalf of the Project either on its member's firms or on the community at large. Even the relatively small number of people hired by these firms was credited to the Specialists. There is also some evidence to indicate that the firms of the Advisory Committee members were not using the Project exclusively, that is, they hired Project applicants through orders placed with the main Oakland office, and not with the Project. The participation of members of the Advisory Committee is linked with that of the Specialists (who were selected by the Employment Development Subcommittee of the Advisory Committee¹), since most of their identifiable job development efforts are connected in some way with them, i.e., mailings, TV spots, "industry-wide" meetings, etc. In essence, there are indications that the

¹Minutes of the Oakland Area Minority Employment Advisory Committee meeting of October 7, 1964.

Advisory Committee has largely withdrawn from active participation in job development, delegating its responsibility to the Specialists.

The Specialists themselves made a poor showing. The fact that the majority of the jobs started as a result of openings credited to them were obtained from Advisory Committee firms has been mentioned, but, one of its implications has not yet been discussed. In view of the likelihood that firms which provide executives to the community¹ for such an endeavor would have an existent "enlightened" employment policy, one would expect that very little convincing or educating would need to be done to encourage their use of the Project. The majority of the Specialists' orders, then, came from firms which would be expected to have a propensity to cooperate and which have a considerable financial investment in the Project in the form of the services of their executives.

Prior to the study months, two mailings to businesses and industries in the Area had been sent, and the third letter was mailed June 4, 1965. As was mentioned, the letters are signed by an Advisory Committee member and were originally the idea of the Employment Development Subcommittee, but the Specialists consider the letters their domain, probably since the responses are directed to them. Any sizeable influence exerted by this wide periodic coverage of the community has yet to be manifested in the form of job orders.

The California State Employment Service, by its withdrawal of the

¹Members of the Advisory Committee participate as representatives of organizations rather than as private citizens; their time has been valued at \$40.00 per hour and was considered part of the community's contribution to the demonstration project.

Employer Relations Representatives from the field, and the restriction of staff activity to telephone calls, appeared to indicate that it, too, felt its responsibility had been shifted to the Specialists. The interviewers engaged in no more job development activity than they would have at the main office. In spite of this, their efforts were the most noteworthy in that they produce quantitatively and qualitatively higher and more consistent results during the months that were studied.

Summary

Job Development, as it has evolved in the Project, consists of attempts to encourage employers to use the Project rather than other sources to find employees. It was planned that it would be carried out by the Project staff, members of the Advisory Committee, and (later) the job Specialists. Although sufficient evidence is not yet available to allow conclusive statements to be made, it appears that both of the former groups, to a considerable extent, have delegated their job development responsibilities to the latter group, the Specialists.

Although relatively few of the job openings available to applicants from May through July 1965 resulted from Project job development activity, Project applicants had a higher likelihood of being hired for the few that were available.¹ The reasons for this are still unclear, for many factors are operating here. The first two, mentioned earlier, are fairly clear cut: (1) a shorter transmission time is involved in direct orders, and (2) Project applicants must compete for the indirect openings with the

¹Actually, the highest proportion of jobs started from direct orders comes from employers who may not have been contacted by a solicitor.

more numerous applicants to the main office. Other reasons may not be immediately apparent: (3) Since employers who contact the Project are aware that most of its applicants are minority group members, they (unlike those who contact the main office) may not place orders for jobs for which they would be unwilling to hire minority group members. (4) It is possible that they place orders only for jobs for which they have traditionally hired non-whites and that when such jobs are vacant they call the Project rather than the main office. (5) Others might be willing to hire minority group members if they are "qualified", a phrase which may frequently mean that tests which sometimes discriminate against minority group persons must be passed or that educational requirements (inappropriately high for some jobs) must be met. It appears that all of these factors may be operating to some extent, but their relative importance remains unknown.

It does appear, however, that the job development campaign, theoretically geared to educate and inform the "employer community", results in distributions of three-day-or-more openings and "jobs started" that tend to conform much more closely to a traditional discriminatory employment pattern than do parallel distributions derived from Oakland Employment Office orders.

Analysis of data collected during the short period of time covered by this report, indicates that the content of "education and information" disseminated about the Project should be seriously reconsidered and probably revised. There is a need for efforts directed toward changing the apparent image of the Project as a supplier of minority group persons for

traditional minority-held jobs.

Furthermore, our evidence suggests that, in spite of drastically limited job development activity, the CSES staff is more effective than the Specialists in soliciting jobs, both in terms of quantity and diversity. However, there is not yet sufficient evidence to report in detail the relative effectiveness of the different methods (field visits, advertising, mass meetings, mailings, and telephone solicitation) used by the different job developers.

Whether the goals of the Project are to secure work (any work) for the unemployed, to find minority group workers for firms who "need" them in order to fulfill government contract requirements, or to open "new doors" to minority group members, the job solicitors (CSES staff, Advisory Committee and Specialists) have made little progress toward fulfilling them.

Admittedly, there are serious social and economic obstacles in Oakland to the achievement of such goals. However, the overall employment situation has improved in recent months, and the federal government has increased its spending considerably. In light of these influences, it seems reasonable to suppose that Project results will appear more impressive in the future. It also seems apparent, however, that more vigorous and more closely coordinated job development activities are needed.

SECTION 7

TRAINING

It will be recalled that one of the purposes of the Project was to train minority and other disadvantaged workers, and that another was to upgrade underemployed workers. Presumably, this objective was to be accomplished, at least in a good many instances, through training for higher-level jobs. Although a detailed study of the training aspects of the Project has not yet been undertaken, a brief history and a rough summary of what has been accomplished so far will be presented.

The long delay before jobseekers were enrolled in training programs was one of the chief defects of the Project in its early stages. Not until the Project had been in operation for more than five months was it possible for any applicants to be enrolled in an MDTA training program, and even after that, the number enrolled increased very slowly in relation to the number of applicants. By February 1965, when the first trainees were enrolled, the number of currently active applicants had climbed to 1,487, and only 265 placements had been achieved.

The delay in developing training programs to which applicants could be referred cannot be blamed entirely on those administering the Project. The cumbersome and lengthy procedure for approval of MDTA training proposals must bear a large share of the blame, as well as the fact that total nation-wide appropriations for MDTA training have been small in relation to the need, even though they seem large in terms of dollars. This

situation should be alleviated as the new "Skills Center" (a five million dollar facility for training and retraining, which also provides basic education courses) that opened April 11, 1966, expands. The 200 members of its first class are receiving only basic education at this time, but preliminary approval of the first group of vocational courses has been obtained, and once the curricula have been designed and approved by the Board of Education and Department of Employment, classes may begin. These courses are to be constituted as follows:

<u>Course</u>	<u>Proposed number of trainees</u>	
Total	925	
Electro-mechanical repair	240	
Duplicating machine serviceman		40
Adding machine serviceman		40
Calculating machine serviceman		40
Office machine serviceman		40
Cash register serviceman		40
Typewriter serviceman		40
Automobile maintenance	180	
Gas and Diesel Truck mechanic		40
Automobile mechanic		40
Automobile body and radiator repair		40
Automobile brake and front end repair		20
Automobile accessories installer		20
Automobile service station attendant		20
Drafting	120	
Draftsman, mechanical		40
Draftsman, topographical		40
Draftsman, architectural		40
Communications	140	
Electrician, communications		100
Telephone operator		40
Food Handling	65	
Cook and pantryman		40
Waiter - Waitress		25

Miscellaneous	180	
Dental technician		40
Welder, combination		60
Electrical appliance serviceman		40
Machine operator, specialist		40

According to the CSES staff involved with the Skills Center, 55 per cent of the training slots are to be allocated to Project applicants. Although once it is in full operation, the Skills Center will provide opportunities for varieties of training to many Project applicants, the training that has been available up to the present has been quite limited in both quantity and type.

Even by January 1966, the number of persons who had been involved in training programs was exceedingly small in relation to the total number of applicants who had come to project offices, not only over the life of the project, but also in relation to the current active file. A total of 105 persons had completed training, and 134 were currently enrolled. It must be kept in mind, in this connection, that the Department of Labor made funds available (for the training aspects of the Project) providing for only 500 trainees. Even if this number seemed adequate at the planning stage, which is difficult to imagine, it is very small in relation to the total number of applicants who have sought services from the program.

Moreover, the number of occupations in which training programs have thus far been initiated is extremely limited. Of the 105 applicants who had completed training by January 1966, 57 had taken a taxi driver training course, and 48 had been trained as ward maids. The courses in which there were trainees enrolled were as follows:

<u>Course</u>	<u>Number of trainees</u>
Sales	18
Licensed vocational nurse	1
Steno	4
Clerk general	42
Clerk general	24
Clerk general	24
Taxi driver	<u>8</u>
	121

It should be noted that the clerk general courses were for Spanish-speaking persons, thus serving an important need for individuals whose earning capacity was restricted because of insufficient knowledge of English. It should also be noted that, on the basis of a report dated February 10, 1966, recruitment was under way for seven training projects which had been approved and funded, including courses for salespersons, bank tellers, groundsman, assistant jailers, radio dispatchers, housekeepers, and grocery checkers (Spanish-speaking). If projected enrollment is achieved, 220 persons will receive training in these programs.

There were also a substantial number of project proposals awaiting approval and funding, including courses for duplicating machine operators, telephone operators, clerk typists, and patrolmen. Projected enrollment in these programs totaled 270. Plans were also pending for basic education--multi-occupation courses for 340 trainees. Occupations for which these persons would ultimately be trained were: laborer, orderly, nurse's aide, ward maid, hospital janitor, kitchen helper, trayline workers, and licensed vocational nurse.

Note that most of the training courses financed by Project funds have been in the clerical-sales and service fields. (Upgrading seems most

apparent in the clerical field wherein most of the positions are held by women. The majority of the training programs to be offered by the Skills Center, on the other hand, are for skilled trades, and the major portion of the remainder consists of instruction in semiskilled fields. This superficial examination of training opportunities indicates that the training offered thus far through Project courses has tended to benefit women primarily, but that there is evidence that the prospects for upgrading of men should improve now that the Skills Center is becoming operative.

Thus, although the training achievements of the Program have been extremely limited thus far, there are indications that there may be some improvement in the future, particularly now that the Skills Center is opening. There has been a need, not only for expansion of training opportunities, but also for greater emphasis on training programs which will bring about a substantial upgrading of skills.

SECTION 8

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PROJECT AND OAKLAND EMPLOYMENT OFFICE

Data Presentation

It was pointed out early in this report that the most crucial test that the Follow-up Study will be able to make of Project effectiveness will be a comparison of its placement results with those of the Oakland Employment Office. Although such data are not yet available, we can examine the differences which exist between the two operations. During the spring and summer of 1965, two flow charts were constructed for this purpose. The activities of the two operations change frequently, more so in the Project than at the main Oakland office. Even so, the descriptions which follow present a reasonably reliable comparison of the operations in existence during the key months covered in this report.

Differences between the Oakland Employment Office (main office) and the Project were of two types: first, there were "operational differences" which resulted from organizational characteristics unique to each; and second, there were "non-operational differences", most of which relate to differences in the personnel making up the staff of each.

Operational Differences

1. Completing the Application

At the main office, a person coming in to apply had to follow directional signs to the correct reception point for his occupation or

age. At the reception point, he was required to discuss his background and reasons for applying before he obtained an application.

At both the Industrial and Service and Youth and Student reception points, the applicant was instructed to stand at a counter while filling out his application. After the application was completed and returned to the receptionist, the applicant remained at the reception point until he was called for a "completion interview".

At the Project, a person making application was immediately greeted by an interviewer and was then provided with a seat for filling out the application. When the applicant completed his part of the form, he was called for an interview, usually by the person who had greeted him.

At the main office, but not at the Project offices, there was generally a waiting period between a person's filling out his application and the completion interview.

2. Supplementary Information Form

Unlike the main office, each new applicant for Project services was given a supplementary information sheet to be filled out with the application. The information sheet included detailed questions on education, income, training needs, etc.

3. Occupational Sections

At the main office, applicants were separated into three different groups according to occupation and age. There were separate sections for adult applicants interested in (1) commercial and professional, or (2) industrial and service jobs; and there was a separate

Youth and Student Section. At none of the Project's three offices were these distinctions made. Youths were not encouraged to apply and no contacts had been established with local high-school. Students over 21 years of age were treated no differently from other applicants.

4. Liaison Staff

The main office had an Unemployment Insurance Liaison Representative, which the Project did not have, and main office applicants could receive unemployment insurance forms at the reception points. However, the Project had made the services of Family Service Bureau Caseworkers available to all the applicants, even though they were physically located at only two of the Project offices.

5. Specialized Programs

The main office had an "Experience Unlimited" program for mature workers with executive experience which had not been established at the Project.

6. Job Discrimination Complaints

At the main office, there was a standard procedure for handling complaints about job discrimination. The Minority Specialist and the Manager had been given specific responsibilities in handling such cases. No such procedure was established at the Project.

7. Placement Specialists

In the Project offices, the functions of the main office placement specialists (i.e., Minority Specialist, Parolee Specialist, Older Worker Specialist, and Veterans Employment Representative) were

combined and added to the functions of the Project Special Placement Officer.

Unlike the main office Parolee Specialist, the Special Placement Officer had no direct contact with the Committee of 1000 Parolee Placement Coordinating Center, even though she did work with parolees and probationers. In addition, the Special Placement Officer did not process individual training applications for veterans, unlike the main office's Veterans Employment Representative.

The main office Minority Specialist, Older Worker Specialist, and Veterans Employment Representative kept a special reference file on the applicants with the most potential, while discouraging the other applicants from returning for specialized service. This procedure was not practiced by the Project Special Placement Officer.

8. Placement Efforts of the Selection and Referral Officers

At the Project office in East Oakland, the Selection and Referral Officer made a special attempt to place applicants who had been considered but rejected for training because they were unable to meet all of the entrance requirements. At the main office and at the Project office in West Oakland, the Selection and Referral Officers did not make any similar efforts. However, the West Oakland Office Selection and Referral Officer occasionally referred applicants who had been rejected for training to the Special Placement Officer or to the Placement Interviewer for special consideration, depending upon the reasons for the rejection. Since there was no Selection and Referral Officer at the 35th Avenue Office, the training needs of those

applicants were handled by the East Oakland Selection and Referral Officer.

9. Referral to the Placement Officer

At the main office, the Completion Interviewers would refer any applicant to the Placement Officers if there were job opportunities in the applicant's occupation or if it seemed likely that a job could be developed for him. At the East Oakland Project Office, an applicant was referred to the Placement Interviewer only if there was a demand for his occupation or if he had been classified as a professional, sales, clerical, or skilled manual worker. If the applicant was classified as a service, semiskilled, or unskilled worker, and there was no present demand for his occupation, his application was kept in the active file for consideration as job openings were received. At the West Oakland Project Office, an effort was made to refer all applicants to the Placement Interviewer for an interview and for possible job development, regardless of the demand for each applicant's occupation or the completion interviewer's assessment of his job development potential. (There was only one interviewer at the 35th Avenue Office, and he tried to develop a job for each applicant, regardless of his occupation or skills.)

10.. Inactive Applications..

If an applicant did not contact the main office within 90 days after the last contact date, his application was automatically placed in the inactive file, thereby eliminating him from consideration for job openings. If he did not contact the main office within

one year after the last contact date, his application was destroyed.

At the Project offices, if an applicant did not contact the Project within 90 days after the last contact date, he was either sent a postcard or telephoned to determine whether he was still interested in the Project's services. Only when the applicant did not acknowledge the postcard within a certain period of time, or if he replied that he was no longer interested, was the application placed in the inactive file. Inactive applications are not to be destroyed until the Project is terminated.

Non-Operational Differences

1. Race as a Special Placement Problem

The Selective Placement Officer at the main office did not consider race a special placement problem, but it was included as such by the Project Special Placement Officer. What would seem to be the apparent reason for the difference is that the main office had a Minority Specialist, whereas at the Project, the duties of a Minority Specialist had been added to those of the Special Placement Officer. However, discussion with the Selective Placement Officer and the Special Placement Officer revealed that the basic cause was the difference in their views of the amount of racial discrimination per se existing in Oakland.

2. Minority Representation of the Staff

Most of the staff members at the main office were not minority group members, whereas the reverse was true at the Project offices.

3. Staff Budget

The staff budget (number of man-hours allotted to the office) at the main office was based upon the previous year's work load. The work load was a combination of the number of: completed applications, job and training placements, counseling interviews, and applicants tested.

The staff budget at the Project was not determined on a year-to-year basis, but was to be constant for the length of the Project. The original estimate of staff needs was based upon the anticipated volume of applicants and the budget was not expected to be changed after the first year's experience when work load figures would be available.

The result of the different methods of financing staff needs was that the interviewers at the main office were placed on a more restrictive time schedule than their counterparts at the Project. The following are examples. At the main office, five or six applicants were scheduled to see four or five completion interviewers every fifteen minutes, which meant that approximately twelve minutes were budgeted for every completion interview. At the Project, there was no scheduling of completion interviews and, theoretically, completion interviewers could take as much time with each applicant as they felt was necessary. At the main office, counseling interviews were scheduled at half-hour intervals, while at the Project, the interviews were scheduled at one-hour intervals. At both the main office and at the Project, the counselors were required to write up their interview

findings before the next scheduled applicant arrived for his interview. Although the placement interviewers and specialists both at the main office and at the Project offices did not work on a schedule, in actuality, less time could be devoted to each applicant at the main office because the entire staff was required to meet a projected workload figure for established time periods.

4. Training

The possibility of referring applicants for training under California Senate Bill 20 or for individual MDTA training was clear to persons responsible for training referrals at the main office, but not at the Project.

5. Selection of Staff

At the main office, the staff was selected from lists of persons who had passed the required test for a position. For example, Employment Claims Assistants (lowest level in regard to qualifications necessary) were selected by the office manager from the group who had gained eligibility by passing a special examination. Employment Service Trainees (next highest level) were referred by the area office that administers their examination to the main office manager to be interviewed for available openings. In 1964, a person who had passed the area examination had only a limited choice of offices in which he could work. He could reject positions at only three offices to which he had been referred before losing his place on the list of eligible employees.

When staffing the Project offices, Employment Service offices

in the surrounding area were notified of the opportunities, in the hope that all the Project employees would be experienced volunteers from these offices. It appears that, because of (1) the nature of the Project, (2) the nature of the recruiting campaign, and (3) the delay in original funding, not as many employees with extensive experience were obtained as had been desired. When all the funds for staff were made available after the Project operations were under way, additional employees were recruited from the main office lists of persons who had recently passed the qualifying examinations for the open positions.

In order to examine more closely the difference which existed in experience between Project and main office staff, Tables 32 and 33 are presented. Unfortunately, the time period covered in these tables is November to December 1965, a period during which the Project had begun hiring additional personnel as a result of supplementary funds obtained from the Labor Department.¹ Marked differences are clearly evident during these months, however, and they were even more extreme in earlier months.

From Table 32, we can see that for November 1965, the Project had a much larger proportion of inexperienced workers giving service to its applicants than did the Oakland Employment Office. Also, even though the difference between the proportion of least experienced interviewers and most experienced interviewers (level 1 versus level 3)

¹The additional funding received in the fall of 1965 was a direct outgrowth of the attention directed on Oakland after the August disturbance in Los Angeles. The supplementary money permitted an expansion of personnel from 16 to 41.

TABLE 32

INTERVIEWER TIME WORKED BY ORGANIZATION, JOB LEVEL, AND MONTH^a

Job Level	Project				Oakland Employment Office					
	Number	Percentage	Hours	Percentage	Hours/Person	Number	Percentage	Hours	Percentage	Hours/Person
November, 1965										
Total	13.0	100.0	1941.5	100.0	149.4	45	100.0	5507.5	100.0	122.4
1	9.0	69.2	1301.5	67.0	144.6	16	35.6	1197.5	21.7	74.8
2	2.0	15.4	320.0	16.5	160.0	9	20.0	1440.0	26.2	160.0
3	2.0	15.4	320.0	16.5	160.0	18	40.0	2550.0	46.3	141.7
4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2	4.4	320.0	5.8	160.0
December, 1965										
Total	19.0	100.0	3000.0	100.0	157.9	44	100.0	5996.0	100.0	136.3
1	6.1	32.1	1090.0	36.3	178.7	14	31.6	1172.0	19.5	83.7
2	8.9	46.8	1212.0	40.4	136.2	9	20.5	1656.0	27.6	184.0
3	1.0	5.5	182.0	6.4	184.6	19	43.2	2800.0	46.7	147.4
4	3.0	15.6	506.0	16.9	171.0	2	4.5	368.0	6.2	184.0

^a Figures are based on California State Employment Service "reporting month" which were as follows: November 1-24 November 26--December 28.

TABLE 33
RATIO OF HOURS WORKED BY INTERVIEWERS TO NUMBER OF JOB SEEKERS^a

Month (1965)	Project			Oakland Employment Office		
	Total Hours	Job Seekers	Ratio	Total Hours	Job Seekers	Ratio
	Number	Number	Hours:Seekers	Number	Number	Hours:Seekers
November	1941.5	2965	1:1.5	5507.5	12,071	1:2.2
December	3000.0	2781	1:0.9	5996.0	13,299	1:2.2

^a Active file at beginning of month plus new applicants during month.

at the Oakland Employment Office was not very large, the more experienced people worked a considerably longer number of hours than did the others. The change in the December Project picture was a direct reflection of the increase in Project staff made possible by additional funds. Table 33 shows clearly that the Project interviewers had proportionally more time to spend with clients than did the Oakland Employment Office. The ratio for the Project in December is misleading because a number of new employees beginning work were spending their time in training courses or in training activities.

The conclusion seems obvious that, although Project interviewers had more time to spend per applicant, it had less experienced people working with them. If low experience alone is a determining factor of effectiveness, the situation should be corrected soon. The trend which is emerging is that, as the Project size increases, the experience level increases. But, as both increase, the non-white proportion of interviewers decreases. There is already evidence that this situation is apparently causing morale problems within the original Project staff. Whether the change will increase the effectiveness of the staff operation is difficult to determine.

Discussion

As would be expected, considerable differences between the Project and the Oakland Employment Office in both the operational and non-operational areas were found. While the main office seemed to be a large, centralized, well-established operation with considerable specialization, division of labor and impersonality, the Project appeared as a

smaller, decentralized, more intimate operation which had more time available to work with each client. Although the staff at the main office had more experience and training in the traditional operations of the employment service, we may assume that the Project had attracted staff members who were eager to tackle the inherently difficult problems facing the Project. Not only because they were volunteers, but also because most of them were members of minority groups, we would expect them to have greater empathy with and to elicit a more favorable response from the applicants.

A final observation must be made which serves to clarify an issue brought up early in this report. The fact that the Project had no Unemployment Insurance Liaison Representative assigned to it, tends to indicate that the employment service anticipated that the Project would be serving primarily the long-term unemployed who would not be eligible for unemployment compensation.

Since there are so many dissimilarities between the two operations and since changes in both operations have occurred so often during the life of the Project, even when we have data which compares the placement results of the two, it will be impossible to determine precisely which operational or non-operational features were responsible for those differences which may appear. The problems of data collection are difficult; but the determination of causal relationships will be even more difficult.

SECTION 9

THE PROJECT - AN OVERVIEW

Thus far, we have intentionally reported and discussed results of the activity of the Project during its first sixteen months of operation, without giving any but minimal background information. This procedure was adopted so that a statistical picture of the Project operation could be presented first, to be followed by a discussion of the initial phases of the Project which would illuminate the "hard data". Since these data tend to indicate that the Project is accomplishing relatively little, we shall examine the early stages of the Project in an attempt to find some possible explanations for or clarifications of its difficulties.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PROJECT - PROPOSALS

In order to obtain a picture of how the Project was formally conceived, we examined the applications requesting funds for the Project. When we speak of conceptualization, therefore, we are referring to that which was evidenced in these applications. The information obtained from the proposals was, however, supplemented by interviews with key people involved in designing the Project.

Our discussion will be concerned with facets of the conceptualization which we feel are worthy of note. They are important either because they appear to provide evidence of unclarity in the original

concept of the Project or because they seem to relate to certain difficulties which have been apparent as the Project progressed.

Specific Issues

1. There were two separate proposals

Although reference is consistently made to "the Project", it actually consists of two separable segments, each of which was outlined in a separate proposal. The two parts were intended to mesh so that the operations of one would be "fully correlated"¹ with the operations of the other. The two, however, can be distinguished by pinpointing the following characteristics: (a) the agency that submitted the application for funds, (b) the agency that approved the application and is providing the funds, and (c) the purpose(s) for which the funds are to be used. According to the above analysis, the two parts of the Oakland Adult Project have the following distinguishing features:

Segment One:

- (a) application submitted by the CSES
- (b) funds are provided by the United States Department of Labor
- (c) funds are provided for:
 - (1) establishing and carrying out training programs
 - (2) overall activities of the Project (all of which are non-training activities)

Segment Two:

- (a) application submitted by the Oakland Interagency Project (referred to as OIP in this section, but presently known as the Department of Human Resources, City of Oakland)
- (b) funds are provided by the Ford Foundation

¹CSES, loc. cit.

- (c) funds are provided for overall non-training activities of the Project.

2. The Project was designed as a demonstration project

Although the CSES application indicated that the Project would be a demonstration project, no clear and unequivocal description of what is to be demonstrated can be found either in the CSES proposal or in the OIP proposal. Two statements in the CSES application come closest to such a description; one is a section of the introduction which states that:

The demonstration area concerns the training and placement in employment of minority groups and other disadvantaged persons with particular emphasis on employment of male heads of households, in the community of Oakland, California.¹

In a section describing the two objectives for which OIP made application for funds, the following statement is found:

A second objective [of the Project] is to determine, through the demonstration Project, the effectiveness of the method used; i.e., what contribution to its effectiveness results from direct citizen involvement and leadership (business, labor, and minority groups).²

Two points should be noted. First, neither of these statements clearly indicates what is to be demonstrated by the Project, and second, the inference which can be drawn from the first statement is not the same as the inference which can be drawn from the second. In its simplest form, the first statement implies that the Project is to demonstrate that minority group persons can be trained and placed. The second

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 14.

statement, in its simplest form, implies that the Project is to demonstrate that direct citizen involvement and leadership can bring about improvement in the employment conditions of minority group persons.

Although the two inferences are not incompatible, the reader of the application must connect them and assume that his interpretation is consistent with the original intent of the proposal writers on the one hand, and with the understanding of those persons who are conducting the Project on the other. The interpretation which appears to emerge is that the total Project was designed to demonstrate that direct citizen involvement and leadership of the program can bring about improvement in the employment conditions of minority group persons through the mechanisms of direct placement on jobs and training in preparation for new or different jobs.¹

3. The Project has a unique feature

The "unique feature" of the Project is described in both applications. The more complete description, which is found in CSES's application,² reads:

The unique feature of this program is the direct involvement of local citizens in the alleviation of the employment problem:

1. Volunteer business, industrial and union leaders to engage in an organized program

¹The point made here may seem pedantic on the surface. At least, it is an example of potential unclarity about key issues. That it is not an isolated example of unclarity or confusion seems to have been borne out in observations this staff has made on the operations of the Project. Several other examples of lack of clarity or confusion are either listed here or are contained in other sections of this report.

²Ibid., p. 1

of personal diplomacy to open the doors to greater minority employment.

2. Minority group volunteers to assist in conducting an inventory of the skills of minority workers, and to assist in interpreting the project to the minority community.
3. Participation by leadership of the civil rights organizations in helping to formulate program initially and on a continuing basis.

The description of the nature of the unique feature appears comprehensive enough, but what is missing is any indication of who the local citizens will be, how they will be selected, and what their relationship to the project organization will be. It is clear that their role is a key one to the success of the Project, but what is quite unclear is what their administrative relationship to the Project was envisioned to be. Interviews with the person who wrote the CSES proposal and with the person responsible for the OIP proposal revealed that the local citizens to which the proposal referred would be members of the Advisory Committee.

4. An Advisory Committee was created to establish policy

Included in OIP's proposal for Ford funds, but not included in CSES's request for Labor Department funds, is one sentence describing the Program (i.e., Project) Advisory Committee. It reads:

Policy for the program would be established by a program advisory committee, whose members would include representatives from employer groups, labor, broadly based minority group organizations, and community organizations.¹

¹Oakland Interagency Project Proposal for Adult Minority Group Training and Placement Program for Oakland, p. 3

Several things should be noted:

- (a) the committee is labeled "advisory"
- (b) however, the OIP proposal indicated that this committee would establish policy
- (c) CSES did not include reference to this committee in its proposal
- (d) the members on this committee are the same local citizens who are responsible for carrying out the unique feature of the Project

5. The Project was to be functionally a part of OIP

OIP's application to the Ford Foundation indicated that "the program (i.e., the Project) would be functionally a part of the OIP".¹ The proposal went further to state that three key people from the Employment Service would be placed on three separate committees of the OIP. CSES's proposal did not make any specific reference to how the Project would be related, in part or in toto, to OIP.

6. CSES was to administer the Project

Both proposals indicate that the CSES would administer the Project.

7. An organization chart was presented

An organization chart for the Project appeared in CSES's application but did not appear in OIP's. The following points are noted about CSES's chart:

- a. The Project Director is made responsible to the Operations Supervisor, Oakland CSES, who in turn is responsible to the Manager of Oakland CSES.

¹Ibid., p. 4

- b. The Project Director is given dual responsibility for overall supervision of the Project and immediate supervision of one of the Project Offices.
- c. There is no mention of an Advisory Committee.

Discussion

Examination of the seven points listed above lead us to the following statements about the conceptualization of the Project:

1. Since there are two distinguishable segments of the Project, and since review of the two applications reveals certain definite disagreements, one wonders how "fully correlated" the two components actually are. It must be determined whether the apparent lack of "correlation" is a reflection of oversights in the proposal writing or whether they are truly reflective of different orientations of the two agencies involved in obtaining funds for the Project.

2. A serious weakness in the conceptualization is the fact that no clear, unequivocal statement is made about what the Project is designed to demonstrate. A possible result of this ambiguity is that it may become extremely difficult to establish firm criteria of success for the Project.

3. Another serious weakness in the conceptualization appears to be that the very people who have to carry the major responsibility for success of the Project are the same ones who are apparently intended to set policy for the Project. They, the members of the Advisory Committee, are apparently given the dual role of implementers and policy makers. In addition, there is no clear statement indicating to whom the Advisory

Committee is responsible.

- a. If they are establishers of policy, this should have been included in CSES's proposal and, if they are to establish policy, the term "Advisory" is a misnomer.¹
- b. If they are implementers, it seems reasonable to have someone or some unit responsible for their work. No such provision was made in either proposal.
- c. If they are to be both implementers and policy makers, clear delineation of the roles seems essential.²

4. The boundaries of "the Project" are not clear. Does "the Project" refer only to the staff of the Employment Services at and below the level of the Project Director, or does it include, in addition to this staff, the Advisory Committee?

5. Since the Project Director was to be supervised by the Operations Supervisor of the Oakland CSES, the Project was not established to be independent of that office.

6. The Project's relationship to OIP is ambiguous.

7. The burden of the ambiguities noted in the proposals seemed to fall on the shoulders of the original Project Director who was placed in the position of being responsible for:

¹A great deal of the difficulty here apparently rests in CSES's hesitancy or inability to invest a non-CSES committee with full policy-making power.

²Perhaps it was in an attempt to do this that the Employment Development Subcommittee, responsible to the Advisory Committee, was established.

- a. the overall operation of "the Project", and
- b. the specific operation of one of the Project offices;

and was responsible to:

- a. the Operations Supervisor, Oakland CSES
- b. the Manager, Oakland CSES
- c. the Advisory Committee (possibly)
- d. OIP (possibly)

but

- a. the demonstration element of the Project is not clear, and
- b. one of the groups to which he was apparently responsible, i.e., the Advisory Committee, was in turn responsible for carrying out a key operation of the Project.

As a result of the various ambiguities and contradictions outlined above, one is left with the feeling that the Project was hazily conceived, at least as is shown in its formal documentation, and that it contained inherent difficulties with a potential for inhibiting or preventing the execution of an effective program. In order to test the validity of this impression, we must ask at least three questions: first, were the aims of the Project clearly presented; second, has the Project experienced organizational difficulties which seem to be an outgrowth of conceptual ambiguities or contradictions; and third, has the Project seemed to be meeting its objectives in spite of organizational difficulties which may have arisen? The first two questions will be discussed in the remainder of this section, and discussion of the third will serve as the basis of the final section of the report.

Aims of the Project

Again, we turn to the proposals, this time in an effort to determine the clarity of the goals set for the Project. In the California State Employment Services' proposal, we find:

The purpose: to reduce unemployment and underemployment of minority and other disadvantaged adult males, and, as a result, to strengthen the role of the head of the household and reinforce the male image in the family structure, in the minority community.¹

However, on page 14 of the same proposal, the "primary objective" of OIP's proposal is described as:

...improving the employment conditions of adult members of minority groups and others of the hard core unemployed throughout the City of Oakland.

The question that arises here (one having many implications for the Project)—is it the hard core unemployed or members of minority groups upon whom emphasis is placed?—will be discussed at length later in this section. It is pointed out now only to illustrate how even the most basic issues are ambiguous, if not contradictory.

On page two, the purposes of the Project are outlined as follows:

1. To conduct a skill inventory of the minority work force;
2. To provide specialized placement services adapted to the needs of the minority population;
3. To place eligible unemployed workers;
4. To upgrade underemployed workers;

¹CSES, loc. cit.

5. To train minority and other disadvantaged workers under the Manpower Development and Training Act;
6. To maintain a program of education, information, and job solicitation with employers and unions, in order to increase the employment potential of minority group workers;
7. To open new doors for qualified minority workers.¹

It is possible to reconcile the two statements of "purpose", only if we assume that the latter is subsumed by the former and is primarily a statement of method(s) rather than of purpose(s). In other words, the intention was that the seven methods outlined in the second statement would be used to implement the overall goal set forth in the first. The main statement of purpose, under close scrutiny, is simultaneously all-encompassing and vague. The use of the phrase, "minority and all other disadvantaged adult males", specifies that the Project is not meant to be exclusively a minority project; the overall statement emphasizes service to the minority community, but it does not restrict the Project operation to service of minorities. It is vague in that such words as "underemployment", "disadvantaged", and "reinforce" are used without immediate or subsequent definition.

Examination of the seven methods outlined in the second statement discloses more vagueness. Words and phrases such as: "specialized placement services", "eligible unemployed workers", "upgrade",

¹Ibid., p. 2

"underemployed", "open new doors", and "qualified minority workers", when left undefined, are all subject to numerous interpretations. None is precisely defined in the proposal, and it is only by making inferences from the background textual material that we are able to define one or two of them.

In summary, we can only conclude that our examination of the proposals reveals that a precise, clearcut picture of the aims of the Project was not incorporated in them. (OIP's proposal did not differ significantly from CSES's on this point.) Because the meaning of so many key words and phrases was not specified, a huge task of clarification and definition was established for the persons responsible for conducting the program. The lack of a clearcut delineation of aims may have been a result of what is loosely called "grantsmanship", or it may have been caused by a realistic desire on the part of the proposal writers to create a flexible framework in which the operators of the Project could work. There is certainly room to be critical of any proposal so specific that it prevents operators from developing new methods or even changing the focus of a project if that becomes necessary, but at the same time, certain definitional problems must be resolved if the Project is going to be able to accomplish specific objectives. It is also true, however, that the problems of definition do not necessarily have to be resolved by the drafter of a proposal. They can be, and frequently are, resolved by the people conducting the program. With that in mind, it is now necessary to examine the operation of the Oakland Adult Project, in order to obtain

an idea of the types of issues which arose during the early months, and to decide, among other things, whether the definitional problems we have pointed out were resolved.

Organization and Administration of the Project

In this section, some of the highlights of the Project's organization and activities will be reviewed. A number of situations have arisen during the course of the Project which bear on issues pointed out earlier. Observation of Project activities, interviews with key participants, and analysis of Advisory Committee minutes have furnished relevant information. At this time, reporting will be restricted to key situations, those which seem to have had most impact on the Project.

1. Although the agenda for the first meeting of the Advisory Committee stated that a CSES representative would discuss "The Role of the Advisory Committee", the minutes report that he presented copies of the proposal to the committee members with the recommendation that they "think about what the functions of the Advisory Committee should be".¹ There is no report of a discussed and agreed upon determination of its role early in the Project. With the passage of time, the Advisory Committee has tended to emphasize its role as policy maker and deemphasize that of chief job development agent. That there has been difficulty in clarifying the role of the Advisory Committee is attested to by the fact that periodically the issue returns to the floor of the meetings, and that a special executive meeting was called about

¹Minutes of the Oakland Interagency Adult Employment Advisory Committee meeting of March 12, 1964.

this very issue as recently as February, 1966. At this meeting, the conflict was tentatively resolved with the decision that the Advisory Committee should be the policy-setting agent, and that the employment service should follow the policy established by the committee unless it conflicts with CSES policy, or is illegal. This resolution of the problem, which was interpreted to give the Advisory Committee only limited policy-making authority, was not satisfactory to the labor representatives present. As a result, they walked out of the meeting and apparently, out of the Advisory Committee.¹

2. An OIP official, at the first Advisory Committee meeting, emphasized that the Project should concentrate on the unemployed rather than on upgrading the underemployed.

3. A year later, in March 1965, the Advisory Committee decided

¹The exact status of labor representation on the Advisory Committee is far from clear at this point. The following sequence of events points up the confusion: (a) On February 24, three labor representatives who were members of the Advisory Committee (and one who was not) attended the executive committee meeting described above and walked out without making a formal statement. The general feeling, however, was that Labor had withdrawn from the Project. In response to the walkout, a subcommittee of the executive committee was appointed for the purpose of meeting with Labor representatives in an effort to persuade them to reconsider their positions; (b) Such a meeting was held within the following week; it was followed by a closed executive committee meeting on March 10; (c) At the regular monthly Advisory Committee meeting of March 16, the chairman announced that representatives of labor had "let it be known that they will not have anything more to do with the Advisory Committee"; (d) On March 18, it was announced in the East Bay Labor Journal that five labor representatives resigned from the Advisory Committee (the names of three other labor representatives who were members of the committee were not listed); (e) As late as April 20, no official letter(s) of resignation had been received by the Project and one of the representatives named in the Labor Journal article attended the monthly Advisory Committee meeting.

that the emphasis of Project activity should not be focused on Oakland minority male adult heads of household, but should be expanded to include all heads of households, male or female.

4. At the first executive committee meeting (of the Advisory Committee), two key subcommittees were appointed: (1) the Human Resources Inventory Committee, (composed primarily of minority group members, but including one labor and one employer representative) which was assigned responsibility for gathering and organizing the volunteer workers for a Skills Inventory, and (2) the Employment Development Subcommittee, (composed primarily of employers, but including one labor and two minority representatives) was charged with acting "as the main contact with the employer and union groups to explain the Program and to enlist their support".¹ According to the Advisory Committee minutes, during the first 16 months, the chairman of the Employment Development subcommittee (or his substitute) reported on two meetings of the committee and two meetings of an employers' caucus. The chairman of the Human Resources Inventory Subcommittee reported that several meetings of his committee occurred prior to the Skills Inventory in June 19, 1964, but he has not reported that one has occurred since then.

5. In the fall of 1964, three Project offices were opened. Two, which had been written into the proposal, were located in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. The third, located in an area where it could

¹Oakland Adult Employment Advisory Committee, Executive Committee minutes, April 6, 1965.

serve the Mexican-American community, had not been provided for by the proposal; it was added when considerable feeling was expressed by the Mexican-American representatives that the word "minority" was being too narrowly defined by the Project to the detriment of the Mexican-Americans.

6. In October 1964, two consultants, one to labor and one to industry, were hired with ARA (now EDA) funds. It was explained by OIP that these men were not technically a part of the Project. However, they were perceived (and later referred to) as job developers with labor and with management, and they were assigned to work with the Project.

7. On February 3, 1965, the Project Director presented a five page letter to the members of the Advisory Committee outlining the difficulty the Project was having because of lack of direct job orders, and generally indicating that the Advisory Committee members were not performing some of the tasks which had been expected of them and which were essential to the success of the Project. Later that same month (February 19), the executive committee passed five motions which had been made by a labor representative and which were designed to force both the Human Resources Inventory and the Employment Development subcommittees, as well as the Project Director, to pursue such goals as obtaining skilled applicants, producing professional and managerial jobs, and collecting information about the education and training of all applicants. One labor representative made it clear in the midst of the discussion of the series of motions that Labor was very

dissatisfied with the progress of the Project and might withdraw.

8. On April 21, after apparently no significant action was taken on any of the motions, five of the eight labor representatives on the Advisory Committee presented a letter which indicated that they would withdraw from the Project within 30 days if "the Project and its related employers cannot produce...concrete job offers". Although our records do not indicate that there was a sizeable increase in either total or professional-managerial direct openings during that 30-day period, the five members did not withdraw at the end of May.

9. On May 19, a Mexican-American representative walked out of the monthly Advisory Committee meeting after indicating that his group felt that the Project had favored Negroes and had treated Mexican-Americans as "second-class citizens". He remained absent for the next three meetings during which time definite steps were taken to rectify the situation which had developed.

10. A contract was signed between the City of Oakland and the Labor Department, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, which became effective June 30, 1965, for the purpose of providing a community On-the-Job Training (OJT) program for Oakland. Although under the 18-month contract, training is to be provided for 800 persons, only 200 of which must come from the Project, the original proposal was sponsored solely by the Project. It became city-wide only after the determination had been made that the Advisory Committee could not be its fiscal agent. Throughout the months during

which the final program was developed, a number of members of the Advisory Committee were involved in working for its approval.

11. In October of 1965, upon the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, the original Project Director was replaced, and the Project was made parallel organizationally to the Oakland Employment Office. Just prior to that time, the Project Director had been relieved of the dual responsibility of supervising a Project Office and directing the Project. When the new Project Director was assigned, he was given supervisory responsibility for the labor and industry ARA consultants and plans were made that they, along with the new OJT staff, would have offices at the same location as the new Project Director. At the same time, the Advisory Committee decided that the ARA consultants should have closer liaison with the Employment Development Subcommittee.

The brief description of activities outlined above reveals that attempts were made to delimit Project goals and to initiate discussion and consideration of the role of the Advisory Committee. Near the beginning, efforts were also made to devise structural ways of coping with the problems facing the Project, and those facing the Advisory Committee in the implementation role it had been assigned. Later, when progress by the Project seemed slow, steps were taken which appeared to be bids to revitalize and redirect the efforts of both the Project and the key Advisory Committee subcommittees. But, in spite of these efforts, many definitional issues were left untouched, and factional disputes arose among the different elements of the Advisory

Committee, disputes which seemed connected with past differences, or with current non-Project concerns. These disputes have severely affected the operation of the Project. It appears that, as a result of certain Advisory Committee actions and changes in personnel (particularly the change of the chairman), the discontent felt by the Mexican-American representatives has subsided or disappeared. The situation, however, is quite different in the case of Labor's expressed dissatisfaction. The most vocal and active labor representatives on the committee are still quite displeased with the progress of the Project and have apparently withdrawn permanently. The issues which appear to be involved both in the present and past withdrawals, are directly related to some of the basic difficulties in Project conceptualization which were pointed out earlier in this section of the report.

It should be noted that Labor, which more than any other group, has emphasized to the Advisory Committee the lack of progress it has felt the Project has been making, was given no definitive role by the proposal makers or by the Advisory Committee once it was constituted. Its representatives have been customarily assigned to various subcommittees, and on one occasion a labor representative was appointed chairman of a fact-finding subcommittee. It was constituted in October 1965, as a result of Advisory Committee concern (especially Labor's) that the statistics reported monthly by the Project staff were not detailed enough to permit a true understanding of the Project's operation. The subcommittee was charged with the task of interpreting and evaluating the statistics for the first 13 months of Project operation

and, although a meeting was held, no report was made to the Advisory Committee prior to Labor's most recent walk-out. The formation of this subcommittee serves to highlight another difficult problem facing the Project: research.

Research

Throughout the life of the Project, members of the Department of Human Resources and the Advisory Committee have indicated an increasing interest in examining statistics describing the operations of the Project, and an evaluative report on its progress. For the most part, the Project staff has responded slowly to expressions of concern and requests for information by the committee. The Project directors have frequently indicated that the size of its staff was insufficient to provide quickly the data which were requested or suggested. The Follow-up Study staff has also responded slowly to requests for reports and has not met deadlines which seemed realistic at the time they were agreed upon. That there are substantial difficulties in the general area of research, is illustrated by the points which follow. They are made and discussed with the knowledge that the authors of this report are personally involved and that the usual distortions wrought by selective perception may be operative to an even greater degree here. What follows, however, is as objective a report as is possible.

1. Included in the original Project proposals were plans for an evaluative effort, to be carried out by the OIP (now Department of Human Resources, City of Oakland). The Department of Human Resources officials also planned that this evaluation

would provide the Project with a relatively frequent report of its progress. OIP's original conception of the research to be performed in conjunction with the Project, did not make a clear distinction between operational research and evaluative research.

2. It was not until six months after the first Project office opened (February 1965), that funds for the early stages of the Follow-up Study were provided and that a Director was hired. The funds came from the Bureau of Employment Security which also provided the Labor Department funds for the Project.
3. In the spring of 1965, as the details of the evaluative effort were being developed, the Department of Human Resources was informed that, as of July 1, the Follow-up Study would be funded by the Office of Manpower Automation and Training (OMAT), and that the formal proposal for the study must be expanded in preparation for contract negotiations with that agency. Because of (a) confusion about the Department of Human Resource's involvement in both the Project and the Follow-up Study, (b) re-organizational developments within OMAT, and (c) the extensive clearance procedures concerned, it was not until November 1965, after numerous telephone conversations and three trips to the east coast (all of which were directly or indirectly related to contract negotiations), that the Department of Human Resources received the contract from OMAT. The contract was finally signed at the end of December, only after two contract

amendments acceptable to both signatories were drafted and attached.

4. During the last six to eight months of 1965, the Follow-up Study Director was almost exclusively involved in work related to drafting proposals, negotiating contracts, hiring personnel, and designing data-collection instruments and initiating data-collection procedures.
5. During the contract negotiations, a formal compromise was reached concerning the role of the Follow-up Study. Although it was to be clearly an evaluative study¹ for the Office of Manpower Automation and Training (under a contract with the City of Oakland and a sub-contract with the University of California), permission was obtained to present copies of each semi-annual report to the executive committee of the Advisory Committee at the same time the report was mailed to OMAT, and to distribute copies to the remaining members of the committee ten days later, provided that OMAT had no objections.²
6. In January 1966, at the first Advisory Committee meeting after the Follow-up Study contract had been signed, the Director informed the committee of the contractual arrangements which

1i.e., it was not to do operational research for the Project.

²The United States Department of Labor, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training: Contract between the Secretary of Labor and the City of Oakland, (effective period June 30, 1965 to June 30, 1967), Addendum No. 2.

had just been completed. When the committee members strongly objected to not seeing the reports prior to their submission to OMAT, the Follow-up Study Director's supervisor felt that the only reasonable solution to the problem was to permit the committee to see a confidential copy of each report before it was sent to Washington. The committee was given to understand that the first such report would be available in approximately two months.¹

7. On March 24, a suggestion was made at an executive committee meeting that an attempt be made to obtain a "fresh" study of the Project, one different from the "strictly analytical follow-up study in effect at this time."²

The points outlined above obviously indicate that research is another area which has caused, and is still causing, the Project great concern. Behind the many issues which are involved in this matter seems to lie the necessity not only for on-going operational research conducted by Project personnel, but also for evaluative research conducted by an outside agency. This distinction was not clearly made when the proposals were written. The Project staff should be responsible

¹During the early stages of the contract negotiations, the Department of Human Resources had been promised a report in September 1965. When it became clear that the first draft needed extensive revisions, contract negotiations and initiation of data-gathering were given higher priority than revision of the report. The present report is basically that revision.

²Executive committee of OAMEP, minutes of meeting, March 24, 1966.

for collecting statistics reflecting day to day operations of the Project in order that changes which would be likely to result in more effective operation could be made. In order for the data to be most helpful, the staff must be geared to report at frequent intervals to those persons responsible for administration and for policy-making. The outside agency conducting the evaluation should examine the activities of the Project for the purpose of determining how effectively the Project reached certain objectives it set forth. Evaluation would also be concerned with the types of people served, how they were served, and the results of such service. The two types of research, one primarily the gathering of statistics on the Project, the other, the interpretation of such statistics in relation to other data, should be coordinated and may complement each other, but, even under ideal circumstances, these operations must not be merged.

Job Development

Throughout this report, references have been made to the theoretical and empirical aspects of job development. However, both aspects must be discussed together; the implications each has for the other, and their compatibility, must be examined. In order to do so, a certain amount of review is necessary.

Job development, as envisioned in the proposals as an activity of the Advisory Committee, is a major concern of this demonstration project; for among other questions, it seeks to determine "what contribution to its (the Program's) effectiveness results from direct citizen involvement and leadership".¹ Job development was also to be carried out by the CSES;

¹CSES, op. cit. p. 14. In another section of the CSES proposal

it appeared that Project staff would have more time to devote to it than was normal at the Oakland Employment Office.

There was no mention in either proposal of Specialists, Directors of Liaison, job development Consultants, or any other of the various titles given to the men hired under the ARA grant. In fact, their addition to the Project can be viewed as a contradiction to the principles and program which the granting agencies assumed would be operating at the time the proposals were approved. That is, although it has never been formally stated, that the Specialists would relieve the Advisory Committee of its duties (as outlined in the proposals), and it was possible that they would serve as adjuncts to the formal program of diplomacy which was to be devised by Advisory Committee, it appears that not only the Advisory Committee, but also the CSES, has come to consider job development the responsibility of the Specialists.

Diplomatic as they may try to be, the Specialists cannot functionally replace the Advisory Committee members in their diplomatic role, for their attempts at education and information come from outside the business or labor communities and cannot carry the same weight as the same messages would, were they to come from persons actually inside the communities. In addition, because they don't "belong", they are unable to use some of the arguments and persuasive tactics that Advisory Committee members could use.

The ambiguities which arose out of their late addition to the program have come to fruition in their present situation. The Specialists were

concerning the unique feature of the program, "direct involvement of citizens in the alleviation of the employment problem" is defined as the "engage(ment) in an organized program of personal diplomacy to open doors to greater minority employment".

hired by the Employment Development subcommittee, which at that time, was composed of two businessmen, one labor and one minority group representative. One member died, and two resigned; as substitutions were made, the subcommittee evolved into what its members themselves call an "employers' caucus".¹ The Specialists still feel they are working for this subcommittee² inspite of the fact that in November 1965, they were officially made accountable to the Project Director.

Therefore, the following situation exists:

- (1) The Specialists are paid through the Department of Human Resources which administers the grant.
- (2) They are theoretically responsible to and directed by the Project Director.

¹In June 1965, the research staff requested that it be notified of subcommittee meetings so that an observer could attend them. The chairman (in August) indicated that meetings were not held on a regular basis and were often of a confidential nature, but that he would bring the matter up at the next subcommittee meeting and inform the staff of the decision. In January 1966, the issue came up again at an Advisory Committee meeting. Comparing the Employment Development subcommittee meetings to those held among the labor representatives, the chairman stated that no "outside" attendance would be permitted, since not only were no formal meetings held (hence, no minutes taken), but also that private matters were discussed.

This explanation was accepted with little comment by the other Advisory Committee members. The fact that the "employers caucus" had evolved from a formally constituted subcommittee, while the "labor caucus" had always been private, was not mentioned. Structurally and functionally the private caucus cannot replace the original formal subcommittee which had tripartite representation. Since job development is emphasized so strongly, it would seem extremely important that the Employment Development subcommittee, as originally planned (responsible to the entire Advisory Committee and not merely to one segment) be reconstituted, while the employers continue to caucus privately when they feel it desirable.

²".... we will continue to make our views known through the Job Development Committee / Employment Development subcommittee/ to which we are directly responsible." December Activity Report, p. 9.

- (3) Their allegiance lies with the Employment Development subcommittee.

The Specialists, men-in-the-middle upon whose shoulders most of the job development responsibility was shunted, appear to be responsible for the limited supply of openings as well as for their concentration, during the summer of 1965, at the lower end of the status continuum. However, considering their ambiguous position in terms of autonomy and direction, it is not surprising that their efforts have shown so few tangible results. For instance, they have indicated that, immediately prior to the months studied here, they were directed by the chairman of the Employment Development subcommittee to concentrate on obtaining unskilled job openings since those jobs seemed to be the ones most in demand by the applicants. Since the Specialist's openings accounted for only 14 per cent of the direct openings (excluding the summer youth project), they cannot be considered responsible for an overall trend. (Nor can the directive, for there is no evidence that it was known or made applicable to the other solicitors). It is possible that this directive is partly responsible for the distribution of "jobs started" credited to the Specialists.¹

Although very early in their Project careers the Specialists requested that data concerning employers (kept by CSES) and applicants (kept by the Project) be made available to them, it was not until

¹It must be remembered that their "openings" and "hires" patterns differed, however, and since the Specialists' "hires" pattern did not differ drastically from that of other direct hires, it would seem that this directive cannot be considered explanatory of the tendency of direct hires to resemble the traditional minority hiring pattern.

November 1965 and April 1966 (respectively) that this was done. It is difficult to assign responsibility for this delay, for the situation is illustrative of a lack of responsiveness to requests which permeates the Project. The Employment Development subcommittee, to which the Specialists were responsible at the time, could have pressed CSES, through the Advisory Committee (theoretically the policy making body), to grant their request. CSES could have acted on the request without waiting for a formal directive from the Advisory Committee. The Specialists, realizing that such information was vital to their effective performance, could have insisted that it be furnished, or attempted to gather it themselves. None of these steps was taken.

Their apparent feeling of having little autonomy is manifested in requests to the Advisory Committee (via their monthly reports, August and again November, 1965) that they be allowed to telephone the employers who had answered mailings, a step which it is assumed they had sufficient authority to take without further consultation.

The content of the "education and information" provided by the Specialists seems to be influenced by an apparent orientation to business. Their focus is on obtaining "qualified" workers to fill employers' needs, rather than on finding work for the unemployed. For example, one of their most persistent requests is that the "pool" of applicants be enlarged through one or all of the following ways: (1) by obtaining from the Oakland Employment Office a copy of the applications of all minority group members who apply at the main office, (2) by establishing a more thorough liaison and integration with the "Skills Bank"

(an employment and upgrading Service of the Urban League), (3) by conducting another Human Resources inventory in order to recruit or solicit "qualified people" to the Project. They indicate that the reason for these requests is that in some cases job openings which they develop requires particular skills which no Project applicants possess.

Any one of these alternatives would result in still greater strain on the limited number of direct openings, as competition for them would take place among a greatly expanded number of people. Therefore, the probability of employment for those presently registered at the Project would be reduced. The last suggestion, solicitation of even more applicants (with consequent encouragement of hopes for employment, followed by disappointment), would only heighten the already severe frustrations present among Oakland's unemployed.

Although we have been able to attend only one "industry-wide meeting" at which the Project was discussed, there is no evidence that the content of the others differed. At a recent workshop meeting, the Specialists spoke about the aims and activities of the Project as follows:

The Project is run in a common sense, businesslike manner. To be successful, we need two things, one, a human resources inventory, and two, through letters, industry visits, and group meetings of this sort to get closer to grips with the problems of employers.

In our months of experience, visiting and talking to Bay Area employers, we have not found that these employers are biased; that is, they are concerned though, with—considering the handicaps these people have, how can we honestly hire them even though we're not biased?

Well, we want to tell you today what is working in

your behalf on this, services that are available to you. We also meet with them, the minority leaders, and say that even though this is no utopia we're talking about—we're growing and progressing and the opportunity is available to them to now, through us, come closer to meeting your requirements.

We focus especially on: How can the Oakland Adult Project help you as an employer to have equal opportunity to hire minority group employees? [sic]

Contradictory orientations are found not only within specialized groups but also in the Project as a whole. Slowly and subtly, the focus of the Project seems to have shifted from employment of the hard-core unemployed¹ to employment of members of minority groups. The shift in focus is an easy one to make. Examination of employment and occupation figures provided by the U. S. Census for the Bay Area, and especially for Oakland (see Table 31), clearly shows that most of the former group are also members of the latter. Any attempt at reducing the numbers of the former must take into consideration the peculiar problems and needs of minority groups. However, it must be remembered that the fact that there are some problems and members in common does not make the groups identical. The subtle shift in focus has far from

¹CSES, loc. cit. "... the primary objective (is)...improving the employment conditions of adult members of minority groups and others of the hard-core unemployed throughout the City of Oakland." This statement implies that all adult members of minority groups are members of the hard-core unemployed. However, it does not seem possible that this was the intent of the statement. In light of its context, (it follows six pages of data and discussion concerning the low incomes, education and unemployment rates found among Oakland's minority group population and the social problems which spring from such deprivation) it is seen to imply rather that, hard-core unemployment is most prevalent among minority group members, so that attempts to reduce it should not ignore their unique situation.

subtle results in emphasis and action. In order to discuss this question further, a short digression must be made.

Within the past few years, many social and legal changes which affect the racial situation have taken place. The sit-ins in the rural south and ghetto unrest in the urban north not only have had legal effects, but also have stimulated both respect for and fear of the strength of minority groups. Civil rights legislation and government demands for non-discrimination by its contractors (Title VII) have, to some extent, reversed the employment picture for "qualified" Negroes compared to what it was even five years ago. Consequently, talk of "merit employment" is hardly unpopular among many businesses and labor organizations. Worried about their public images and compliance with government regulations, many corporations are actually looking very hard for minority group members to employ.

In general, in large cities today, searches for employers who are "willing to employ qualified minority group members" need not be extensive, and efforts to convince them to do so need not be strong. For the Project to conduct campaigns advocating "minority employment" means only a selling job for that particular agency--soliciting "customers", reminding them that here is a possible source of the qualified people they need--it does not require convincing them of their need to employ such people.

The situation is considerably different when the focus is not on the "qualified Negro" or the "qualified Mexican-American", but instead, on the long term unemployed person. In him is seen the result of years

of unequal opportunity, of stress on "realistic" (meaning: low) ambitions, of squalid living conditions, inferior schooling, fear, and thwarted dreams. He was not only the last to be hired, but also the first to be fired; the impact of automation has greatly reduced the number of jobs he is qualified to hold. His limited income and education often make the cost of training, in terms of both time and money, prohibitive. Excluded by color or income from the middle class, he often fails to meet its criteria in matters of dress, manners and speech. Often, he has not completed the eighth grade, and, if he is young and has completed high school, his diploma is commonly merely a testament to years spent in overcrowded and deficient ghetto schools, rather than to academic attainment. In short, the long-term unemployed are seldom those an employer has in mind when he says "qualified".

It should be clear that soliciting jobs for these people entails more than securing a statement of willingness to hire on merit alone, or to use the Project when next a vacancy arises. Although "simple discrimination" was certainly a contributory cause of the plight of these people, its removal alone is insufficient to effect a cure. A program of education and information is certainly needed here—but it must be accompanied by advocacy of and recommendations for policy changes and programs designed to consider and to compensate for the lack of qualifications prevalent among the long-term unemployed.

Civil rights groups and others interested in employment (including the Urban League, the oldest in this field \angle and certainly the

most conservative⁷) recognize that "lack of qualifications" is a reason often given by employers as to why they are able to hire only a few minority group members in spite of a company policy which is "non-discriminatory". In such cases, a subtle form of discrimination seems to be operative; while it may be difficult to prove that these firms give preferential treatment to whites, it is equally difficult to prove that they contribute to the correction of an historical social injustice.

Advocacy of the measures which would lead to hiring of the long-term unemployed is certainly not as socially acceptable, nor is the adoption of such controversial policies as easily accomplished, as is the simple admonition to refrain from discrimination. Compensatory hiring and preferential admission to apprenticeship programs, quota systems, re-evaluation of entry criteria, or "double standards" of proficiency and efficiency, are rejected by all but a few firms and unions as undemocratic, discriminatory, and unjust--precisely when people who owe their economic position to just such practices used against them are gaining sufficient power to ask that they be used in their favor.

Project job developers do not address themselves to these critical problems; they ask that employers look to the Project as a source of "qualified minority group workers". The pattern of minority employment in Oakland, as reflected by Project records, remains unchanged.

The Oakland Economy

In order to place the operation of the Project in context we must describe, if only superficially, Oakland's economy. Since only scant current data are available, we will devote little time to them. The overall impression obtained from them is that Oakland is experiencing a temporary economic upturn.

Prior to 1965, industry appeared to be moving away from Oakland, and as a result, jobs generally were scarce. There are indications that, in spite of this tendency, jobs have become more plentiful within the past year and that the trend may continue for the next year or two. Seven manufacturing firms (which represented a combined work force of 3,000) shut down and laid off workers between 1961 and 1965.¹ The present and potential increase in employment seems related primarily to (1) the escalation of the Vietnam war, which has provided a number of jobs, especially for laborers loading war materials, (2) the Bay Area Rapid Transit, for which construction is scheduled to start this year and which should provide jobs for people (although it is questionable at this point how many will be minority group persons), and (3) a new economic development aid program of fifteen million dollars (financed by EDA) that will provide funds for industries which agree to make a special effort to hire minorities.

The apparent improvement in the Oakland employment picture for 1965 was reflected in unemployment insurance claims for that year.

¹Oakland Labor Market Developments, California Department of Employment, Coastal Area, Research and Statistics, January 26, 1966.

This estimate of unemployment, although gross, did reveal interesting trends.

Although in 1965 the number of unemployment insurance claims in Oakland was lower than it has been in five years, there is evidence that members of minority groups have not benefited from the improved opportunities for work. The drop in new claims was virtually all a reflection of the change in the claims filed by whites other than Mexicans. The number of new claims filed by this group fell 8.7 per cent between 1964 and 1965 while the number of new claims filed by Negroes rose 1.7 per cent and new claims filed by Mexican-Americans rose slightly in the same period.¹

A more direct estimate of the change in unemployment in Oakland between the time the 1960 Census² was taken (1959) and the months April through July 1965 when a survey was conducted by the State of California Department of Public Health³, does not lead to the same conclusions. From comparison of data contained in these two surveys, it appears that unemployment decreased both for the total population and for the Negro population between 1959 and 1965, but that the decrease for the Negro was greater. This finding, of course, must be coupled with the fact that the proportion of unemployed Negroes in the 1959 labor force was nearly twice as large as the proportion for the total population. As a result of certain inconsistencies in reporting, there are limitations in comparing

¹Ibid.

²U. S. Bureau of the Census. Op. cit.

³Human Population Laboratory, Alameda County Population 1965, Series A, No. 7 (State of California Department of Public Health, April 1966), p. 54

the Census data with the more recent survey¹, but the inconsistencies are considered so minor that it is unlikely that such comparisons will produce serious distortions of the data.

The conclusion that unemployment decreased both for the total population and for the Negro between 1959 and 1965 is based on the data which follows. For the total population, the proportion of unemployed males in the Oakland labor force dropped from 8.0 per cent in 1959 to 5.6 per cent in 1965; while the proportion of unemployed males in the labor force who were non-white (primarily Negroes) was 13.8 per cent in 1959, and the proportion for Negro males in 1965 was "only" 8.3 per cent. Comparable figures for females follow: for the total labor force, 7.7 per cent unemployment existed in 1959 as compared to 5.9 per cent in 1965; whereas, 14.8 per cent unemployment existed for non-whites in 1959 as compared with 9.5 per cent for Negroes in 1965.

The results obtained from examination of unemployment insurance data and survey data are not necessarily contradictory, since, in the first instance, only a yearly fluctuation (1964 to 1965) was reported, whereas the interval covered by the surveys was considerably longer (1959 to 1965).

¹The two limitations are as follows: (1) the 1960 Census reports labor force data for persons 14 years old and over, whereas the Public Health Department reported data on persons 16 years old and over; (2) it is possible to obtain Oakland labor force information from the Census data on non-whites but not on Negroes; however, it is possible to obtain Oakland labor force information from the Public Health data only on Negroes and not on non-whites. These limitations are considered minor because the number of 14 and 15 year olds in the labor force is negligible, and Negroes comprise the bulk of the non-whites in the Oakland labor force.

Additional data must be analyzed before a clearer picture of the overall employment picture in Oakland can be obtained. At the present time, however, it appears that even though some immediate improvement in employment possibilities in general and for minorities in particular, are in evidence, few are likely to be permanent. Oakland, like other central cities of a metropolitan area, continues to have economic problems which apparently can be solved only by attracting new industry or through the creation of long-term government-sponsored employment.

SECTION 10

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON THE PROJECT

It is felt that everything of value to a research project is not confined to what may be termed "statistical data"; that much of the interaction which takes place among participants has significance, and that observation and interpretation of this interaction are often as relevant to evaluation as are more easily recorded data. Especially in this situation, in which much of the content of committee meetings is not even recorded, such a technique seems necessary. The remarks made earlier concerning possible bias (conscious or unconscious) on the part of a researcher are particularly relevant here. The analysis which follows is not intended to be merely critical, but attempts to trace some of the ramifications of external events and trends, both historical and contemporary, for the structure of and the relationships within the Project.

The organizational meeting of the Advisory Committee was held March 12, 1964. Notices of the meeting were sent to selected people, 25 of whom attended the meeting; 7 from business, 5 from labor, 4 from minority group organizations, 2 from religious organizations, and 7 from local and state governmental agencies. The CSES proposal stated that, in addition to business, industrial, and union leaders' participation in an organized program of personal diplomacy, there would be "participation by leadership of the civil rights [sic] in helping to formulate program initially and on

a continuing basis".¹ The list of those invited to the original meeting has not been made available to us, in spite of repeated requests, so that it is impossible to say whether various civil rights organizations, unrepresented on the committee, declined to attend or simply were not asked to do so. Only representatives of the more conservative groups (Urban League, NAACP, Ministerial Alliance) have participated; the more militant and/or "grass roots" organizations remain outside of the Project.

The "Suggested Agenda for meeting of Minority Employment Advisory Committee" prepared by the Coordinator of the Oakland Interagency Project, (now: Executive Director, Department of Human Resources), included an "Overview of the Problem" (to be presented by himself), an "Analysis of the Program", and a section titled, "Role of the Advisory Committee" (to be presented by members of the Area staff of the Department of Employment). Unfortunately, a precedent was established that evening which has been broken only recently. The minutes are limited to the topics, rather than the content, of discussion. Therefore, it is now impossible to determine how the role of the Advisory Committee was envisioned originally--either by its members or by the CSES. It does seem legitimate to assume, however, that the personnel of the Department of Employment and of the Oakland Interagency Project had a clearer conception of it than did the others, for these two agencies had been involved in writing the proposals, which should have entailed deep thought concerning the feasibility of the program, its structure, functions, and the inter-relationships among its

¹CSES, op. cit. p. 1.

various parts. (Certainly, neither proposal undertook to do so in any detail; whether the reasons for this omission were intentional or unintentional, they have certainly had grave consequences in the life of the Project). Although certain of the private citizens present were familiar with the Project (indeed, one of the gentlemen is credited with its origination, albeit in a different form and for motives which are not officially recognized by the Project as formal goals), most were fairly new to it, and may have been either intimidated or impressed by agency expertise. Nevertheless, there has been neither a concrete modus operandi established, nor a concise and specific policy or program formulated. The misunderstandings and grievances, both overt and covert, which have arisen from this omission are many, and their repercussions have been manifested throughout the Project.

The coalition consists of representatives of large groups which, if not actually "natural" or traditional enemies, certainly have a history of mutual suspicion and hostility. The uneasy truce between business and labor is well known. However, they share a disdain for government agencies and their bureaucratic structure, as well as suspicions of coercive power; the governmental agencies, in turn, question the sincerity of business' and labor's commitment, and perhaps resent their apparent freedom from control. Members of minority groups may resent all three, depending upon their personal orientations. They hold business and industry responsible for their plight through original discrimination and exploitation, consider Labor's talk of unity and solidarity hypocritical, and often (especially among more militant and more vocal elements) think that many government

programs and agencies represent "bones" thrown to minority groups in an attempt to protect the status quo by diverting or mollifying their increasing demands for equality and employment.

In addition to considerable intergroup disharmony found among them, little internal consensus is found within the groups. For example, the vast differences in structure and purpose between the building trades and industrial unions have led to open quarrels. Wholesale and retail, large and small, corporate and private firms have requirements, needs, and goals that are not always shared. The various minority groups not only have diverse organizational goals and orientations, but also may be "jealous" of favors or concessions granted to one and not another. They are united by discrimination, by language difficulties, and by possession of some cultural traits not found among those of the majority. These are, by and large, negative factors; they include little of a positive nature from which to build, i.e., organizations representing minority group persons are composed of oppressed peoples who share a common foe, and it is chiefly the existence of this foe that unites them.

Another factor preventing intra-group unity is common to the three groups: the lack of a constituency which has given the representatives a mandate to act. Least vulnerable to this is Labor, which is represented by two strong organizations with elected officials. Such an organization may be hampered, however, in that, although it may represent its rank and file in collective bargaining and similar issues, its views on civil rights or anti-discriminatory measures may differ radically from those of its member organizations. The presence of the businessmen on the committee is

explained chiefly by the fact that they are businessmen, rather than because they have been delegated to speak for the business community. Although the Chamber of Commerce has been represented, its representation on the committee cannot be compared to that of the union organizations. The minority group representatives fall between the two extremes. Although all represent organizations whose membership is made up largely of members of minority groups, they cannot be said to speak for the minority community (if such a thing does, in fact, exist). This is true to a greater extent for the Negroes than for the Mexican-Americans.

Historically, white reaction to Negro attempts at organization and unity has been characterized by punishment of the participants and death for the leaders of incipient movements, although such blatant measures are rare outside the deep South today. Few Negro organizations were tolerated by whites other than the churches, wherein dogma heavily emphasized dutiful cross-bearing and promised rewards, of peace and freedom, only after death. These were not organizations for Negroes, in the usual sense of the word, but segregated institutions of the larger society. It was here that numbers of Negroes were grouped together. As agents of social change, churches have been most militant in the South rather than in the more "liberal", urban North where (relatively recently) other organizations and more radical ideologies are permitted to vie for the allegiance and support of the people.

Until the late fifties, the only other Negro organizations recognized by large numbers of people were the Urban League and the NAACP, both of which drew a great deal of financial support and leadership from whites.

Unlike churches, these organizations were for "Negro rights" but neither their constituency nor their leadership was absolutely of Negroes. Those who joined were often trying to escape from the ghettos and the masses, and were, by their very attempts to leave, alienated from the communities in which segregation often forced them to remain, so that they were unable to speak for, or to truly represent, "the people". They spoke for others like themselves, who had fought against staggering odds to win a measure of respect from the white world on white terms. This usually meant making compromises, either permanent or temporary, the price for which was often the contempt of other Negroes. In recent years, organizations both of the people and for the people, have arisen; however, these reflect the fragmentization historically encouraged by whites, as well as that which arises in any broadly-based movement where a variety of theory, tactics, and strategy is possible.

The Mexican-American community, which not only is smaller, but also is not considered racially different from the larger society, has a long history in California, a language which binds it together, and strong family and community ties. Therefore, unlike the situation found among Negroes, many of the customs and institutions to which the Mexican-American community owes its cohesiveness are not based on rejection from without, so much as upon generation from within.

These three factors then, traditional inter-group hostility, absence of consensus among the representatives of the large groups, and lack of a mandate from their respective communities which would make them legitimate leaders, continue to exert divisive influence on a tripartite alliance

which has always been uneasy and unstable. Emphasized in the proposals, and repeatedly in committee meetings, public utterances, and informal discussion, is the uniqueness of this alliance. Members were proud that, as men of good will, they were able to bury or disregard petty differences and join to attack a common problem. Ironically, it is possible that the resolve to get along together, and to accept compromise played a large part in the committee's neglect to formulate basic policy and a course of action--two steps which are imperative for any organization with hopes of remaining viable and becoming influential. In other words, eager to illustrate that its different factions could work together, the committee members hesitated to build a strong framework within which they would operate for fear that discussions of premises, aims, methods, and philosophy would uncover dissensions which they were aware lay just below the surface and which could jeopardize the alliance. They chose to begin work with a very loosely conceived structure and, perhaps, with the hope that a strong organization and unity would spring from their endeavor. Because the proposals were vague and even contradictory in their delineation of the relationship between CSES and the Advisory Committee, and extremely vague in terms of methodology and rationale, a very large margin existed within which it was possible to maneuver, had the Advisory Committee so desired. It would seem then, that when it did not take advantage of its potential power, it left the CSES free by default to operate more or less as it saw fit.

Formality, diplomacy, rules, and parliamentary procedure, have evolved and are used in situations calling for delicacy, scrupulousness,

and fairness. Where strained relations, sensitive feelings, or mutual distrust are present, most parties are able to work most effectively within the confines of a well-defined or structured framework. Only in situations of utmost intimacy, harmony, and trust, is reserve dropped and are conventions disregarded; even among intimates, unwritten rules concerning "face" and "front" exist which, if broken, place the relationship in jeopardy. Therefore, in this uneasy situation, formal rules seem to have been essential.

These structural considerations combined with a lack of initiative (which perhaps was enhanced by the situation) to create an atmosphere hostile to anything that could be interpreted as potentially dangerous to the alliance. Dissatisfactions which arose were allowed to fester before being aired, and often, they were neither completely excised nor cured, but were prematurely dismissed. Despite a pervasive feeling that it fails to meet expectations, participants in the Project tend to blame factions of the membership who are "old enemies", instead of examining it as a thing in itself. The following are only a few of the allegations that have been made:

Employers are not seriously committed to providing jobs.

Unions won't give an inch on their old entry restrictions.

The minority people aren't providing a large enough pool of qualified people.

The committee doesn't understand our internal staffing problems or methods.

The state employment service is rigid and won't change with the times.

It was about the last issue that the Advisory Committee found it could

agree, and the CSES, with its "rigid rules, regulations, and procedure", became the target of attack. Placing most of the blame for failure on the confidential nature of certain data and the "entrenched procedure" of the agency, the Committee finally intensively examined one of the Project's basic problems--almost two years after its inception.

The issue was made clear at a committee meeting with the question, "Who really has the power here, the Advisory Committee or CSES?" When pressed, CSES officials admitted that, if the Committee were to direct the agency to do something that was illegal or contrary to department policy, then the CSES would abide by its department's rules rather than obey the committee's directive. At this point, the Labor representatives left the meeting; shortly thereafter, five announced their resignations from the Advisory Committee. It seems ironic that this issue, which took so long to crystallize, had explicitly caused few problems at committee meetings. (As has been discussed, its influence is felt to have been latent, in that the uncertainty and hesitancy which resulted from the unsettled issue caused the early timidity and lack of strong direction, which in turn led to a state which resembled inertia more than action).

It appeared to some that, when the labor representatives walked out of the Project the second time, although a legitimate issue was at hand, Labor's well-known feud with the Coastal Area Office of CSES also influenced its position. No Project Director (always a CSES staff member) has ever directly defied a directive of the Advisory Committee. There have been few opportunities to have done so, since the particulars of the dispute (reporting procedure, follow-up studies, information needed by

specialists, case-study methods) had never been stated as formal motions directing that something be done, but instead, had been phrased as suggestions or requests. In keeping with its "men of good will working together" image, the Advisory Committee seems to have preferred suggestions to orders, feeling fairly secure in its policy-making role. Members assumed that changes they recommended had been made, or that delays were due to the slow "bureaucratic procedure" they disliked but had come to tolerate. The CSES, on the other hand, seemed to see the Advisory Committee as "only advisory" and tended to postpone, delay, or ignore suggestions which were considered inconvenient or troublesome.

The businessmen on the committee, chose to remain participants in the Project and negotiate with CSES if a conflict arose; in essence, only if they felt Department of Employment policy presented an insurmountable obstacle to action, would they withdraw. This seems the more rational and flexible attitude of the two; Labor's attitude has been interpreted by some as additional evidence supporting charges of rigidity, conservatism, and discrimination which have recently been leveled against the movement, in spite of the fact that some of the labor representatives on the committee have been active advocates of non-discriminatory and generally progressive policies.

It is felt that, in order to be understood, Labor's withdrawal must be viewed, not only in its narrow Project context, but in that of Oakland, for recently, the long strained relations between the Department of Employment and the unions were further tested by the introduction of the Skills Center to Oakland. Some labor leaders have a justifiable suspicion (which

is not peculiar to the Bay Area union movement) that such an institution could seriously harm, and even destroy, their union's apprenticeship programs. Indeed, if administered by persons possessing little knowledge of or sympathy with the labor movement, it could do so. Since the ~~Bay Area~~ Department of Employment--which played a major role in its planning and will have a great deal to do with its curriculum--is not considered by Labor to be a friend, considerable hostility arose when the Skills Center proposal was presented. Although Labor eventually agreed to support the Skills Center after compromises had been reached on the procedure for approving programs, it was originally viewed as an attempt to "railroad something through behind our (Labor's) back". A good deal of this hostility may have been displaced to the Project.

The remaining members of the Advisory Committee correctly recognize that, without the participation of the labor organizations, the alliance has lost a considerable part of its potential influence, and would certainly welcome their return. Attempts to woo the original representatives back have failed so far. A proposed invitation to independent unions in the area to take the place of the AFL-CIO unions was interpreted as a weak, idle, and even laughable threat by some in the AFL-CIO. At this point no predictions can be made about the probable outcome, for too many variables are involved. It is felt, however, that should Labor return, it may not be too late to develop a smoothly running, more effective program, and that its continued absence contributes considerably to the weaknesses of the Project.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The Oakland Adult Project, predating both Oakland's "War on Poverty" and the recent EDA allocations to Oakland (stimulated by the 1965 Los Angeles disturbances), had a very uncertain start. Problems which beset it included: (1) ambiguities and contradictions within and between the applications for funds, (2) financing delays which were so extensive that its very existence was threatened, and (3) antagonisms and suspicions among the representatives of the volunteer citizens committee. The relative weight each of these three factors contributed to the difficulty cannot be assessed now, but it is true that the committee has not accomplished the task of clarifying key issues imperative for efficient Project operation. Although certain important organizational changes resulted from its intervention, specific definitional problems remain.

In view of these limitations and the fact that Oakland is a city that has been characterized by declining permanent industry and entrenched racial discrimination, it is no great surprise that the statistics analyzed to date show little evidence of accomplishment. As a matter of fact, to show striking progress the Project would have had to conquer formidable obstacles. This is not to say that there were no points at which certain steps should have been taken which were not, but rather that, considering the difficulties involved, it is somewhat understandable that they were not taken. In addition to these difficulties, the Project had no effective means of examining its progress. The limited number of Project personnel and the necessity to clarify the role of the Follow-up Study, left

the Project with minimal information about its activities during the first sixteen months of operation. The information available was limited to gross intake and placement statistics reported monthly by the Project Director.

The most arresting bit of information to come from this report is that, in relation to the large number of Project applicants, few have obtained jobs through the Project, and furthermore, that the proportion of minority group persons that does is no different from the proportion of minority group persons who obtain jobs through the Oakland Employment Office. This seems due primarily to the small proportion of job orders the Project received directly. Thus, in terms of obtaining employment for its clients, its results are unimpressive. The jobs obtained were not only few in relation to the number of applicants, but appeared, contrary to the "new doors" goal of the Project, to reflect clearly, and perhaps to reinforce, the traditional minority employment pattern prevalent in Oakland. It is possible then, that the Project has misfired: instead of standing as an agent of social change and minority group progress, it may be supporting (albeit unwillingly and unwittingly) the status quo, and actually hindering the cause it espouses.

Equally as unimpressive, especially during the early months of operation, was the number of people involved in training (the major vehicle for upgrading). Even in relation to the very limited original goal of training 500 persons, no real headway was made until late in 1965.

From the data reported monthly by the Project staff, it seems that considering (1) the numbers of jobs started, and (2) the amount and

occupational level of training courses offered, the Project is showing, on the surface, at least some signs of improvement. A superficial examination of data collected within the last six months indicates that there has been a modest increase in the number of orders coming to the Project directly. Because such an examination is inadequate, our future reports will contain more detailed and complete data. These data should indicate whether or not the apparent employer perception of the Project as a source of unskilled temporary labor is indeed the case. We shall examine not only the quantity (relative and absolute), but also the duration of jobs obtained. We shall investigate not only for what types of work people are trained, but also whether, upon its completion, they obtain relevant work at prevailing wage rates. We shall investigate whether there have actually been any "new doors" opened for minority group members of Oakland.

Confronted with the superficial signs of improvement, the opening of the Skills Center, and the increase in federal money spent in Oakland, it is possible that a complacent attitude might arise among its participants. There is considerable evidence that the basic issues of the Project, to say nothing of the broader societal issues reflected in the pressures upon it, remain unresolved. The Advisory Committee needs the participation of Labor which appears, at present, to be more out than in. There is little evidence that the employer representatives are serving as catalysts so that the business community will (1) examine the role it has played in contributing to the current situation, (2) take a closer look at the validity of the screening process used in hiring, and (3) consider the social

obligation business may have in instituting programs of compensatory hiring and/or training independent of governmental funds. There is little evidence that the labor representatives who were on the committee were playing an active role in (1) encouraging unions to examine their contribution to some of the restrictive hiring practices resulting from union contracts, (2) reevaluating their apprenticeship programs and (3) examining their possible obligation for compensatory admission into training programs, union membership and job assignment from hiring halls. There is little evidence that minority group representatives are aware of the complex economic problems surrounding and contributing to Labor's difficulties.

It seems necessary that the Advisory Committee begin to hold frank and open discussions of these issues. It is difficult, however, to imagine that discussions of such crucial issues can be held if meetings continue to be limited to two hours a month; it is hard to conceive that positive, innovative actions concerning "new doors" can emerge from the Employment Development subcommittee if it continues to be nothing more than a caucus of employers meeting rarely; it is difficult to believe that much of lasting value will emerge from the unique alliance unless its members are able to surmount their entrenched positions. Finally, it is hard to see that any effort can be effective unless the employment service, both staff and administration, is able to accept the Advisory Committee as an important and meaningful contributor to its effort to overcome its image as an unimaginative, ineffective and bureaucratic agency.