

Final Report of the Oakland Adult Project Follow-up Study

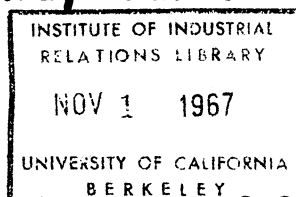
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For

**The Department of Human Resources
Oakland, California**



September, 1967

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION	PAGE
1 INTRODUCTION	1-1
History	1-1
Aims of the Project	1-6
Plan of the Report	1-6
2 CHARACTERISTICS OF APPLICANTS	2-1
Data Presentation	2-1
Discussion and Summary	2-27
3 JOBS AVAILABLE	3-1
Sampling	3-2
Job Orders	3-2
Job Openings	3-3
Characteristics of Employers	3-5
Characteristics of Jobs	3-15
Discussion and Summary	3-20
4 TYPES OF SERVICES OFFERED	4-1
Types of Non-employment Referrals	4-3
Discussion	4-12
5 RESULTS OF SERVICE	5-1
Employment Referrals	5-1
Training Referrals	5-22
No Referrals	5-28
Summary	5-30
6 RESULTS OF A FOLLOW-UP SURVEY	6-1
Introduction	6-1
The Hired and the Not Hired	6-5
Evaluation of CSES	6-27
Summary	6-32
7 PERCEPTIONS OF POLICY MAKERS	7-1
The Minority Unemployment Problem in Oakland	7-1
The Project	7-6
Results of Participation	7-9

8	OVERALL EVALUATION	8-1
	Attainment of Objectives	8-1
	Explanation of Findings	8-9
9	RECOMMENDATIONS	9-1
	The Role of the Project	9-1
	Employment Service Policy and Project Goals	9-2
	Basic Elements of the Program	9-4
	Role of Citizen's Committee	9-7
	Miscellaneous Suggestion	9-7

APPENDICES

A	FOLLOW-UP SURVEY - APPLICANTS	A-i
B	FOLLOW-UP SURVEY - EMPLOYERS	B-iv
C	POLICY-MAKERS' INTERVIEW	C-vi

LEGEND FOR TABLES

Standard columnar abbreviations.

PM - Project minority group persons.

MOM - Main Office.

MOM̄ - Main Office non-minority group persons.

Standard footnotes.

^aThe months of November and December only.

^bThis table was based on total population figures collected by the Follow-up Study.

^cThe months of April through September are excluded.

^dDistributions involving numbers less than 15 were not computed.

Consistent practice.

Columns in the tables may not add exactly because of rounding.

Section 1

INTRODUCTION

This is the final of the three reports concerning the Oakland Adult Minority Employment Project¹ (hereafter referred to as the "Project"). Each of the preceding reports has had a slightly different focus, and although this one was designed to give as complete an overview as is possible, the reader is encouraged, when references are cited, to review segments of earlier reports for more detailed elaboration of material discussed here. In this initial section we will re-examine the origins and aims of the Project. Its history will be traced from the point at which the first formal discussion occurred to the time when data reported in later sections were initially collected.

History

Early Discussions

In the fall of 1962, a group of Oakland businessmen began a series of meetings which were focused on attempts to reduce Oakland's high rate of unemployment among Negroes. Apparently a number of related issues had prompted the first gathering. There was reportedly a concern for the high tax rate in Oakland which was linked, at least in the opinions of some, to the large number of Negro welfare recipients. A belief that large numbers of Negroes were being prevented by discrimination in hiring from obtaining the types of jobs they were capable of holding, i. e., that well educated Negroes were being relegated to menial jobs, was also an opinion held. The possibility of preventing civil rights demonstrations and also reducing the tax burden by removing people from the welfare rolls and putting them to work may well have been enough to convince the businessmen to explore ways of creating a special employment center for Negroes. There has been speculation, however, that political motives were involved as well.² Recapturing the full range and variety of motives underlying the first meeting has been made almost impossible because of the death, within a few weeks of the start of this study, of the man whom all agree was the innovator of the Project. There is good cause to believe, however, that the reasons given above were the salient ones.

As the group of businessmen continued its meetings, methods of implementation were explored. The Oakland Interagency Project (now the Department of Human Resources, City of Oakland) was con-

tacted for assistance and, later, "responsible" representatives from the Negro community were brought into the conferences. They adopted plans to apply for funds not only from the Ford Foundation which had begun its Gray Area Project in Oakland, but also from the federal government.

It was apparently far from easy to decide which agency in Oakland would administer the proposed program. Some Negro leaders felt strongly that only an organization independent of the business, labor, and minority communities would be acceptable. Therefore, the California State Employment Service (hereafter referred to as CSES) was selected. The choice was not made without reluctance, however; CSES apparently had the distinction of being the "least unacceptable" organization available for the job. A good deal of the reluctance can be attributed to the bureaucratic and unimaginative image from which it suffered. When the choice was made, the Oakland Interagency Project worked with the area office of CSES in drafting proposals which were submitted both to the Department of Labor and to the Ford Foundation.

In the two proposals, which called for full correlation between the components provided by each funding source, provisions were made for operating personnel, research and evaluation staff, MDTA training funds, office equipment, and rent for neighborhood offices. Neither application contained requests for specialists who would be responsible for carrying out attempts to remove barriers preventing Negroes from obtaining jobs in Oakland (i.e., job developers).

The Start of the Project

An essential component of the proposals was a Citizens' Advisory Committee, which held its organizational meeting in March 1964. This Committee, the successor of the original businessmen's group, included representatives, not only from the two sections of the community involved in the planning of the Project -- business and minority groups -- but also a third -- labor unions. While there was a certain amount of homogeneity in the union representation in that they were exclusively from AFL-CIO affiliates, there was at least ethnic heterogeneity among the minority group representation since both Negroes and Mexican Americans (the minority groups in Oakland with the largest unemployment problems) became members. It has been charged that Negroes were deliberately chosen in a manner designed to eliminate the more militant, sometimes belligerent and emotional, activists. Consistent with the apparent desire for Negro involvement -- but only in moderation -- a conservative Negro minister was elected chairman of the committee.

In May 1964, a Project Director was appointed in anticipation that operations would begin with the new fiscal year. Only the Ford Foundation Funds were made available on schedule, however, so that the last six months of 1964 were plagued by difficulties and uncertainties about the receipt of funds from the Department of Labor. It took several interventions by Advisory Committee members to clarify the problems involved in the release of funds. The Ford money permitted three offices to be opened by the first of October, but they remained understaffed until the Department of Labor funds were finally made available in January 1965.

The opening of three instead of the two offices planned can be considered a victory for the Mexican-American representatives, who strongly urged that special provisions be made for the needs of the people of their community. The proposals had called for only two offices, both of which were to be located in predominantly Negro sections of Oakland. The additional office, which was administered as an auxiliary of one of the others, was located in an area where the Spanish-speaking population was large.³

During October 1964, the same month that all three offices became operative, the Advisory Committee was instrumental in hiring two job development specialists (referred to hereafter as "Specialists") who were assigned to work with the Project. Since the funds for the men had been obtained by the Department of Human Relations from the Economic Development Administration, the lines of responsibility were ambiguous from the start. The Specialists were responsible to the Executive Director of the Department of Human Resources, performed work for the Project, but were directly responsive to the Advisory Committee which had hired them and, therefore, presumably would in some way control their activities.

Early Operational Difficulties

A number of difficulties occurred during the early months of the Project which were unrelated to the delayed funding. The most salient ones concerned personnel; since they have been enumerated in the past,⁴ a brief summary should suffice here. The Project Director, who had been provided with neither a secretary nor an administrative assistant, was responsible for the operation of one of the offices, as well as for the overall operation of the Project. Since he had only a clerk to assist him in routine secretarial chores, a good deal of his time was occupied with tasks which could have been more effectively handled by others, releasing him for activities more consistent with his responsibilities. The inexperience of many of the original staff also caused problems. Although their desire to obtain jobs for the applicants was never

questioned, the majority of the interviewers had had little or no prior experience with employment service operation and, therefore, were unable to provide the calibre of service possible if their backgrounds had been different. Even more serious was the shortage of personnel to write training programs. In the proposals, training was considered a major component of the Project, and two persons were designated to assist in developing proposals for courses. In spite of those provisions, no full-time person able to initiate a request for training courses was assigned to the Project until the fall of 1965. Prior to that, the Project shared the services of the Occupational Analyst assigned to the central CSES operation in downtown Oakland (hereafter referred to as the "Main Office").

Undoubtedly a number of explanations for the difficulties described can be offered. The inexperience of the interviewers, for instance, apparently was related both to the fact that the Employment Service permitted their experienced personnel to volunteer for the Project and also that there was a definite desire to hire a larger percentage of minority group persons. The result was that few experienced Caucasians volunteered, and it was reportedly difficult to find many minorities with experience. The other problems seemed to be directly related to the small scale originally envisioned for the Project and the resulting complicated organizational relationships. Administratively, the Project was a subdivision of the Main Office, the established CSES office which served Oakland as well as four neighboring areas. Since the Project was one of its operational subdivisions, the Project Director was responsible to the Operations Supervisor who was the second-in-command at the Main Office. In accordance with CSES policy, the Project Director held a rating one step lower than the Operations Supervisor and two steps below the Main Office Manager. This arrangement made him responsible to the assistant manager of an office with which he was in some ways competing. His task was, to some extent, that of changing the negative image held by the minority community of the CSES by providing better service to them than had been extended in the past by his supervisors.

One of the major sources of help in his task was to have come from Advisory Committee members. They, especially the employers, were to use "personal diplomacy" to supply jobs for Project applicants. When it appeared that such jobs were not forthcoming by February 1965, the Director, in a long letter to the members of the Advisory Committee, indicated the failings of the combined efforts of the Advisory Committee and the job development specialists. The letter did not focus solely on these weaknesses, but it also attempted to suggest ways in which some of the difficulties the Project was experiencing might be solved. For instance, he recommended that intake of applicants be limited in

view of the growing number of registrations and small number of job orders received directly by the Project. The developments in the ensuing months, documented in the first report, were highlighted by two dramatic events. First, in April 1965, five of the eight labor representatives threatened to withdraw from the Advisory Committee in the event that the employers did not produce more jobs. Although these "demands" were not met within the 30-day limit set, no resignations occurred.

The second event was a massive reorganization of the Project initiated by members of the Advisory Committee and in large part made possible by additional funds granted by the Department of Labor shortly after the August 1965 Watts disturbances. The reorganization corrected the major structural defects noted earlier -- a secretary, an administrative assistant, two Occupational Analysts, and additional personnel (including a manager for each Project office) joined the staff. The position of Project Director was made equivalent in rank to that of the Main Office Manager and the two operations became, at least administratively, parallel.⁵ The elevation of the Project Director's position was accompanied by the removal of the original director, a development which we feel was clearly desired by some Advisory Committee members and was not merely an incidental motivator. The first director definitely had alienated himself by pointing out, more than once, that all segments of the Advisory Committee had failed to make the types of contributions most needed if the Project was to succeed.

At the same time, there was an attempt to clarify the relationship between the Project Director and other components of the Project. The Specialists were housed with the director and were made responsible to him. It soon became clear, however, that this arrangement had not successfully resolved the difficulties. The Specialists refused to be supervised by the Project Director, and neither the Department of Human Resources nor the Advisory Committee was able to correct the situation.

It was also during the month of October that a new chairman of the Advisory Committee was elected to succeed the former one who was preparing to leave the area. The new chairman immediately assumed command with an authority not displayed by his predecessor. In many ways, October 1965 marked the beginning of the Project's second phase. It was also during this month that final preparations were made by the Follow-up Study to collect data from both the Main Office and the Project (until then, data had been collected only from the latter). These events made it possible for our study period to begin with the new phase of Project operation, one marked by the customary signs of adjustment to new situations, but also, with a history of more than a year's experience in attempting to provide specialized placement services for minority group persons.

Aims of the Project

It is important for the reader to keep in mind the original aims of the Project as the data are presented in the following sections. Since we made, for the first report, an extensive analysis of the ambiguities in the statements of purpose which appeared in the proposals, we will not repeat it here. At this time, we will only present excerpts from the proposals and suggest that those interested in the more detailed analysis refer to Section 9 of the first Interim Report. The underlining in the statements below is ours, and was done in order to point out crucial terms which were not defined in the proposals.

The following appeared to serve as the overall statement of purpose:

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.⁶

The points below appear to be the more specific goals envisioned for the Project:

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;
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.

Plan of the Report

Questions To Be Answered

This report was designed to answer five basic questions about the Oakland Adult Minority Employment Project. The questions, together with the sections in which they are answered, are listed below.

- (1) How and why did the Project start?
(Section 1)
- (2) What was it supposed to accomplish?
(Section 1)
- (3) What did it accomplish?
(Sections 2 - 6)
- (4) What are the explanations for the level of
accomplishment noted?
(Sections 7, 8)
- (5) What should occur in the future?
(Section 9)

Description of Data Collection

The choice of data collected for the report was dictated by the decision to compare results of activities at the Project with those at the Main Office, although we fully realized that nothing approaching an experimental study could be conducted. The evaluators were unable to exercise control over the registration of applicants, nor could they require any consistent or specific treatment of those who did apply. At the same time, we deemed it inappropriate to conduct an evaluation in which results obtained by the Project were not compared with those concerning basically similar people at a fundamentally equivalent operation. Three groups of applicants were sampled and compared throughout the study period: (1) Project minorities (PM) -- those minority group persons (Negroes, Mexican Americans, American Indians, Orientals, etc.) who registered at one of the Project offices, (2) Main Office minorities (MOM) -- those minority group persons who registered at the Main Office, and (3) Main Office non-minorities (MOM) -- those Caucasians, excluding Mexican Americans and other Spanish-speaking persons, who registered at the Main Office.

A major revision was made in the sampling ratio for data collected during the last nine months of the period. A sample of 100 per quarter for each minority group was taken rather than the previous unwieldy number of 200 applicants per month. Main Office non-minorities, who were always considered a secondary comparison group, were not sampled between April and September 1966. The resolution of sampling difficulties peculiar to job orders and follow-up interviews is explained in the relevant sections.

The data analyses in this report are not as detailed as those in the second for two reasons. First, we felt that the data

in the last report did not warrant the many statistical refinements attempted. These had been based, in many instances, on efforts to detect differential results for applicant groups which should have been given special attention by the Project. However, we found that no differential treatment had been provided, and that the results of service, except in the case of sex, reflected no major differences. The second involved the change in the job classification system used by the Employment Service before our data for the last three quarters of 1966 were collected. This change made it impossible to perform a number of the analyses found in the last report. We were forced not only to modify analyses according to occupational levels, but also to eliminate the concepts of "upgrading" and "target occupations" formerly used.

Rationale of Report Sections

This report contains a total of nine sections. Section 2 will be devoted to an examination of the characteristics of the three groups of applicants studied. By these means we will indicate, as best the measures used permit, any differences which existed between our three groups of subjects. Section 3 will consist of an examination of the jobs available to the Project. Section 4 contains a description of differences in services provided by the Project and Main Office; the major results of those services are examined in Section 5. Some of the results are illuminated in Section 6 by follow-up interviews conducted by this staff.

In Section 7, we attempt to provide a better understanding of the results that were obtained by examining the perceptions of the Project's policymakers and administrators concerning the role of the Project in solving Oakland's minority unemployment problem. The overall evaluation of the Project is reserved for Section 8, and recommendations for the future are inserted in Section 9.

It should be remembered that all of the data except those describing ethnic group membership⁷ and those from the follow-up survey were based on records kept by the California State Employment Service. To the degree that those records were inaccurate, our data are impaired.

Footnotes - Section 1

1. Referred to in previous reports by its shorter name: The Oakland Adult Project.

2. Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), reports the Project's inception as follows: "In the fall of 1962...a group of businessmen in Oakland became concerned over the extent of Negro unemployment and the possibility of a boycott or picketing by Negro militants, and decided to take the initiative themselves in developing a program to open up new jobs for Negroes...." Silberman claims that when no plans were made to consult or include "grass-roots Negro leaders" of Oakland, the move was interpreted as a plot to attract Negroes to the Republican Party, since a Republican group had just issued a statement almost identical to the statement of objectives of the businessmen's committee.

3. In the course of the Project's existence, changes have been made which concern all offices. The original two included in the proposal were moved into Multi-service Centers in other sections of the City. One of these in the Fruitvale area, in effect, replaces the auxiliary office staffed for the Spanish-speaking, although the latter was eliminated over the vigorous protest of the Mexican-American members of the Advisory Committee.

4. W. B. Woodson and S. S. Sheffield, (First) Interim Report of Oakland Adult Project Follow-Up Study (Berkeley: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, June 1966), Section 9.

5. The Project was still very dependent on the Main Office for job orders.

6. Oakland Interagency Project, Proposal for Adult Minority Group Training and Placement Program for Oakland, pp. 1-2.

7. A special waiver was obtained from the California State FEPC which permitted us to collect ethnic data during the life of the study.

Section 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF APPLICANTS

This section will be devoted to an examination of selected personal characteristics of applicants to the Project and to the Main Office in an attempt to pinpoint whatever similarities and differences existed between them. There are two basic limitations to the analysis. First of all, certain characteristics which cannot be measured may be more relevant than those measured. Perhaps more significant information would have been forthcoming if psychological variables, such as self-esteem, confidence, and determination, had supplemented the list of characteristics examined. It was necessary, however, to base the analysis almost exclusively on data collected by the California State Employment Service on its registration forms.

A second limitation of this section concerns the measurement of certain of the statistical variables. In at least two cases, the scales used in coding proved inadequate. This point will become clearer as "Length of Work Experience" and "Length of Time in Area" are discussed.

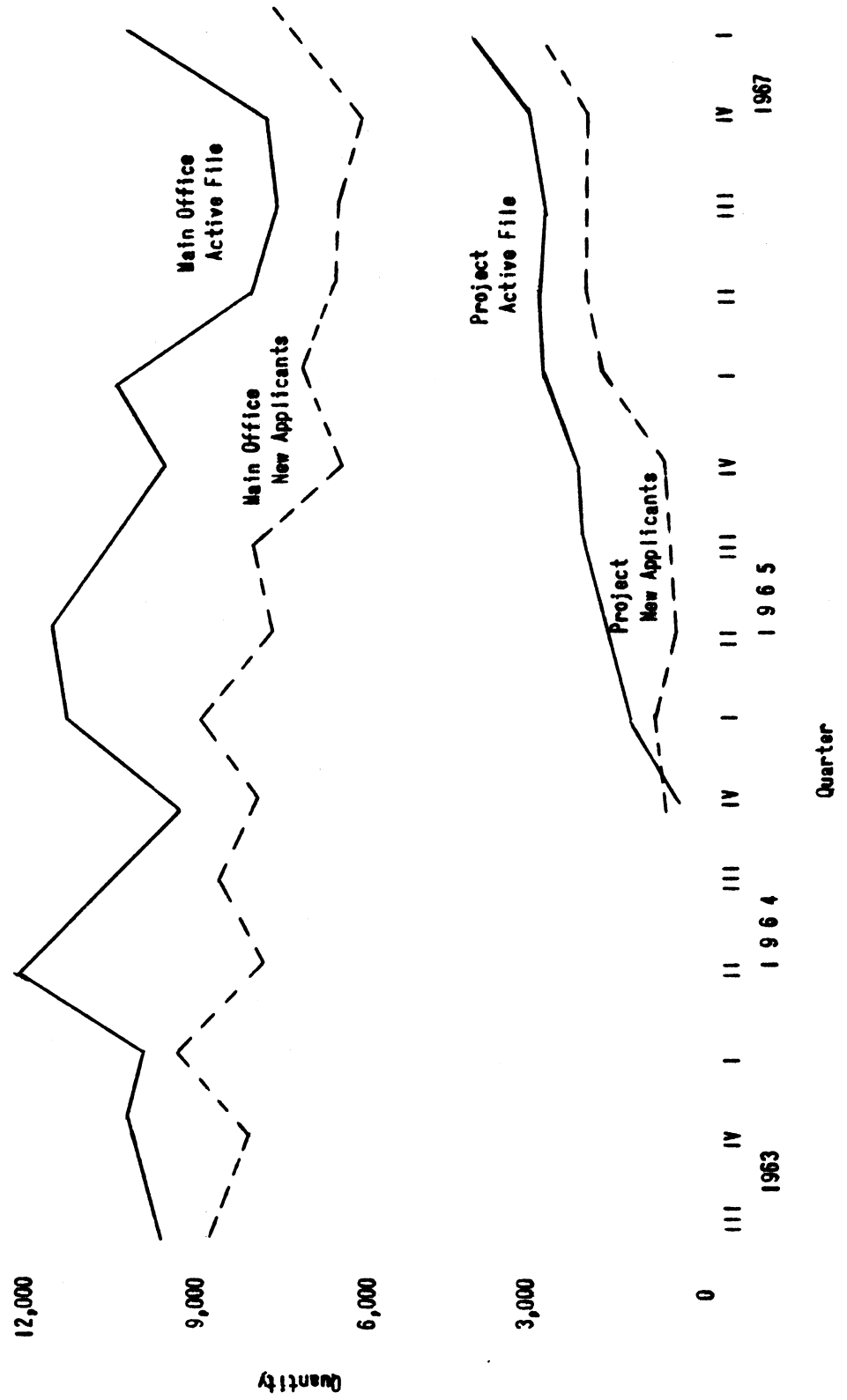
Data Presentation

Total Number of Applicants

In Figure 1, data are graphically presented in a manner which allows gross quantitative comparisons of new applicants to the Project and to the Main Office, as well as comparisons of the total active files at each operation. In interpreting this Figure, it should be remembered that the phrase "new applicant" is used to describe a person who applied to an office for the first time during the month in question.¹ The phrase "active file" refers to all applicants who are still considered to be looking for a job regardless of the month of application. All series in Figure 1 are based on data collected by the California State Employment Service. The Active File series are based on totals for the final month of each quarter, whereas the New Applicant series are based on cumulative totals during each quarter.

Examination of Figure 1 reveals that the new applicant intake was relatively stable at the Main Office during the year prior to

FIGURE I
Applications to Project and Main Office



the Project's opening, but that a general decline occurred in adult applications as the Project continued to operate. It is not possible to infer a causal relationship, however, since unemployment insurance claims in Oakland declined during this same period, an event which suggests that Main Office applications would have decreased without the advent of the Project. What appear to be seasonal fluctuations are seen throughout the time period represented. At the Project, although new applications generally increased throughout the entire period, no substantial increase occurred until the first quarter of 1966. During that time, preparations were being made for the opening of the East Bay Skills Center. There is good reason to believe that the increase in applications was directly related to this preparation since public announcements of the opening had been made and there was general awareness that the Project offices would be used as the major referral source for Oakland adults.

In addition, our data indicate that the stated reasons for applying to the Project changed drastically between the early months of the Project and the last three quarters of 1966. In the first Interim Report, we indicated that 99.9 per cent of all Project applicants were looking for work only; during the last three quarters of 1966, however, less than 20 per cent of the minority group applicants were interested in work only -- more than 75 per cent indicated a desire for either work or training (see the table below).

Desired results of registration at Project, by minority group applicants,
April - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Desired Result	Total	Males			Total	Females		
		II	III	IV		II	III	IV
Total Number	100.0 409	100.0 139	100.0 134	100.0 136	100.0 412	100.0 119	100.0 151	100.0 142
Job only	18.8	19.4	21.6	15.4	19.4	15.1	29.8	13.4
Training only	3.2	4.3	4.5	.7	2.1	1.7	4.6	.0
Job & Training	73.8	71.9	70.1	79.4	74.5	81.5	60.3	81.7
Unknown	4.1	4.3	3.7	4.4	4.0	1.7	5.3	4.9

Minority Group Applicants

Since racial information may not be noted on work applications, it was impossible to obtain an accurate record of the number of minority group persons who applied to the Project and to the Main Office during the entire period depicted in Figure 1. The information is available, however, for the study period (November 1965 to December 1966) as a result of a waiver granted this study by the California Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Minority group representation among applicants to the Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)						
Group	Total	1965 IV ^a	I	1966 II	III	IV
Project						
Total Number	100.0 10360 ^b	100.0 815	100.0 2113	100.0 2662	100.0 2442	100.0 2328
Minority	88.9	92.3	89.0	90.5	89.1	85.8
Non-minority	11.1	7.7	11.0	9.5	10.9	14.2
Main Office						
Total Number	100.0 31062 ^b	100.0 4504	100.0 7399	100.0 6697	100.0 6390	100.0 6072
Minority	36.9	37.0	36.1	36.5	38.2	36.8
Non-minority	63.1	63.0	63.9	64.5	62.8	63.2

For explanation of footnotes, see Legend.

It is apparent that throughout the period studied, minority group persons predominated at Project offices although the proportion of the total new applicants which they represented decreased slightly during the period. At the Main Office, where slightly more than one-third of the applicants were minority group members, the proportion remained relatively stable.

The question has been raised periodically about the amount of overlap between Project and Main Office applicants. Although

we elected not to devote the time and resources to answering this question in detail, we have collected data that permit us to obtain an approximation. A record was made, during the last three quarters of 1966, of those persons registered at the Project who indicated that they had also registered at the Main Office.

It is quite likely that a number of the persons who registered with the Project first, later applied at the Main Office. Although we have no way of estimating the degree to which this occurred, it probably involved a smaller percentage of the applicants than did the double registration reported here. This speculation is based on the assumption that even though the Project was less well known than the Main Office, it had gained the reputation of being an intimate, friendly, operation designed specifically to serve minorities. Since there were no opportunities open to minorities at the Main Office that were not open to them at the Project, there would certainly be no reason for staff referrals, and self-referrals would seem unlikely.

Minority group applicants to Project also registered at
Main Office, April - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Double Registration	Total	Males			Total	Females		
		II	III	IV		II	III	IV
Total Number	100.0 409	100.0 139	100.0 134	100.0 136	100.0 412	100.0 119	100.0 151	100.0 142
Yes	34.4	38.8	35.8	28.7	31.7	38.7	33.8	22.5
No	63.8	60.4	61.2	69.9	65.8	58.0	64.9	74.6
Unknown	1.7	0.7	3.0	1.5	2.5	3.4	1.3	2.8

These data indicate that a sizeable proportion of minority group applicants registered at the Project after having registered at the Main Office. This finding is not surprising particularly during a period when at least three-quarters of all Project applicants were interested in training possibilities as well as jobs. Once the Skills Center became operative (April 1966) virtually all of the training referrals in Oakland originated from the Project. As a result, Main Office applicants desirous of training were frequently advised to apply at the Project offices.

Ethnic Groups

Negroes were the largest single minority group that registered at the Project and at the Main Office. Virtually no other minority

Ethnicity of minority group applicants to Project and Main
Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Ethnic Group	Project			Main Office		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Total Number	100.0 1787	100.0 896	100.0 981	100.0 1840	100.0 1067	100.0 773
Negro	80.6	77.1	81.1	75.2	72.3	78.1
Mexican-American & Spanish-speaking	18.1	21.2	14.9	12.0	13.9	10.0
Other or unknown	1.3	1.7	1.0	11.9	13.8	9.9

groups applied to the Project except the Mexican American and other Spanish-speaking peoples. The situation was different at the Main Office, though, where the minority group applicants who were not Negroes were evenly divided between the Mexican American--Spanish-speaking group and other minority groups, such as Orientals, American Indians, etc.

Only two noteworthy variations over time were discovered (see Table 2.1). At the Project, the percentage of minority group men that was Negro decreased somewhat. However, Negro women constituted a rising percentage of the minority group females.

Sex

Males clearly predominated among the minority group applicants to the Main Office during the study period, whereas there was an even balance of the sexes at the Project.

TABLE 2.1

Ethnicity of minority group applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Ethnic Group	Project												Main Office				
	1965	I	9	6	6	1965	I	9	6	6	IV ^a	IV	IV ^a	I	II	III	IV
Males																	
Total Number	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	196	291	139	134	136	226	328	156	176	181							
Negro	80.1	77.7	77.7	73.9	74.2	73.0	71.9	75.5	69.9	71.8							
Mexican American & Spanish Speaking	19.9	21.6	21.6	20.9	22.0	12.4	14.3	10.9	13.6	17.7							
Other & Unknown	0.0	0.6	0.7	5.2	3.7	14.6	13.7	13.5	16.5	10.5							
Females																	
Total Number	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	199	280	119	151	142	163	251	132	119	108							
Negro	79.9	86.1	78.2	88.7	85.9	79.8	78.8	76.5	87.4	77.8							
Mexican American & Spanish Speaking	20.1	12.1	21.8	10.6	12.0	9.8	11.2	12.9	5.0	11.1							
Other & Unknown	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.7	2.1	10.4	10.0	10.6	7.6	11.1							

Sex of applicants to the Project and Main Office,
November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Sex	Project	Main Office	
	Minority	Minority	Non-minority
Total Number	100.0 1787	100.0 1840	100.0 1198
Male	50.1	58.0	55.3
Female	49.9	42.0	44.7

Data contained in Table 2.2 reveal that, whereas female applicants frequently outnumbered males at the Project, this never occurred at the Main Office.

Age

Even though the Project and the adult section of the Main Office were oriented to adults, some youths were served at each operation. The percentage of applicants that was non-adult was larger at the Project than at the Main Office, however.

Age categories of applicants to Project and Main Office,
November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Age Group	Project	Main Office	
	Minority	Minority	Non-minority
Males			
Total Number	100.0 896	100.0 1067	100.0 663
Youth	19.6	15.2	9.1
Adult	80.4	84.8	90.9
Females			
Total Number	100.0 891	100.0 773	100.0 535
Youth	19.8	11.6	19.3
Adult	80.2	88.4	80.7

TABLE 2.2

Sex of Applicants to Project and Main Office,
November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Sex	1965	1 9 6 6			
	IV ^a	I	II	III	IV
Project Minority					
Total Number	100.0 395	100.0 571	100.0 258	100.0 285	100.0 278
Male	49.6	51.0	53.9	47.0	48.9
Female	50.4	49.0	46.1	53.0	51.1
Main Office Minority					
Total Number	100.0 389	100.0 579	100.0 288	100.0 295	100.0 289
Male	58.1	56.6	54.2	59.7	62.6
Female	41.9	43.4	45.8	40.3	37.4
Main Office Non-minority					
Total Number	100.0 374	100.0 538	-- --	-- --	100.0 286
Male	60.7	49.3	--	--	59.8
Female	39.3	50.7	--	--	40.2

The percentage of males who were youths tended to increase slightly in all groups during the time period examined, whereas the percentage of young people among the females remained relatively constant or, in the case of non-minority applicants to the Main Office, decreased somewhat (Table 2.3).

Undoubtedly, as a result of the larger proportion who were youths, the median age of minority group applicants to the Project was somewhat lower than that of Main Office applicants.

Median age of applicants to Project and Main Office,
November 1965 - December 1966

Sex	Project Minority	Main Office	
		Minority	Non-minority
Number	896	1067	663
Males	28.9	29.9	32.5
Females	29.6	31.4	31.8

Education

The median educational level of minority group applicants to the Project was lower than that of either comparison group. While there was half a year's difference between each of the three male groups, only a half year separated the two extreme female groups (i.e., the Project minority and the Main Office non-minority).

Median education of applicants to Project and Main Office,
November 1965 - December 1966

Sex	Project Minority	Main Office	
		Minority	Non-minority
Number	896	1067	663
Males	10.6	11.1	11.6
Females	11.1	11.3	11.5

TABLE 2.3

Age of applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Age in Years	Project Minority												Main Office Minority												Main Office Non-minority																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
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	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	1965	I	II	III	IV

There is one major finding apparent in the more detailed presentation in Table 2.4. As the Project proceeded, the percentage of minority group male applicants to the Project having an eighth grade education or less increased, while the percentage that had completed high school decreased.

Area of Education

The overwhelming majority of minority group persons, whether applicants to the Project or to the Main Office, were educated either in California² or in the South or Southwestern United States. The education of non-minority group persons, on the other hand, was concentrated in California.

Area of country education - applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Area	Males			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Total Number	100.0 896	100.0 1067	100.0 663	100.0 891	100.0 773	100.0 535
Northcentral and West	46.6	46.2	71.7	42.8	40.5	73.3
South and Southwest	37.4	39.5	10.8	42.7	46.5	10.2
Other U. S. and Foreign	16.0	14.3	17.1	14.5	12.9	16.5

For explanation of abbreviations, see Legend.

Work Experience³

Minority group persons, both male and female, tended to have less work experience in their primary occupation than did non-minority persons. The tendency was strongest in the case of minority group applicants to the Project, which had the largest percentage of persons with less than six months of experience and the smallest percentage of persons with more than two years.

TABLE 2.4

Education of applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Years of Education	Project Minority				Main Office Minority				Main Office Non-minority			
	1965 IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	1965 IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	1965 IV ^a	I 9 6 6
Males												
Total Number	100.0 196	100.0 291	100.0 139	100.0 134.0	100.0 136	100.0 226	100.0 328	100.0 156	100.0 176	100.0 181	100.0 227	100.0 265 171
0 - 8	10.7	14.8	17.3	19.4	20.6	15.5	20.4	17.3	13.6	17.1	10.1	9.1 8.8
9 - 11	37.2	32.3	45.3	38.1	41.2	25.7	28.0	27.6	26.7	27.6	18.9	21.9 17.5
12	41.8	40.5	29.5	26.1	25.7	41.6	34.8	30.8	40.3	39.2	36.6	37.4 37.4
13 or more	10.2	12.4	7.9	16.4	12.5	17.3	16.8	24.4	19.3	16.0	34.4	31.7 36.3
Females												
Total Number	100.0 199	100.0 280	100.0 119	100.0 151	100.0 142	100.0 163	100.0 251	100.0 132	100.0 115	100.0 108	100.0 147	100.0 273 115
0 - 8	7.5	11.4	18.5	7.9	15.5	9.2	15.9	10.6	9.2	15.7	8.8	8.1 8.7
9 - 11	37.2	38.6	27.7	31.8	28.9	26.4	26.3	19.7	26.9	28.7	17.0	20.5 17.4
12	39.2	36.4	38.7	45.0	38.0	41.1	38.2	47.0	34.5	40.7	50.3	39.9 50.4
13 or more	16.1	13.6	15.1	15.2	17.6	23.3	19.5	22.7	29.4	14.8	23.8	31.5 23.5

Work experience in primary occupation of applicants to
Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Months	Males			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Total Number	100.0 896	100.0 1067	100.0 663	100.0 891	100.0 773	100.0 535
0 - 6	20.7	13.6	15.8	26.9	18.4	21.3
7 - 24	27.7	32.6	22.3	29.1	33.4	26.1
25 or more	51.6	53.8	62.0	43.9	48.1	52.5

Variations over time are recorded in Table 2.5. The most dramatic changes occurred consistently in the six-months-or-less category. For minority group female applicants to the Main Office, and for all non-minority group applicants there, the percentage of persons who had less than six months work experience decreased over the time period examined. In each case, there was an almost comparable increase in the proportion of applications from people with six months to two years work experience.

Employment Status

Approximately 90 per cent of all applicants in the sample were not working when they registered with the Department of Employment. The percentage, in the case of minority group applicants to the Project, however, was slightly smaller than that for the two comparison groups.

Employment status of applicants to Project and Main Office,
November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Employment status	Males			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Total Number	100.0 898	100.0 1068	100.0 663	100.0 890	100.0 773	100.0 535
Employed	13.6	6.0	10.1	16.2	10.9	5.8

TABLE 2.5

Work experience of applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Months of Work Experience	Project Minority					Main Office Minority					Main Office Non-minority				
	1965 IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	1965 IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	1965 IV ^a	I	II	III	IV
Males															
Total Number	100.0 196	100.0 291	100.0 139	100.0 134	100.0 136	100.0 226	100.0 328	100.0 156	100.0 176	100.0 181	100.0 227	100.0 265	100.0 265	100.0 171	100.0 171
0 - 6	14.8	25.8	22.9	19.3	20.5	11.5	16.2	12.1	14.2	13.8	22.5	15.5	15.5	9.3	9.3
7 - 24	30.6	26.5	22.3	27.6	31.6	33.2	26.9	26.3	35.2	41.4	18.1	20.8	20.8	28.0	28.0
25 or more	54.6	47.8	54.7	53.0	47.8	55.3	57.0	61.5	50.6	44.8	59.5	63.8	63.8	62.6	62.6
Females															
Total Number	100.0 199	100.0 280	100.0 119	100.0 151	100.0 142	100.0 163	100.0 251	100.0 132	100.0 119	100.0 108	100.0 147	100.0 273	100.0 273	100.0 115	100.0 115
0 - 6	28.7	33.2	24.4	27.8	20.4	25.1	24.3	12.9	16.9	13.0	22.4	26.0	26.0	15.6	15.6
7 - 24	28.2	21.4	29.4	34.4	32.4	23.9	25.5	43.1	39.5	35.2	23.1	20.5	20.5	34.8	34.8
25 or more	43.2	45.5	56.2	37.7	47.2	50.9	50.2	43.9	43.7	51.9	54.4	53.5	53.5	49.6	49.6

Not working	86.4	94.0	90.0	83.8	89.0	94.2
1 - 14 weeks	48.9	67.1	67.9	30.4	49.6	57.7
15 - 26 weeks	10.8	8.8	9.8	10.7	9.4	11.8
27 weeks or more	24.5	16.3	11.5	39.3	28.6	23.4
Unknown	2.2	1.8	.8	3.4	1.4	1.3

Project minority group persons, when compared to the Main Office groups, had a considerably smaller percentage of applicants who had not been employed for less than 14 weeks, and a somewhat larger percentage not employed for 27 or more weeks. The major difference between the pattern for men and women was that a smaller percentage of women fell into the first category and a larger one into the latter. Some minor changes over time may be seen in Table 2.6 where quarterly data are presented. The most impressive finding is that the percentage of employed female minority group applicants to the Project dropped sharply between the first and second quarters of 1966 from approximately 20 to 8 per cent.

Work History of the Unemployed

During the last three quarters of 1966, data were collected concerning the work history of applicants who were not working at the time they registered. We were interested in determining the average length of time applicants remained employed on jobs they had held in the past. The results indicated that the percentage of minority group persons with a history of jobs lasting over one year was slightly smaller for minority group applicants at both operations than for the Main Office non-minority group persons. In addition, virtually none had a history of less-than-three-day jobs ("temporary" by CSES definition). Of the three groups studied, a larger percentage of Project minorities had acquired no work experience at all. The percentages were not sizeable, however, reaching only 7 per cent in the case of females. In light of the fact that one-fifth of the applicants were youths, it seems surprising that the percentage of persons with no work history was as low as it was.

Work History of unemployed applicants to Project and Main Office, April - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Work history	Males			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	366	483	163	371	324	107

TABLE 2.6

Employment status of applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter
(Per cent distribution)

Employment Status	Project Minority					Main Office Minority					Main Office Non-minority							
	1965	I	9	6	6	1965	IV ^a	IV	IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	I	9	6	6
Males																		
Total Number	100.0 196	100.0 291	100.0 141	100.0 134	100.0 136	100.0 226	100.0 226	100.0 328	100.0 157	100.0 176	100.0 181	100.0 227	100.0 265	100.0 171	100.0 285	100.0 265	100.0 171	100.0 171
Employed	12.8	17.9	12.0	11.9	8.8	4.9	7.0	8.9	8.5	8.5	1.1	13.2	10.9	4.7	10.9	10.9	4.7	4.7
Not Working	87.3	82.1	87.9	88.1	91.2	95.1	93.0	91.1	91.4	91.4	98.9	86.8	89.0	95.3	89.0	89.0	95.3	95.3
1 - 14 wks.	58.2	49.5	34.0	46.3	52.2	66.8	68.3	56.1	68.7	68.7	73.5	69.6	64.9	70.2	64.9	64.9	70.2	70.2
15 - 26 wks.	7.7	13.7	5.7	8.2	16.9	8.8	9.5	8.3	7.4	7.4	9.4	6.6	11.3	11.7	11.3	11.3	11.7	11.7
27 wks. or more	21.4	18.9	41.8	29.1	18.4	19.5	15.2	22.3	11.9	11.9	12.7	10.6	12.8	10.5	12.8	12.8	10.5	10.5
Unknown	9.0	0.0	6.4	4.5	3.7	0.0	0.0	4.4	3.4	3.4	3.3	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.9	2.9
Females																		
Total Number	100.0 199	100.0 280	100.0 199	100.0 150	100.0 142	100.0 163	100.0 251	100.0 132	100.0 119	100.0 119	100.0 108	100.0 147	100.0 273	100.0 115	100.0 273	100.0 273	100.0 115	100.0 115
Employed	23.1	20.7	8.4	10.7	9.9	9.8	13.5	12.9	8.4	8.4	7.4	6.8	4.8	7.0	4.8	4.8	7.0	7.0
Not Working	76.0	79.3	91.6	89.3	90.2	90.2	86.5	87.2	91.6	91.6	92.6	93.2	95.3	93.1	95.3	95.3	93.1	93.1
1 - 14 wks.	33.2	28.2	28.6	25.3	38.0	50.9	53.8	41.7	43.7	43.7	53.7	51.7	6.12	57.4	6.12	6.12	57.4	57.4
15 - 26 wks.	12.1	11.1	8.4	9.3	11.3	4.9	10.4	6.8	13.4	13.4	13.0	12.9	10.3	13.9	10.3	10.3	13.9	13.9
27 wks. or more	31.7	40.0	44.5	52.0	31.0	34.4	22.3	36.4	30.3	30.3	23.1	28.6	23.8	15.7	23.8	23.8	15.7	15.7
Unknown	0.0	0.0	10.1	2.7	9.9	0.0	0.0	2.3	4.2	4.2	2.8	0.0	0.0	6.1	0.0	0.0	6.1	6.1

None	1.9	.2	.6	7.0	1.8	.0
Less than 3 day	.3	.4	.0	.5	.0	.0
3 day - 1 month	9.8	11.0	7.4	8.9	7.7	3.7
1 month - 1 year	28.4	30.4	20.9	28.6	36.7	28.0
Over 1 year	59.6	58.0	71.1	55.0	53.7	68.2

Since the data on Main Office non-minority group persons were based on only one of the three quarters, great caution must be exercised in comparing the results recorded above. Examination of Table 2.7 suggests, however, that the difference between minority and non-minority group persons would have been greater had data been available uniformly for the three quarters. During the year, the percentage of minority group persons with histories of jobs lasting from three days to a month increased greatly. This trend was strongest at the Main Office where virtually no minorities were in the category during the second quarter, but one-fifth were in it during the last.

Location of Last Job

Data on the "location of last job held" is available only for the months of April to December 1966. During those months, the pattern for minority group applicants to the Project did not differ greatly from that for minority group applicants to the Main Office. Approximately two-thirds of both groups had held their last job in the East Bay, most frequently in Oakland.

Location of last job held by minority group applicants to Project and Main Office, April - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Location	Males		Females	
	Project	Main Office	Project	Main Office
Total Number	100.0 409	100.0 513	100.0 412	100.0 359
Oakland	41.5	38.0	52.3	39.7
Other East Bay	25.2	22.7	15.0	18.3
West Bay	7.8	5.8	7.8	7.3
Other				
California	9.3	15.2	8.3	16.4
South or				
Southwest U. S.	6.1	4.1	7.0	5.2
Other U. S.				
or Foreign	10.0	14.1	8.6	13.3

TABLE 2.7

Work history of unemployed applicants to Project and Main Office, April -
December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Length of Jobs	Project Minority			Main Office			
				Minority		Non-minority	
	1 9 6 6			1 9 6 6		1 9 6 6	
	II	III	IV	II	III	IV	IV
Males							
Total Number	100.0 124	100.0 118	100.0 124	100.0 143	100.0 161	100.0 179	100.0 163
None	0.8	4.2	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6
Less than 3 days	.8	.0	.0	.7	.6	.0	.0
3 days - 1 month	6.5	6.8	16.1	1.4	8.1	21.2	7.4
1 month - 1 year	31.5	22.9	30.6	32.9	30.4	28.5	20.9
Over 1 year	60.5	66.1	52.4	65.0	60.2	50.3	71.2
Females							
Total Number	100.0 109	100.0 134	100.0 128	100.0 115	100.0 109	100.0 100	100.0 107
None	6.4	7.5	7.0	1.7	0.0	4.0	0.0
Less than 3 days	.0	.0	1.6	.0	.0	.0	.0
3 days - 1 month	8.3	6.7	11.7	1.7	5.5	17.0	3.7
1 month - 1 year	31.2	31.3	23.4	39.1	33.9	37.0	28.0
Over 1 year	54.1	54.5	56.3	57.4	60.6	42.0	68.2

Data are reported separately for the last three quarters of 1966 in Table 2.8. Examination of that table reveals somewhat different trends at the Project than at the Main Office. At the Project, the proportion of minority group males who had held their last job in Oakland decreased somewhat, but this decline was offset by an increase in the proportion of men who had worked in other parts of the East Bay. At the Main Office, however, there was a slight decrease in the proportion of men who had worked last in the East Bay (including Oakland) and that was balanced by an increase in workers who had last held a job somewhere else in California (outside of the Bay Area) or somewhere else in the United States⁴ (outside of California, the South, or the Southwest). Virtually no registrants, minority or non-minority, had been employed in the South Bay Area.

TABLE 2.8

Location of last job held by applicants to Project and Main Office,
April - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Location of Last Job	Project Minority			Main Office			
				Minority		Non-minority	
	1 9 6 6			1 9 6 6		1 9 6 6	
	II	III	IV	II	III	IV	IV
Males							
Total Number	100.0 139	100.0 134	100.0 136	100.0 156	100.0 176	100.0 181	100.0 171
Oakland	49.6	37.3	37.5	41.7	37.5	34.8	29.8
Other East Bay	20.1	24.6	30.9	25.6	19.9	22.7	22.2
West Bay	7.2	8.2	8.1	5.1	6.8	5.5	7.0
South Bay	1.4	1.5	.0	.0	.0	.6	1.2
Other California	9.4	6.7	8.8	9.6	18.7	16.6	14.6
South & Southwest U. S.	6.5	9.0	2.9	5.1	4.0	3.3	3.3
Other U. S. or Foreign	5.7	12.6	11.7	12.8	13.0	16.6	21.7
Females							
Total Number	100.0 119	100.0 151	100.0 142	100.0 132	100.0 119	100.0 108	100.0 115
Oakland	58.0	51.0	47.9	38.6	38.7	41.7	37.4
Other East Bay	15.1	15.2	14.8	20.5	17.6	16.7	20.9
West Bay	8.4	8.6	6.3	5.3	9.2	7.4	12.2
South Bay	.0	.0	.0	.0	.8	.0	2.6
Other California	7.6	6.0	11.3	15.2	12.6	20.4	9.6
South & Southwest U. S.	4.2	9.9	7.0	5.3	7.6	2.8	8.7
Other U. S. or Foreign	6.7	9.2	9.8	15.2	13.4	11.2	14.8

Occupational Classification

The system used by the Department of Employment to classify jobs was altered drastically during the course of this study. Since no change had been anticipated when data were collected for the first two interim reports, we failed to record sufficient information in the earlier months to permit conversion to the new system.⁵ Therefore, we are forced to deal with two periods of time and two classification systems which are comparable only in quite gross categories.

Only in connection with the applicant follow-up was it feasible for us to gather data from which we could compare the new with the old system. The major difference between the two concerns the blue-collar non-service categories. Whereas in the past, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor could easily be differentiated, the Department of Employment felt it would suit its purposes better if occupations in these categories were made distinguishable by field rather than skill level. Although there has been insufficient time for social scientists to study the system thoroughly, it seems that their work will be hampered considerably. For instance, the scale of socio-economic prestige (the "Duncan scale") used in our second Interim Report, is no longer applicable, since it is based on education, income, and occupation. Although probably considered an improvement by the Department of Employment, the new system is far less useful for these types of analyses than was the former approach to occupational classification. In the limited time available to us, we have tried to reconcile the two systems in a way which would permit maximum feasible comparisons. The following table reveals that when quite gross categories are used, at least 90 per cent of the applicants received the same classification in both systems.

Percentage of Persons Receiving Same Classification Under Both Classification

Occupational Classification

Number	275
White-collar	96.2
Professional-managerial	89.5
Clerical-sales	93.3
Blue-collar	98.0
Service	94.9
Other	90.1

Note: This table is based on the follow-up sample chosen for (November and December), 1966.

Even the limited comparison in Table 2.9 indicates that at the Main Office, whereas 80 to 90 per cent of minority group males were classified for blue-collar jobs, less than 60 per cent of the non-minority applicants were so classified. Blue-collar workers were a larger percentage of minority group applicants to the Project than of those to the Main Office. Between November 1965 and March 1966, almost all of the blue-collar minority group applicants were classified for medium or low (skill) level jobs. Although revised classification system prevents verification, there is no reason to believe that the situation changed during the last three quarters of 1966.

There was no difficulty, however, in detecting a pattern in female applications. Minority group applicants were either looking for service, clerical or sales jobs. Among non-minority group female applicants, approximately three-fifths were seeking clerical or sales jobs, while the percentages seeking service jobs were relatively small.

Miscellaneous Characteristics

A number of dichotomous variables are presented in the following table.

Percentages of applicants to Project and Main Office with selected characteristics, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Characteristic	Males			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Total Number	100.0 896	100.0 1067	100.0 663	100.0 891	100.0 773	100.0 535
Oakland resident	86.2	82.0	61.9	86.8	83.1	66.0
Head of household	70.6	73.5	60.6	45.2	42.2	20.5
Target group	52.1	51.9	31.9	34.1	30.8	12.7
Entry level job	8.4	5.2	4.6	18.6	11.9	6.7
Receiving unemployment compensation	18.9	43.1	40.3	9.4	29.9	28.6
Union member	31.0	35.2	29.5	15.1	21.4	15.6
Disability	8.2	8.0	9.9	4.9	3.5	5.3

TABLE 2.9

Occupational Classification of Applicants to Project and Main Office,
November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Occupational Classification	Project Minority		Main Office			
	Nov '65- Mar '66	Apr - Dec '66	Nov '65- Mar '66	Apr - Dec '66	Nov '65 Mar '66	Apr - Dec '66
Males						
Total Number	100.0 487	100.0 409	100.0 554	100.0 513	100.0 492	100.0 171
White Collar	12.1	11.5	15.8	19.6	42.4	41.5
Professional & Managerial	3.3	3.9	4.7	5.7	18.2	18.1
Clerical & Sales	8.8	7.6	11.1	13.9	24.2	23.4
Blue Collar	87.9	88.5	84.4	80.5	57.6	58.4
Services	21.8	19.3	22.1	20.9	9.8	6.4
Other	66.1	69.2	62.3	59.6	47.8	52.0
Skilled	8.8	..	11.8	..	17.3	..
Semiskilled	24.6	..	22.0	..	19.7	..
Unskilled	30.5	..	28.1	..	9.3	..
Agricultural	2.2	..	0.0	..	1.5	..
Females						
Total Number	100.0 479	100.0 412	100.0 414	100.0 359	100.0 420	100.0 115
White Collar	30.0	35.1	37.3	41.7	69.9	69.5
Professional & Managerial	1.4	2.3	6.1	4.6	11.0	7.8
Clerical & Sales	28.6	32.8	31.2	37.1	58.9	61.7
Blue Collar	70.0	64.8	62.8	58.3	30.2	30.5
Services	45.4	48.4	40.8	42.1	16.9	18.3
Other	24.6	16.4	22.0	16.2	13.3	12.2

There are clear indications that non-minority group applicants to the Main Office were less likely to be Oakland residents and heads of household than were minority group persons. Consequently, there was a smaller proportion of target persons⁶ among the non-minority group.

The data on unemployment compensation seem particularly informative. They clearly indicate that the proportion of minority group applicants to the Project who received unemployment compensation was much smaller than the proportion of both minority and non-minority group applicants to the Main Office. This may be accounted for by the fact that (for a large proportion of cases) one must register at the California State Employment Service as proof of active job-seeking before he qualifies for unemployment compensation. However, this also may indicate that the Project is indeed reaching the long-term unemployed who have either never been eligible for unemployment compensation benefits or who have been out of work so long that their benefits are exhausted.

It is also clear from the table presented below that, during the last three quarters of 1966, between three-fourths and nine-tenths of the minority group applicants to the Project were not receiving any other form of compensation or subsidy. This finding is particularly interesting in light of the apparently pervasive feeling at the inception of the Project that one of the advantages would be to reduce the welfare rolls.

Minority group applicants to Project who receive welfare payments, April - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Type of Payment	MALES			FEMALES		
	II	III	IV	II	III	IV
Total Number	100.0 139	100.0 134	100.0 136	100.0 119	100.0 151	100.0 142
Aid to families of dependent children	4.3	6.0	11.0	19.3	15.2	13.4
Other	2.9	1.4	1.4	1.6	.7	.0
None	87.1	88.8	73.5	76.5	80.1	77.5
Unknown	5.8	3.0	14.0	1.7	4.0	9.2

Length of Time in Area⁷

Our results indicate that a slightly larger percentage of Project minority group applicants, as compared with both Main Office groups, had lived in the Bay Area for more than five years, and that a smaller percentage had lived here for less than two years.

Years in area Project and Main Office applicants,
November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Years	Male			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Total Number	100.0 896	100.0 1067	100.0 663	100.0 891	100.0 773	100.0 535
Less than 2	29.0	35.1	35.2	24.6	33.6	36.1
2 - 5	9.7	12.0	7.2	13.5	10.2	10.3
More than 5	61.0	52.7	57.6	61.3	56.1	53.7
Unknown	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0

These results tend to directly contradict the commonly held belief that more minorities are migrating to Oakland than are non-minorities. Our data suggest that the reverse may be true, but much more clearly indicate that a smaller percentage of new arrivals are using the Project than the Main Office.

Discussion and Summary

Although the total number of new applicants served by the Main Office has decreased since the last quarter of 1964, the ethnic composition of that office's client population has been unaffected. The 2:1 ratio of non-minority to minority group applicants remained virtually constant throughout the study period; only at the Project was a change noted -- a slight decrease in the percentage of minority group applicants. That minority persons comprised, on the average, nine-tenths^o of its total intake during the entire period, however, indicates that there was no drastic decrease. We have interpreted certain fluctuations in receipt of applications by the Project as indications that minority persons became gradually disillusioned with the Project during its first year of operation. Interest in the Project seemed to revive in early 1966, probably as a response to the announced opening of the Skills Center and the initiation of other "manpower programs," such as the one sponsored by the Economic Development Administration.

A number of characteristics distinguished the minority group persons who used the Project from the two comparison groups at the Main Office. As would be expected, Project minorities seemed more similar to their counterparts at the Main Office than to non-minorities there, but they differed from both in some very important ways. First of all, the ethnic composition of the minority group applicants at the two operations differed somewhat. While only two minority groups used the Project to any noticeable degree -- Negroes and Spanish-speaking, with the Negroes clearly in the majority by a margin of almost 4:1 -- there was a smaller proportion of Spanish-speaking at the Main Office which was balanced by an equivalent proportion of "other" minority group persons (e.g., Orientals, American Indians, etc.). The result was that Negro applicants predominated there only by a margin of 3:1. (It should be remembered that while minorities outnumbered non-minorities at the Project by a margin of 9:1, they were outnumbered at the Main Office by nearly 2:1.)

As has been found consistently throughout this study, the Project attracted a larger percentage of minority group youths than did the Main Office, and the discrepancy between that proportion for Project minorities and the one for Main Office non-minorities was even larger. It was probably age more than any other single variable that accounted for the fact that the Project did not serve a larger percentage of those minorities it was designed to attract (i.e., adult, heads of household, residents of Oakland) than did the Main Office. Both the finding that these "target persons" entered the Project at no higher rate than they entered the Main Office and the fact that women were found as frequently among Project applicants as were the men for whom the Project was originally designed were due, at least in part, to the

failure of the Project selectively to solicit applicants. There never existed a conscientious campaign to attract this particular segment of Oakland's minority population.

The minorities that did find their way to the Project tended to have lived in the area longer than Main Office applicants, a finding which may be surprising to some readers. It was discovered, however, that larger percentages of minorities, both at the Project and at the Main Office, had been educated in one of the southern or southwestern states than was true for Main Office non-minorities. Comparison of information available on length of time in area and section of country educated tends to indicate that the longer term minority group residents of this area were reared either here or in the south-southwest, while the longer term non-minority residents were either educated here or in other sections of western or northcentral United States. Although there were no large differences in the level of educational attainment of minorities and non-minorities, it is reasonable to predict the achievement differential was greater than the half year that separated the groups. Such a prediction would be based on the fairly well accepted and documented conclusions that education for southern Negroes is inferior and has been for many years, and also that the ghetto schools in Oakland are not only far from satisfactory but that they permit large numbers of students to progress to higher grades without mastering fundamental intellectual skills.

Employment histories of Project applicants were different in some important ways from those of Main Office registrants. Project minorities who were not employed at the time they registered tended to have been without a job for longer periods of time than either Main Office groups, which differed very little from each other. The types of jobs that Project minorities characteristically held when employed tended to have been of shorter duration than was the case with Main Office non-minorities. (In this respect, Main Office minorities resembled their counterparts at the Project and not the Main Office non-minorities.) These two aspects of the employment background of Project minorities were in substantial accord and obviously related to the fact that a considerably smaller percentage of the group as compared with both Main Office groups received unemployment compensation. Twice as large a percentage of Main Office applicants as Project minorities were eligible for the benefits. All of these data point to the fact that Project minorities had the poorest work records of the three analysis groups studied.

Data on occupational classification serves to illuminate the picture even more. Minority group persons, whether at the Project or at the Main Office, received blue-collar classifications in much larger proportions than did non-minority persons, and in addition, the blue-collar jobs were predominantly at the lower skill levels. Since the

proportions, using the gross categories we were forced to use, did not differ greatly between Main Office and Project minorities, it appears that the poorer work histories for the latter group as noted above are not solely the results of the nature of the work in which they were engaged, but may well have been a function of either their individual characteristics or the nature of the specific conditions under which they worked. Since we have not been able to sensitively measure certain attitudinal and experiential variables which may have been relevant, we are unable to indicate definitively the degree to which both explanations were correct. The feeling pervades at the Project offices that the difference lies primarily in the individuals. Our data suggest that such is the case, but we cannot indicate this conclusively. What is clearer, however, is that for whatever reasons, the Project minorities had a much less secure foot in the labor force than did the Main Office applicants. In this way, the Project seems to have attracted a more disadvantaged group of minorities than the Main Office.

Section 2 - Footnotes

1. Technically, some "new applicants" to the Main Office may have applied in the past. In such cases, however, the first applications would have been inactive for over a year -- the point at which the files are purged.

2. Although the category used in the table was Northcentral and Western States, more than 90% of the persons falling into this category was educated in California.

3. Work experience is one of the variables mentioned earlier that could have been measured more effectively. Subdivision of the "25-month or more" category would have furnished important information.

4. Technically, this category also includes foreign countries, but less than 2% was outside the United States.

5. The new system does away with the categories "skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labor," and substitutes categories defining type of labor (construction, bench work, etc.) and including in each type all skill levels. Although there has been insufficient time for social scientists to study the system thoroughly, it seems that their work will be hampered considerably. For instance, the scale of socio-economic prestige (the "Duncan scale") used in our second Interim Report, is no longer applicable since it is based on education, income, and the former approach to occupational classification.

6. Adult, head of household, resident of Oakland.

7. This is another instance where the categories used to measure this variable (especially on the high end) would have been more informative if subdivided.

8. Mean = 88.9.

Section 3

JOBS AVAILABLE

Perhaps the most important aspect of a project of this sort, is the number, quality, and character of jobs that it is able to offer its clients. Unless there is adequacy in this dimension, the calibres of staff and applicants, as well as testing, counseling and training methods, and the location of the facility itself, are not very meaningful. For this reason, we have devoted considerable time and space to analysis of job orders.

Although the applicants to the Project may be referred to a job in the Oakland area regardless of which branch originally recorded it, the Project's "own" orders have been emphasized all along, the considerable resources, both financial and temporal, have been devoted to their solicitation. It is these orders we have termed "direct" to distinguish them from "indirect," or those which are made available to the various Project offices only through the intermediary of the Main Office located in downtown Oakland. It was established in the first two reports that Project applicants had a higher likelihood of being hired when referred to employers who had placed the job order directly.

Unfortunately, the changes in the occupational classification system affected this aspect of the evaluation most severely. In the first report, comparisons with job order data and the U. S. Census indicated that direct orders most resembled the minority employment profile of Oakland. These findings were further substantiated in the second report in which "target" occupations (those in which few Oakland workers in 1960 were Negro)¹ were defined and compared with direct job openings on a scale of socio-economic status.² We concluded at that time that:

"Job orders submitted directly to the Project were for openings inferior to and were more rigorous in their requirements of potential employees than were those submitted to the Main Office. Although the employers who used the Project were generally more likely to hire Project applicants referred to them... they seemed reluctant to hire applicants in industries and (especially) for occupations from which Negroes have been excluded in the past."³

Since we are no longer able to perform these types of analyses, our discussions of differences between the two types of openings must be less extensive, and therefore, inconclusive in terms of the major questions examined prior to this.

Sampling

Throughout these reports, sampling of job orders has posed a difficult problem, in that there are so few "direct" orders as opposed to "indirect" orders.⁴ For the first two quarters covered by the report (1965 IV^a, 1966 I), since there were so few direct, we sampled only indirect orders. Therefore, the numbers used represent 100 per cent of direct, but only 33 per cent of indirect orders and openings. For the latter period, we used an entire quarter rather than a month as the base unit which enabled us to sample both types, choosing 150 and 300 per quarter, respectively. These numbers (representing differing sampling ratios) were used to obtain a number with which we would be able to work--one large enough to provide meaningful distributions without being too cumbersome during preliminary data collection.

The following analysis of data should reveal similarities and differences between direct and indirect openings.

Job Orders

In light of the fact that early data indicated the Project had been most successful in placing applicants on direct rather than on indirect orders, an increase in the proportion of direct orders during the life of the Project would have been a positive sign. Unfortunately, as is evident in the table below, such an increase was not detected. If anything, a slight decrease was noted between the first (partial) quarter for which we have data and the remaining ones.

Direct and indirect orders, by quarter,
November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Quarter	Total	Type of Order		Indirect
		Number	Direct	
Total	100.0	11,737	8.2	91.8
1965 IV ^a	100.0	1,299	11.3	88.7
1966 I	100.0	2,462	7.8	92.2
II	100.0	3,002	8.7	91.3
III	100.0	2,832	8.2	91.8
IV	100.0	1,962	7.8	92.2

It should be pointed out that during 1965 IV, the Main Office did not transmit certain classes of orders it received. As a result, the proportion of indirect orders recorded for that quarter is undoubtedly smaller than it should be. The evidence available indicates that job solicitation efforts at the Project neither increased nor decreased the number of orders it was able to offer, and that its proportionate share of total CSES job orders remained stable during the entire 14-month period.

Job Openings

Orders per se have not been emphasized in these reports because it has been the number of actual openings made available that seemed most relevant to the situation of a job applicant. Usually, a Project order represented a larger number of openings than did one placed at the Main Office: 90 per cent of the Main Office orders were for one opening, whereas only 77 per cent of Project orders were -- indirect orders average 1.5 openings per order, direct orders average 2.4. (See table below.)

Openings per order, by source,
November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Quantity	Direct	Indirect
Total	100.0	100.0
Number	788	2041
0	0.4	
1	76.5	89.6
2	11.5	5.9
3	2.3	1.5
4	2.2	.5
5	2.0	.8
6 - 250	3.6	1.1
Unknown	1.5	.6
Average per order	2.4	1.5

Almost four per cent of direct orders contained requests for more than five people. Those orders requesting more than 20 persons are included in Table 3.1. It should be noted that there were only six such orders at the Project and none at the Main Office.

TABLE 3.1

Direct orders for more than 20 openings, November 1965 - December 1966

Number of Openings	Requirements:		Duration	Employer Type	Wage/hour
	Education Experience Training	Occupational Classification			
20	Radar, missile, experience	Skilled - electronics	Permanent	Private firm: utility	\$2.18
30 - 40	High School grad- Articulate Transportation	White Collar Clerical	5 - 6 months	Government	\$2.17
34	2 years experience	Skilled - sheetmetal	Unknown	Government	\$3.09
50	None	House to house sales	Permanent	Private firm: retail	Commission only
50	Knowledge of area	Semi-skilled- cab driver	Unknown	Private firm: transportation	\$2.25 Commission
250	18 years, or High School Grad Strong	Unskilled	1 year	Government	\$2.44

Although the number of cases involved were so small that we can have little confidence in the reliability of the finding, employers wishing to hire large numbers of people seemed to use the Project more often than they did the Main Office. Most of these jobs were of temporary or indefinite duration and 75 per cent were openings in government agencies. Many required types of skilled workers that are very scarce in the Oakland area. The only unskilled jobs were temporary. Most directed applicants to "join the end of the line," and indicated that they wanted to interview many people fast in order to cull the best available. The two orders involved with commissions were placed by companies that are in need of employees almost constantly, due to their high turnover rate.

Characteristics of Employers

Employer Type

In Table 3.2 distribution of the openings reported to each facility by different types of employers may be seen. Overall, about 15 per cent more indirect orders were from private employers, although their percentage of the direct orders seems to be increasing. At both facilities, the largest proportion of government jobs was offered during 1966 I, but the direct proportion was still more than twice as large as the indirect. Although there have been minor fluctuations with time, the "private business sector," as it has come to be called, furnished a smaller percentage of jobs at the Project than it did at the Main Office, and jobs in government and private households constituted almost one-quarter of those available directly to Project applicants.

It is important to point out that although the data here do not dramatically reflect it, the orders to the Project were influenced considerably by a special arrangement made by one of the members of the Advisory Committee and his union. This arrangement provided the Project with those surplus longshoremen jobs the union had available after all of its members seeking work had been employed. These one-day jobs first became available in the winter of 1966 but it was not until the early months of 1967 that they accounted for a large percentage of total direct orders.

Number of Employees

Except for 1966 III, where 25 per cent of the available openings were in firms or organizations whose personnel refused to divulge the number of people they employed, there was negligible variation among the quarterly distributions (Table 3.3). While about half of the indirect openings were received from small organizations, more than half of the direct openings were offered by large employers.⁵ As is true throughout the nation, large employers represent a small proportion of all employers in Alameda County, even though they employ most of the labor force. The Specialists concentrated their job development

TABLE 3.2

Type of employer providing openings to Project, November
1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Type of Employer	Total	1965 IV ^a	1 I	9 II	6 III	6 IV
Direct						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	1921	410	410	352	240	509
Private Firm	74.0	68.3	59.8	71.3	82.9	87.8
Government	19.3	23.9	32.4	24.1	10.4	5.9
Private Household	4.7	4.4	1.0	3.4	6.2	3.5
Non-profit	1.9	3.4	.0	1.1	.4	2.8
Union	0.0	0.0	6.8	0.0	0.0	. .
Indirect						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	3152	781	1230	345	419	376
Private Firm	89.1	92.8	83.3	93.0	91.6	93.4
Government	9.5	7.0	14.3	5.5	6.9	5.9
Private Household	.6	1.1	.8	.3	1.4	.3
Non-profit	.7	.0	1.5	.6	.0	.5
Union	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0

TABLE 3.3

Size of firms providing openings to Project, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Size of Firms	Direct						Indirect					
	Total	1965 I ^a	I	9	6	6	1965 IV ^a	I	9	6	6	IV
Total Number	100.0 1921	100.0 410	100.0 410	100.0 352	100.0 240	100.0 509	100.0 781	100.0 1230	100.0 345	100.0 419	100.0 376	100.0
Alameda County												
Small (0 - 49)	36.3	33.2	38.6	36.1	50.8	30.5	45.5	45.6	60.3	64.0	51.4	51.4
Medium (50 - 249)	6.6	13.7	4.7	6.8	8.3	1.6	22.8	12.4	19.1	12.9	13.3	13.3
Large (250 & over)	49.5	53.2	49.5	54.8	15.4	58.7	16.1	27.1	17.4	17.7	27.9	27.9
Outside Alameda County	.5	.0	1.5	.3	.0	.6	14.1	6.4	.0	.2	.0	.0
Unknown	1.3	.0	5.9	.0	.0	.0	1.5	10.6	.0	.0	.3	.3
Refused	5.8	. .	. .	2.0	25.4	8.6	. .	. .	3.2	5.3	2.2	2.2

among large employers, but whether or not the distribution should be interpreted as reflective of their efforts or as illustrative of a greater hesitancy among small employers to hire minority group members, is impossible to determine from these data. Probably both factors were operative. That only seven per cent of direct but 16 per cent of indirect jobs were offered by medium-sized firms might indicate that job development efforts could be fruitfully directed toward them.

Location of Employer

In general, the Project has drawn a larger percentage of its direct openings from employers located outside Oakland (Table 3.4) than has the Main Office (indirect orders), although the Oakland Labor Market Area⁶ provided most of the openings at both facilities (87 per cent and 92 per cent, respectively). While there was relatively little fluctuation in Oakland indirect openings (69 per cent to 70 per cent), direct orders varied from 46 to 79. Industrial decentralization has affected Oakland as it has most areas in the country. The southern portion of Alameda county especially, has been industrialized to a great extent during the past 10 years. The general expansion there has been characterized not only by firms relocating from nearby central cities and from other areas but also by the expansion of existing firms. Few of the major companies located there appear to hire minorities in any considerable number even though the jobs which require minimal skill seem to be located increasingly in that area. During the life of the Project concerted job development efforts were not directed outside the Oakland labor market area at least in part because the jurisdiction of the Project did not extend beyond it. Modifications which have been made in Employment Service policy since the end of the study period have not affected the orders received by the Project because there has been no job development component since the end of 1966.

In the spring of 1966, we felt that follow-up data reporting solicitation procedures at the Project offices were sufficiently established to allow us to discontinue checks and immediate searches for missing information. That this was not a wise decision is apparent from the data below.

Per cent of total direct orders with solicitation source unknown,
November 1965-- December 1966

Solicitation Source	1965	1966			
	IV ^a	I	II	III	IV
Unknown	0.2	0.2	25.9	76.5	87.9

TABLE 3.4

Location of employers providing openings to Project, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Employer's Location	Direct					Indirect				
	Total	1965				Total	1965			
		IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	I	II	III
Total Number	100.0 1921	100.0 410	100.0 352	100.0 240	100.0 509	100.0 3152	100.0 781	100.0 1230	100.0 345	100.0 419
Oakland	66.2	78.8	59.5	45.7	60.8	75.6	74.3	79.1	75.1	69.2
Remainder of Oakland Labor Market Area	20.4	9.0	31.5	28.1	32.9	16.9	11.3	15.9	23.5	18.1
Remainder of Alameda County	5.5	2.2	5.6	3.7	1.7	.1	.1	.0	.3	.0
Outside Alameda County	4.6	10.0	3.4	5.4	3.3	7.4	14.3	5.0	.9	12.6
Unknown	3.4	0.0	0.0	17.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
					0.4				0.0	0.0
					1.1				12.6	1.1
					0.4				0.3	0.0

Without daily or weekly spot checks, the interviewer's tendencies to omit "solicitation of order" data grew, finally making all of the information collected unusable. We cannot say with any degree of certainty whether the efficiency or effectiveness of the job solicitors (Specialists as well as CSES staff) grew or waned. Unfortunately, this means, as well, that no assessment of the impact of the Specialists' leaving can be made by this study nor probably by CSES itself.

Industry

The distribution of openings supplied to the Project by various industries is somewhat different for direct than for indirect openings. Wholesale and Retail Trade have consistently furnished the largest single proportion of Main Office jobs, while offering relatively few to the Project. The other major differences are in Transportation and Government, both of which are responsible for a consistently large share of Project openings. In Table 3.5, the openings are shown according to the industry in which they occurred. The stability of the distributions over time for indirect openings as compared to the fluctuations of direct openings as well as the variations in the overall distributions may be seen in the table.⁸

Target Industries

We defined "target industries" as those which, according to the 1960 Census, ranked lowest in employment of Negroes.⁹ As may be seen from Table 3.6, a far smaller proportion of indirect jobs (38 per cent) than of direct jobs (65 per cent) was classified as non-target, i.e., target industries use the Project to a far smaller degree. Neither industry nor target industry data indicate that the behavior of those controlling industries in which few minority group persons were employed in 1960 has changed since then. That this was not due to a general scarcity of jobs in these industries is apparent from the large number of Main Office openings offered in these fields. In view of the fact that approximately 35 per cent of the Bay Area labor force is presumed to be employed by target industries, their representation among all others using the Project would not appear curious. One of the chief goals of the Project, however, was to "open new doors" to minority employment -- the data have consistently indicated not only that few new doors have been opened, but also that doors open wide to the Main Office have not been opened directly to the Project.

Advisory Committee

In Table 3.7, the extent of Project participation of firms having representatives on the Advisory Committee may be seen. It is

TABLE 3.5

Industries providing openings to Project, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter
(Per cent distribution)

Industry	Direct												Indirect											
	Total	1965						Total	1965						Total	1965								
		IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a		I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	I		II	III	IV						
Total Number	100.0 1921	100.0 410	100.0 410	100.0 352	100.0 240	100.0 509	100.0 3152	100.0 781	100.0 1230	100.0 345	100.0 419	100.0 376												
Government	32.3	19.8	50.2	23.3	9.6	61.1	9.2	6.9	14.1	6.4	4.5	6.1												
Services	23.2	25.6	24.6	19.9	31.2	18.5	28.3	38.0	24.2	26.4	30.1	20.5												
Transportation	15.6	26.6	12.0	30.4	7.1	3.3	2.9	1.5	3.0	4.1	2.4	4.5												
Manufacturers	12.2	6.8	15.4	11.1	33.7	4.5	18.0	10.0	18.2	18.0	18.6	33.2												
Wholesalers & Retailers	11.8	13.9	10.7	10.5	16.2	9.8	37.0	38.3	36.5	40.0	39.6	30.3												
Finance	3.0	6.1	4.6	.6	.4	2.0	3.2	3.7	2.8	4.1	2.9	2.9												
Construction	1.0	1.0	2.2	1.1	.8	.0	1.4	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.9	2.1												
Unclassified & Others	0.9	0.2	0.2	3.1	0.8	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3												

TABLE 3.6

Target industries providing openings to Project,
November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Target Industry	Total	1965 IV ^a	I	1966 II	III	IV
Direct						
Total Number	100.0 1921	100.0 410	100.0 410	100.0 352	100.0 240	100.0 509
Target	34.7	38.3	48.3	35.0	40.9	17.9
Male	13.4	13.9	22.2	14.5	9.2	7.3
Female	10.5	11.7	10.2	9.7	19.6	17.9
Both	10.8	12.7	15.9	10.8	12.1	4.5
Non-target	65.0	61.7	51.7	65.1	58.7	81.3
Unknown	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.8
Indirect						
Total Number	100.0 3152	100.0 7818	100.0 1230	100.0 345	100.0 419	100.0 376
Target	62.1	63.6	63.3	56.2	64.2	58.5
Male	19.0	27.5	14.8	21.4	16.0	16.5
Female	16.1	10.6	16.2	13.6	25.3	19.1
Both	27.0	25.5	32.3	21.2	22.9	22.9
Non-target	37.9	36.4	36.7	43.8	35.8	41.5
Unknown	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

TABLE 3.7

Advisory committee membership of employers providing openings,
November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Advisory Committee Member	Total	1965 IV ^a	1 I	9 II	6 III	6 IV
Direct						
Total Number	100.0 1921	100.0 410	100.0 410	100.0 352	100.0 240	100.0 509
Yes	4.7	3.9	3.9	13.6	2.5	0.9
No	93.3	96.1	86.6	86.4	97.5	99.1
In past, not when order placed	2.0	0.0	9.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Indirect						
Total Number	100.0 3152	100.0 781	100.0 1230	100.0 345	100.0 419	100.0 376
Yes	2.4	1.4	2.1	4.6	2.1	3.5
No	97.4	98.0	97.8	95.4	97.9	96.5
In past, now when order placed	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

assumed that their involvement with the Project represents a sincere commitment to making attempts to solve minority employment problems, and would lead them to use the Project rather than the Main Office.¹⁰ Apparently, this is not the case. Although Advisory Committee firms account for a very small percentage of both direct and indirect openings, it is clear that these firms submitted orders to both operations. Although this is not surprising in light of the length of time the Main Office has been established, it does indicate that the effort to route orders through the Project first was not successful even with Advisory Committee firms. Such an effort was apparently attempted at one time by the Specialists. It is true, that we have not analyzed the occupational level of the direct and indirect openings to determine the extent to which skill level serves as a differentiator.

The variation over time was extreme only in 1966 II where the large increase is explained by one order requesting 50 skilled workers. The patterns over the entire study period suggest that the proportion of indirect openings submitted by Advisory Committee firms remained the same, whereas the proportion of direct opening decreased somewhat. Although the trend is in no ways a strong one, the direction is the opposite of that which would be hoped.

Characteristics of Jobs

In spite of the limitations placed on our data by the change in classification system mentioned earlier, occupational differences may still be seen between the two types of openings. Table 3.8 illustrates the quite stable major difference; most Project jobs were "blue collar," while those at the Main Office were "white collar," predominately in the clerical and sales fields. However, a greater proportion of direct than of indirect openings were at the professional or managerial level. Regardless of the reasons, there seems to be a serious lack of "middle level"¹⁰ jobs available directly to the Project.¹¹ That clerical and sales positions are available to CSES applicants is apparent from the Main Office distributions in the table. Skilled jobs, on the other hand, apparently do not reach the Department of Employment in large quantities, since most of such hiring is done directly through unions.

Sex

CSES was quite severely criticized in the last report for continuing to allow employers to specify the sex of potential employees. This situation no longer exists; in accordance with policy,¹² sex was specified in only about 20% of the openings for 1966 II-IV. Therefore, no analyses by sex appear in this discussion. Neither the most current applicant data nor information obtained from follow-up interviews of applicants indicate that a radical departure from patterns observed previously has taken place.

Duration of Job

No major differences in the expected duration of jobs offered at the two facilities are apparent from Table 3.9. The direct total distribution is misleading due to an anomalous quarter (1966 II); but, in general, the two distributions differ little; at least 9 out of 10 jobs are not considered temporary. Again, we must note the unfortunate practice by CSES of still considering a job due to last three days or more "permanent."

Educational Requirements

Since so few employers specified the amount of education they require, little can be concluded from the data in Table 3.10. It was specified in a higher proportion of indirect openings than in direct openings, and in most cases, high school graduation was required. An employer's failure to spell out his requirements on the order form should not be interpreted to mean that he had none; most, especially larger firms, have aptitude and proficiency tests and/or requirements in experience and education about which applicants learn only at the employment interview.

TABLE 3.8

Occupational classification of openings, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter
(Per cent distribution)

Occupational Classification	Direct										Indirect									
	Total	1965					Total	1965					Total	1965						
		IV ^a	I	II	III	IV		IV ^a	I	II	III	IV		IV ^a	I	II	III	IV		
Total Number	100.0 1921	100.0 410	100.0 410	100.0 352	100.0 240	100.0 509	100.0 3152	100.0 781	100.0 1230	100.0 345	100.0 419	100.0 376								
White Collar	30.0	27.8	31.0	27.0	45.8	22.0	52.1	64.9	55.2	47.8	33.9	39.9								
Professional & Managerial	6.0	8.5	7.8	8.0	5.8	1.2	4.1	.4	5.9	6.1	3.6	5.1								
Clerical & Sales	24.0	19.3	23.2	19.0	40.0	20.8	48.0	64.5	49.3	41.7	30.3	34.8								
Blue Collar	70.0	72.2	69.0	73.0	54.0	78.0	47.9	35.1	44.9	52.1	66.1	60.1								
Service	14.2	9.5	12.4	17.6	18.7	14.7	17.3	12.9	13.2	24.6	28.2	20.7								
Other	55.8	62.7	56.6	55.4	35.3	63.3	30.6	22.9	31.7	27.5	37.9	39.4								
Skilled	..	5.4	14.6	..	..	..	..	4.9	7.6	..	..	..					
Semiskilled	..	29.3	8.3	..	..	..	..	6.7	13.5	..	..	..					
Unskilled	..	28.0	33.7	..	..	..	..	10.6	10.6	..	..	..					

TABLE 3.9

Expected duration provided to Project, November 1965 -
December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Expected Duration	Total	1965 Iva	I	1 9 II	6 6 III	IV
Direct						
Total Number	100.0 1921	100.0 410	100.0 410	100.0 352	100.0 240	100.0 509
3 days or more	88.6	91.5	95.1	53.9	89.1	94.7
Less than 3 days	3.0	8.5	3.9	9.1	3.3	2.5
Unknown	8.4	0.0	1.0	36.9	7.5	2.8
Indirect						
Total Number	100.0 3152	100.0 781	100.0 1230	100.0 345	100.0 419	100.0 376
3 days or more	97.3	97.3	92.0	97.7	93.8	92.5
Less than 3 days	1.2	2.0	6.7	0.6	1.4	2.7
Unknown	1.4	0.6	1.3	1.7	4.8	4.8

TABLE 3.10

Education specified by employers providing openings to Project, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Education Specified	Direct						Indirect					
	Total	1965					Total	1965				
		IV ^a	I	II	III	IV		IV ^a	I	II	III	IV
Total Number	100.0 1921	100.0 410	100.0 410	100.0 352	100.0 240	100.0 509	100.0 3152	100.0 781	100.0 1230	100.0 345	100.0 419	100.0 376
Less than High School Graduate	2.3	6.6	2.0	0.6	0.0	1.6	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0
High School Graduate	12.4	6.3	21.7	10.5	8.7	13.0	23.9	26.1	24.1	22.9	23.6	20.2
Some College	2.5	3.9	4.1	2.3	1.2	.6	1.9	1.0	2.6	1.7	1.4	2.4
College Graduate or More	1.9	3.2	1.0	4.5	.8	.2	.9	.1	1.2	2.0	1.0	.5
Not Specified	80.9	80.0	71.2	82.1	89.2	84.6	73.0	72.7	71.9	73.3	73.5	76.9

Wages

Differences in rate of pay seem most relevant when they may be differentiated by sex. Regardless of current legislation which prohibits most sex specifications when seeking employees and which requires equal pay for equal work, such sex differences remain. This prohibition made it impossible for us to collect such data, so that no longer do we have a feasible method of legitimately describing differences in wages offered on direct and indirect orders.¹³

Discussion and Summary

The conclusions drawn regarding job openings at the Project are quite disheartening. In spite of the fact that it hired two Specialists who devoted two full years to attempts to persuade the Area's employers to use it in preference to the Main Office, its four offices were unable to account for even 10 per cent of all orders placed with Oakland's CSES facilities.¹⁴ Since the first report established that a large proportion of these were obtained by the Project's staff doing job development for particular applicants and another portion was accounted for by relationships of the staff with employers (many of which pre-dated the Project's existence), the picture appears even more bleak.

Although it was impossible for us to continue our occupational analyses to a considerable extent, there is no reason to believe that dramatic changes in patterns noted earlier occurred during the last three quarters of the study. If this is true, the Project continued to offer its clients few jobs; these involved work that (for the most part) may be classified as that traditionally available to minority groups: badly paid, low in prestige, and primarily unskilled, blue collar, or domestic.

It may be well to point out that this section deals with job orders and openings per se, and that questions of whether or not they are suitable for the clients actually coming to the Project are not considered here. The follow-up study staff was to evaluate the Project in terms of its goals as they were stated in the proposals for funds. The difficulties inherent in the task have been discussed at length. At no place in either proposal, and at no time during the life of the Project, was a goal stated or decision made to tailor job development and solicitation efforts to the clients who applied to it. The Project's job development has always been discussed as aimed at "opening new doors" and "convincing employers to hire minorities". Direct jobs have been compared with indirect jobs in an attempt to assess the effectiveness of such a program.

Measured in terms of target industries and target occupations, (no other criteria have been devised nor discussed by CSES, the Specialists nor the Advisory Committee), there is little evidence to show that new doors were opened. Even after these targets were defined in the Second Interim Report, no attempts were made to single out even a few for special consideration, although they were mentioned at one meeting of the Employment Development Subcommittee. Since the proportion of requests the Main Office gets for these jobs is greater than the proportion of Oakland's labor force that actually works at them, the contention that such employees are in low demand can be questioned.

Aside from criticisms leveled at the Advisory Committee for engaging in few activities which could be labelled "personal diplomacy" and for its total neglect of instituting an "organized program of personal diplomacy" as was specified in the proposals, it must also be chided for failure in another area. Throughout the course of demonstration program, it has seemed content to let the CSES staff continue methods used in the Main Office. When it appeared that location of employment offices in communities brought many more clients than there were jobs available, neither firm direction nor a change in orientation came from the Advisory Committee, although it did intensify its efforts in obtaining a Skills Center in Oakland. Three alternatives faced the committee: (a) a real attempt to "open new doors," i.e., strong, concerted, organized efforts to break down unrealistic test restrictions and other barriers to minority employment among unions and private employers; (b) emphasis on ways to create jobs in the private sector, or (c) agitation for federal creation of jobs suitable for its clients.¹⁵ No effective response came from the Advisory Committee, however. It is possible that it was not fully aware of the great disparity between applicants and jobs during the early months of the Project, since the necessary data were not presented in the Project Director's monthly reports; however, the unbalanced situation was emphasized in our first Interim Report, and again in the second. It is also possible that the very nature of the uneasy tripartite alliance and its dissention with the CSES inhibited any action or discussion along such lines by its members.¹⁶ If the Advisory Committee was to have any effect on minority employment, it appears that it was required to have followed one of the above courses. Even had it demonstrated only that attempts along such lines could not be effective when made by citizens of a single city, that is, had such an experiment failed -- then, as a committee in the context of these proposals, it would have been judged successful in contributing to knowledge regarding feasible solutions to problems of unemployment in our society.

As it happened, the CSES and Advisory Committee functioned as before, the Specialists continued to advocate discontinuation of discrimination on the basis of color and ethnic origin (certainly a safe subject, since declared illegal), and the attention of all concerned was concentrated on the new Skills Center where a small proportion of the unemployed was being trained. Whenever questions were raised concerning the low number of placements, attention was directed to the low level of skills, training, and education found among the applicants. Remedial suggestions were made which almost exclusively called for action by the victims of the problem, but which involved few if any sacrifices on the part of those people and institutions who, in perpetrating or accepting years of segregation and discrimination, had contributed a great deal to causing the present problem.

Section 3 - Footnotes

1. See second Interim Report, Tables 57 and 58.
2. This scale was also based on the now obsolete classification system.
3. Second Interim Report, p. 93.
4. During the course of our study, this factor seemed extremely important, since the transmittal entailed a lapse of at least one day with the result that many orders had been filled by the time they were received in a Project office. However, arrangements were made in early summer of 1967 for their almost simultaneous transmission.
5. The "Total Direct" distribution is seriously distorted by the anomolous quarter, 1966 III.
6. The Oakland Labor Market Area consists in Oakland, Emeryville, San Leandro, Piedmont, and Alameda.
7. The Project did not have a new job development component until August 1967 when it was made possible by funds provided through the concentrated Employment Project.
8. The extremely large discrepancy in "government" figures between Tables 3.1 and 3.4 due to use of different systems of coding and coding error.
9. For a more extensive description of the method as well as a list of those classified "Target," see the second Interim Report, p. 85, Tables 55-56.
10. The term "middle level" refers to those jobs which are white collar but do not carry the high status usually associated with them (many clerical and sales positions) as well as blue collar jobs of relatively high prestige: craftsmen and skilled workers.
11. Of course, non-discriminatory policies call for compliance at all occupational levels. But, due to past discriminatory practices, inferior educational opportunities, etc., qualified minority group persons are less likely to be available for prestigious professional and white collar positions, so that the demand for employees at these levels is relatively high.
12. For a discussion of CSES policy interpretation of the 1965 Civil Rights Bill, see pages 80-81 of the second Interim Report.

13. For a limited two quarter comparison by sex and skill level, showing the differences between direct and indirect openings, see second Interim Report, p. 82, and Table 50.

14. The anomalous character of 1965 IV has been discussed.

15. Since its resources seem inadequate to attempt all three, we feel a choice should have been made.

16. For an extensive discussion of these matters, see the first Interim Report, pp. 162-172.

Section 4

TYPES OF SERVICES OFFERED

This section will be devoted to an examination of services rendered to the three applicant groups studied. For our purposes, "service" was defined as any formal activity, other than initial intake interviewing, provided for the benefit of applicants. The initial interview, per se, was excluded from consideration because it is a routine service furnished to every applicant. Services which fell within the definition are recorded in the "Referral and Action" section of the employment service application form, and it was from those notations that our data were collected. As always, accuracy was dependent to a very large degree upon the exactness of the initial record-keeping by the employment service staff.

Although all services provided at the Project and at the Main Office are in some real way related to employment, we made a strict distinction between "employment" and "non-employment" referrals. The former includes only those instances where a person was sent to an employer in response to a job order. All other referrals, whether evaluative, educational, or therapeutic, were considered non-employment.

It is quite clear from the table below that Project minority males received more service than any other group studied. Half (49.4 per cent) of the Project men were sent out at least once to apply for a job, and one-fifth was given at least one non-employment referral. At no time during the study period did less than 40 per cent of them obtain job referrals, and the percentage climbed to above 60 per cent in 1966 III (Table 4.1). Because the time period over which we have collected data is short, it is difficult to determine whether there was a true increase in the proportions of job referrals during the first three quarters of 1966 or whether it was mainly a function of seasonal fluctuations.

Referrals made for applicants to Project and Main Office,
November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Type of Referral	Males			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Total Number	100.0 897	100.0 1066	100.0 663	100.0 891	100.0 772	100.0 535
Employment only	39.4	29.9	26.2	25.4	28.2	31.4
Non-employment	10.3	6.4	5.0	12.2	9.6	7.3
Both	10.0	2.4	3.3	5.8	3.4	4.9
Neither	40.4	61.3	65.5	56.6	58.8	56.4

TABLE 4.1

Referrals made for applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Type of Referral	Project Minority				Main Office Minority				Main Office Non-minority			
	1965 IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	1965 IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	1965 IV ^a	I 9 6 6 I 9 6 6
Males												
Total Number	100.0 196	100.0 290	100.0 141	100.0 134	100.0 136	100.0 226	100.0 328	100.0 156	100.0 176	100.0 180	100.0 228	100.0 264
Employment only	37.2	34.5	46.1	44.0	41.2	32.7	24.7	32.7	38.4	27.2	25.4	23.9
Non-employment	4.6	14.5	12.8	10.4	6.6	4.0	5.5	7.1	6.8	10.0	5.7	4.2
Both	11.7	5.5	11.3	17.9	8.1	1.8	1.8	6.4	1.7	1.7	2.2	4.2
Neither	46.4	45.5	29.8	27.6	44.1	61.5	68.0	53.8	55.1	61.1	66.7	67.8
Females												
Total Number	100.0 199	100.0 281	100.0 119	100.0 150	100.0 142	100.0 163	100.0 251	100.0 131	100.0 119	100.0 108	100.0 147	100.0 273
Employment only	21.6	15.3	31.1	34.0	36.6	28.2	20.7	30.5	37.0	33.3	37.4	21.6
Non-employment	14.1	11.7	12.6	14.7	7.7	8.0	9.2	12.2	12.6	6.5	10.2	5.9
Both	7.5	3.6	5.9	8.0	5.6	6.7	3.2	2.3	2.5	.9	6.8	4.4
Neither	56.8	69.4	50.4	43.3	50.0	57.1	66.9	55.0	47.9	59.3	45.6	68.1

The contrast between these data and those for other groups where, on the average, only one-third of the applicants were referred to a job, is striking. Except for Main Office non-minority females, figures representing the highest percentages of job referrals for these groups rarely exceed the minimum percentages for Project minority men.

Types of Non-employment Referrals

Since the most important non-employment component of the Project is training, it is gratifying to see that of those Project men who received non-employment referrals, the largest proportion was referred for training (table below).

Non-employment referrals made for applicants to the Project
and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Type of Referral	Males			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Number	895	967	663	892	773	535
CSES						
Training	8.9	0.8	0.6	5.3	0.8	0.0
Counseling	7.7	5.1	5.7	5.9	4.7	4.1
Testing	3.7	2.8	3.3	7.0	7.8	9.2
Family Services	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Other ^b	3.4	1.2	0.2	2.5	0.8	0.4
Non-CSES ^b	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.3	0.0

Note: Categories are not discrete.

Virtually no Main Office men or women were sent to a training course during the study period. This is an obvious reflection of the policy decision of CSES to channel all of its training efforts toward minority applicants and to use the Project as the major referral source. The fact that the percentage of women referred for training gradually diminished throughout the period and that the percentage of men referred increased during the first half of 1966 (see Table 4.2), was undoubtedly a direct reflection of a related policy decision to involve more men and fewer women in training.¹ It was pointed out in the second Interim

TABLE 4.2

Non-employment referrals made for applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Type of Referral	Project Minority						Main Office Minority						Main Office Non-minority					
	1965	I	9	6	6		1965	I	9	6	6		1965	I	9	6	6	
	IVa	I	II	III	IV		IVa	I	II	III	IV		IVa	I	II	III	IV	
Males																		
Number	196	280	139	134	136		226	328	156	176	181		228	264		171		
CSES																		
Training	8.2	11.4	11.5	5.2	4.4		0.0	0.3	2.6	0.0	1.1		0.0	0.0		2.3		
Counseling	7.1	8.6	5.0	10.4	4.4		3.5	4.6	5.1	2.8	1.6		6.6	4.5		6.4		
Testing	5.6	3.1	4.3	1.5	2.9		.9	2.7	3.8	2.3	.6		1.8	4.5		3.5		
Family Service	1.0	.0	.0	.0	.0		.0	.0	.0	.0	.0		.0	.0		.0		
Other	. .	. .	5.7	18.6	2.9		. .	. .	1.9	1.7	3.3		. .	. .		.6		
Non-CSES	. .	. .	0.0	1.5	0.0		. .	. .	0.0	0.5	0.6		. .	. .		0.0		
Females																		
Number	199	281	119	151	142		163	251	132	119	108		147	273		115		
CSES																		
Training	8.5	6.4	3.4	2.0	0.7		0.6	0.4	0.8	0.8	1.9		0.0	0.0		0.0		
Counseling	5.5	4.6	5.0	7.9	5.6		4.9	4.8	3.8	6.7	2.8		6.0	4.0		1.7		
Testing	10.6	7.1	6.7	2.0	4.9		9.8	8.8	4.5	8.4	2.8		13.6	7.3		7.0		
Family Service	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0		.6	.2	.0	.0	.0		.0	.0		.0		
Other	. .	. .	4.2	8.0	3.5		. .	. .	3.0	1.7	.0		. .	. .		1.7		
Non-CSES	. .	. .	2.5	2.0	0.0		. .	. .	1.5	0.0	0.0		. .	. .		0.0		

Report that most of the early courses available to Project applicants were designed for women, but that later courses, especially those slated for the Skills Center, were intended primarily for men. This will be discussed in more detail later in this report.

The degree to which other referrals were made within the Project fluctuated throughout the study period. It is probably true that these variations were more closely related to availability of personnel and accuracy of record-keeping than to the perceived needs of the applicants. Although the availability of Family Service workers fluctuated during the study period and, in spite of the fact that no office was ever assigned a full time worker, the data presented in the last text table and in Table 4.2 undoubtedly give a distorted picture of the amount of service provided by that agency. Family Service workers have interviewed applicants at the Project and have maintained at least minimal case-loads during the period. It is quite possible that the figures representing counselling referrals also include Family Service referrals either because accurate notations were not made by the person initiating the referral, or because the applicant referred to Employment Service Counselling was in turn sent by the counselor to the Family Service worker without anyone making an additional notation on the application form.

Those referrals subsumed under the title "Other" involve a number of special services provided at the discretion of the office manager. Services in this category, therefore, tend to be much less consistent from one office to another than is the case with services required by the Department of Employment. Examples of these are: test clinics, tutoring classes, and group sessions. Test clinics are designed to familiarize applicants with testing procedures. Attempts are made to reduce the anxiety many applicants feel when confronted with a testing situation, as well as to give them practice with tests similar to those they may encounter in the employer's selection procedure. Some clinics also included information about filing applications, writing resumes, and making "appropriate responses" in interviews. At least one office has had volunteers tutor applicants in basic English and arithmetic. These classes were designed for people whom the staff felt could perform better when applying for a job after having received such basic instruction. Group sessions of varying descriptions have existed from time to time. They have ranged from unstructured, unplanned groups to those formally referred to as group counselling. Groups have been started to assist certain types of applicants with special problems. One such group was designed to assist men and women with professional background or aspirations to exchange information of possible benefit in their endeavors to find jobs. No systematic effort has been made to evaluate the effectiveness of these activities, but the impression one obtains from discussions with Project office managers is that, in spite of isolated instances of success, the programs have been of questionable value. One frequently mentioned difficulty is

that of sustaining the interest, especially of men, in special services that continue over long periods of time. We are unable to indicate the extent to which difficulties are attributable to techniques used by the staff, and how much to impatience on the part of the applicants. The experiences that seem to have maintained interest and to have had the most positive effects in the eyes of office managers, were either short term services or what were long term but unstructured encounters that arose in response to situational developments. Perhaps the best example of the latter is a specific group phenomenon which developed in one of the offices among applicants who assembled very early every morning to await job referrals. A "therapeutic" atmosphere is said to have developed where advice was exchanged between interested participants. Since this was an unstructured and non-institutionalized activity, it is not reflected in the data here.

Personal Characteristics

An attempt was made to determine whether or not people referred for employment differed from those not referred in terms of any of the personal characteristics described in Section 2. The results indicate that only four seemed to be at all related to the referral process. Age was relevant only for males at the Main Office (Table 4.3) where youths composed a larger proportion of the applicants referred to jobs than of those not referred at all, while the reverse was true for the group 45 years old and over. This finding is not surprising in light of the well known phenomenon of employer reluctance to hire older people. As would be expected, when differences occurred in regard to work experience, and differences were apparent only for women, those with less than six months experience in their primary occupations composed a smaller percentage of the employment referral group than of the no referral group, and the reverse was true for women with more than two years experience (Table 4.4). "Time in the area" was another variable where variations appeared only among women. The results obtained, however, were not those which would have been expected (Table 4.5): in all three female groups, women who had been in the area less than two years comprised a larger proportion of the employment referrals than of the group with no referrals; on the other hand, those in the area five years or more² represented a larger percentage of the no-referral group. It is possible that this finding was partly influenced by a correlation between age and length of time in area. Finally, at the Project, persons who had also registered at the Main Office represented twice as large a percentage of employment referrals as of no-referrals (see table below).

TABLE 4.3

Age of applicants receiving employment referrals and no referrals from Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Age in Years	Project Minority		Minority Main Office		Non-minority	
	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred
Males						
Total Number	100.0 443	100.0 362	100.0 345	100.0 653	100.0 196	100.0 434
Less than 22	18.3	15.7	12.8	13.5	13.8	6.2
22 - 24	21.7	17.7	24.6	19.3	19.9	16.1
25 - 44	50.3	51.7	51.9	50.4	52.6	45.9
45 & over	9.7	14.9	10.7	16.8	13.8	31.8
Females						
Total Number	100.0 278	100.0 504	100.0 244	100.0 454	100.0 194	100.0 302
Less than 22	19.4	16.3	12.3	10.1	14.9	15.2
22 - 24	21.6	13.9	18.4	17.6	21.6	13.9
25 - 44	47.5	56.2	53.3	55.9	44.8	39.4
45 & over	11.5	13.7	16.0	16.3	18.6	31.5

TABLE 4.4

Work experience of applicants receiving employment referrals and no referrals from Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Months of Work Experience	Project Minority		Main Office Minority		Non-minority	
	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred
Males						
Total Number	100.0 443	100.0 362	100.0 345	100.0 653	100.0 196	100.0 434
0 - 6	20.3	22.1	10.7	15.3	12.2	18.9
7 - 24	30.9	23.8	31.9	30.9	30.1	18.0
25 or more	48.8	54.1	57.4	53.8	57.7	63.1
Females						
Total Number	100.0 278	100.0 504	100.0 244	100.0 454	100.0 194	100.0 302
0 - 6	20.5	30.8	11.9	22.5	12.9	30.5
7 - 24	31.3	26.2	32.8	31.5	28.4	18.5
25 or more	48.2	43.1	55.3	46.0	58.8	51.0

TABLE 4.5

Length of time lived in area by applicants receiving employment referrals and no referrals from Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Years in Area	Project Minority		Minority Main Office		Non-minority	
	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred
Males						
Total Number	100.0 443	100.0 362	100.0 345	100.0 653	100.0 196	100.0 434
Less than 2	30.7	28.5	38.0	34.9	40.8	31.6
2 - 5	10.2	8.8	13.6	10.6	8.7	7.6
More than 5 & Unknown	59.1	62.7	48.4	54.5	50.5	60.8
Females						
Total Number	100.0 278	100.0 504	100.0 244	100.0 454	100.0 194	100.0 302
Less than 2	30.9	19.8	41.0	30.8	45.9	31.8
2 - 5	9.7	14.1	9.0	9.9	7.7	11.6
More than 5 & Unknown	59.4	66.1	50.0	59.3	46.4	56.6

Project applicants also registered with the Main Office
who received employment referrals and no referrals,
November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Double Registration	Males		Females	
	Referral Employment	None	Referral Employment	None
Total Number	100.0 443	100.0 362	100.0 278	100.0 504
Yes	79.0	89.5	78.4	89.3
No	21.6	10.5	21.6	10.7

Occupational Classification

During the first part of the study period, but not during the latter, minority group men classified for service jobs seemed to receive a slightly smaller percentage of the Project's employment referrals than might have been expected (Table 4.6). The change in referral activity is even more strikingly revealed in the following presentation:

Types of referrals made for minority group
men at the Project classified for "service"
occupations, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Type of Referral	Nov. '65-Mar. '66	Apr.-Dec. '66
Total Number	100.0 105	100.0 79
Employment	34.3	57.0
Non-employment	13.3	6.3
None	52.4	36.7

TABLE 4.6

Occupational classification of males receiving employment referrals and no referrals from the Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Occupational Classification	Project Minority		Minority Main Office		Non-minority	
	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred
November 1965 - March 1966						
Total Number	100.0 212	100.0 223	100.0 165	100.0 362	100.0 137	100.0 331
White Collar	13.7	11.6	18.2	14.7	41.6	42.6
Professional & Managerial	3.3	4.0	4.8	5.0	16.1	19.3
Clerical & Sales	10.4	7.6	13.3	9.7	25.5	23.3
Blue Collar	86.3	88.4	81.8	85.4	58.4	57.4
Service	17.0	24.7	28.5	19.1	12.4	8.2
Other	69.3	63.7	53.3	66.3	46.0	49.2
April - December 1966						
Total Number	100.0 231	100.0 139	100.0 180	100.0 291	100.0 59	100.0 103
White Collar	13.0	10.8	27.8	14.1	40.7	40.8
Professional & Managerial	4.3	3.6	4.4	5.8	8.5	23.3
Clerical & Sales	8.7	7.2	23.3	8.2	32.2	17.5
Blue Collar	87.0	89.2	72.3	85.9	59.3	59.3
Service	19.5	20.9	20.6	19.6	5.1	7.8
Other	67.5	68.3	51.7	66.3	54.2	51.5

The exact explanation for this shift is, of course, unknown; but there may have been some reluctance on the part of the Project staff during the earlier period to refer men to "traditional" Negro jobs, a reluctance which disappeared with time and staff changes. It is our impression that such attitudinal changes did occur, although they are not documented.

Minority men with service classifications at the Main Office, on the other hand, seemed to have received more than their share of job referrals in the early months, but an appropriate proportion in later months. This is particularly difficult to interpret since the explanation appears to be that the Main Office emphasized white collar referrals for minority men during the last nine months of 1966.

A somewhat similar situation existed for women at the Main Office (Table 4.7). During the earlier period, only minority women with clerical-sales background received more than their share of job referrals, but it was those classified for service jobs who received a disproportionately large number of referrals in the later period.

Discussion

One of the factors which helps to explain the major findings reported in this section is the special effort given at the Project to placement of minority group men. This emphasis is probably due, in large part, to the general feeling of Project staff members that it is the minority group male, more than the female, who merits the most attention in overcoming his difficulties. It is he, especially in Negro communities, who has suffered most from the cumulative destructive effectives of racial prejudice and discrimination in our society, and who, as a result, needs to receive the greatest amount of assistance. At the Main Office, where minorities are not the primary group served, no evidence of preferential treatment of either sex has been seen.

A second factor is related to a more pervasive attitude of staff toward the clientele of the employment service. In short, the Main Office seemed employer-oriented, while the Project appeared applicant-oriented. Main Office personnel considered it very important to respond to the desires of employers; they seemed prone to limit the number of applicants sent out on a job referral either to the precise figure requested by the employer or to some "reasonable" number. The Main Office tended to be more concerned with assuring themselves that applicants referred to a job met the specifications of the employers. The Project, on the other hand, seemed to empathize with the individuals without a job; there was less hesitancy about sending more than the prescribed number of applicants for a job interview, and more willingness to refer persons with qualifications approximating but not equalling those requested by the employer. The Main Office seemed guided by a

TABLE 4.7

Occupational classification of females receiving employment referrals and no referrals and no referrals from the Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Occupational Classification	Project Minority		Minority Main Office		Non-minority	
	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred	Referred	Not Referred
November 1965 - March 1966						
Total Number	100.0 111	100.0 308	100.0 117	100.0 261	100.0 136	100.0 253
White Collar	44.1	22.4	43.6	29.9	70.6	64.8
Professional & Managerial Clerical & Sales	1.8 42.3	1.3 21.1	3.4 40.2	6.9 23.0	4.4 66.2	15.4 49.4
Blue Collar	55.8	77.5	56.5	70.2	29.4	35.1
Service Other	34.2 21.6	59.6 26.9	46.2 10.3	41.8 28.4	22.8 6.6	13.8 21.3
April - December 1966						
Total Number	100.0 167	100.0 196	100.0 127	100.0 193	100.0 58	100.0 49
White Collar	46.1	23.5	40.2	38.9	67.2	67.3
Professional & Managerial Clerical & Sales	3.0 43.1	2.6 20.9	5.5 34.6	4.1 34.7	3.4 63.8	14.3 53.1
Blue Collar	53.9	76.5	59.8	61.2	32.7	32.7
Service Other	40.7 13.2	59.2 17.3	50.4 9.4	39.4 21.8	24.1 8.6	14.3 18.4

desire not to antagonize employers, while the Project appeared most influenced by the attempt to give its applicants every possibility of obtaining a job.

There appear to be both historical and motivational roots to the differences noted above. The Main Office, being an established public employment office, has a history of competition with private employment agencies. It is generally accepted that both personnel men and workers, who use the public employment office only reluctantly in the first place, turn to private agencies as one of several alternatives open to them when they become dissatisfied with the public agency. Those in authority at the Main Office appear somewhat sensitive about their image and their future. The Project poses at least two threats. If this "experimental" program succeeds, consideration will almost certainly be given to decentralization of CSES in Oakland, which would obviously place the future of the Main Office in jeopardy. The second threat which exists whether or not the Project succeeds, concerns the availability of job orders. Since the budget allocation to the Main Office has been based on the number of job orders obtained, a decrease in orders from employers whether because they have been persuaded to place them directly with the Project (or with the Youth Opportunity Center), or because employers have been antagonized by quantity and quality of referrals, will be extremely detrimental to the Main Office. Plans were being considered during the summer of 1967, however, to alter the rationale for allocating staff to all offices. The change would make the number of applicants, not the number of job orders, the basis for allocating staff. If this change comes about, it should go far to eliminate this cause of insecurity at the Main Office -- one certainly not peculiar to the Oakland office of CSES. In regard to this last point, it should be made quite clear that the description of the reactions at the Main Office in no way appear peculiar to the Oakland office. What is true there is probably characteristic of reactions at all well-established CSES operations.

The Project does not seem directly affected by any of the forces impinging upon the Main Office. It is a special program designed to serve a unique population and, although it must operate from the CSES manual, its future seems much more dependent on how long it is needed and how successful it is. Instead of being concerned about its future, the staff appear disturbed that Oakland businessmen still believe that minorities do not really want to work³; that employers have unnecessarily high standards for most of the jobs at the less skilled occupational levels, and that employers need not only to adopt more realistic standards, but also to take definite steps toward compensatory selection of minority group persons. That the Project has never had an effective program to combat these obstacles to placement of Project applicants, even when the job developers were attached to it, was made abundantly clear in the last section of this report. In the face of such a void,

it seems quite likely that the higher proportion of job referrals at the Project are in some way the Project staff's attempt to bridge the gap between the large number of applicants and the small number of jobs. To the extent that it remains an isolated attempt, chances for significant success seem minimal. What is really being requested is a fundamental change in attitudes and practices which are inherent in this society and in the free enterprise system. It seems highly doubtful that such changes can be brought about with the approach outlined above.

Prior to drawing any definitive conclusions, there is considerably more data we must examine. The most immediate are the results of those services offered by the Project. Before we turn to these, however, it is important to emphasize that data on non-employment services presented here do not give a true picture of an approach adopted by staff at the Project offices, an approach which is very different from that at the Main Office. The Project is a place where the needy are served and where as much assistance is given to as many people as is possible. The Main Office is a place where business is transacted, the business of filling job orders. Project workers, even -- or perhaps, especially -- those whose job description does not call for it, do what they feel is necessary to help the applicant prepare for job interviews. Frequently this takes the form of pointers on personal grooming or dress. These and other steps are taken which tend to convey the interest and support felt by the staff.

Although close attention has not been devoted by this staff to activities at the Project offices, it appears that they are more varied now than they were during the early months of the Project. Changes noted seem related to personalities of new staff members, the perception of the needs of applicants, and the impact of external stimuli. Many more non-employment services are being attempted now than during the early months of the Project. Some of them bear the imprint of other employment programs new to Oakland. Offices now are frequently open at night where such was not the case during the early months. At some offices, in a very conscientious way, the emphasis is shifting from seeing the Project as a facility designed to match people with jobs to one where interested persons can learn more about how to search for jobs more effectively. All offices, however, do not agree that such re-orientation is warranted. Another sentiment, one which was first expressed in the early phases of the Project is that intake should be limited so that effective job development can be done for a smaller number of applicants. This second position assumes that there are enough jobs for Project applicants and that only more time is needed to locate them.

Whatever the perceived solution, Project offices staff members seem frustrated by the difficult task confronting them, dissatisfied with their results, and in the face of their disappointment are doing whatever they feel appropriate to provide at least comfort and support to those in need.

Section 4 - Footnotes

1. The small percentages of men and women in the last two quarters of 1966 merely reflect the fact that very few new trainees were admitted to the Skills Center during that time.
2. This group also includes a very small number of people in the area for unknown duration.
3. For a discussion of the Mayor of Oakland's role in reinforcing this image, see second Interim Report, p. 190.

Section 5

RESULTS OF SERVICE

In this section, we will examine the results of employment and training referrals, and explore the nature of the relationship between the Employment Service and persons not referred to a job. These analyses will be based on data collected from Employment Service records which, as in previous sections, describe developments that occurred within three months of an applicant's registration. Reported results of service obtained from follow-up interviews of applicants are detailed in Section 6.

Employment Referrals

Overall Results

Data for the entire study period, which are presented in the table below indicate that only a small percentage of new applicants obtained a job within three months of the date of registration. Although

Results of service to new applicants to Project and
Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Result	Males			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Total Number	100.0 897	100.0 1066	100.0 663	100.0 891	100.0 772	100.0 535
Job Referral	49.2	32.5	29.8	31.4	28.6	36.3
Hired	16.8	10.9	11.3	8.8	9.9	16.4
Not Hired	20.7	14.4	13.6	13.1	12.7	14.0
Refused Job	4.1	3.5	3.2	3.4	3.9	4.2
Results Unknown	7.6	3.7	1.7	6.1	2.1	1.7
No Job Referral	50.7	67.6	70.3	68.7	68.5	63.7

referral results were unknown more frequently at the Project than at the Main Office, the findings reported in the table do not appear to be seriously distorted since less than ten per cent of the individuals

referred were involved. The largest percentage of hires was found among Project minority men (16.8 per cent) -- clearly higher than any other group except Main Office non-minority women, 16.4 per cent of whom were hired.

Since a considerably larger percentage of Project minority men was referred for employment, it is not surprising to see that not only the proportion of those hired, but also the proportion of those not hired was larger than for other groups. The fact that one-fifth of Project minority men was unsuccessful in attempts to obtain employment, a proportion higher than that for all other groups, raises the question of the effectiveness of Project referrals. This question has been aired frequently at the Main Office, where many of the staff members have felt for some time that Project referrals were "inferior" to those made by the downtown office. However, their belief was not substantiated by our data. When distributions were computed only for persons referred for employment (see below), virtually no differences were found among the three male groups. Although Main Office non-

Results of employment referrals for new applicants referred to jobs from Project and Main Office, November 1965-December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Results	Males			Females		
	PM	MOM	MOM ^c	PM	MOM	MOM ^c
Total Number	100.0 442	100.0 345	100.0 197	100.0 279	100.0 243	100.0 194
Hired	34.2	33.6	38.0	28.0	40.7	45.3
Not Hired	42.1	44.3	45.7	41.9	40.3	38.7
Refused Job	8.4	10.7	10.7	10.8	12.4	11.4
Results Unknown	15.4	11.3	5.6	19.3	6.6	4.6

minority men appeared to have a somewhat larger percentage of "hires" than did the two minority groups, the proportion of persons not hired was also slightly larger. In addition, it is important to note that results were unknown for a considerably larger proportion of referrals for minority group men.¹ It is possible that these unknown cases exerted a greater influence on these distributions than they did on those in the first table.

The situation among women was quite different. Of the groups

examined, in only one -- Main Office non-minorities -- was a higher proportion of women hired than not hired. The results for that group and for Main Office minorities, where the proportion of women hired was equal to that not hired, make a striking contrast to those for Project women -- the lowest of all six groups. It is quite possible that the high proportion of cases (20 per cent) of unknown results, distorts this distribution to such a degree that it is meaningless.

Whether taken as the percentage of total new applicants (Table 5.1) or of new applicants referred to jobs (Table 5.2), the proportion of hires for minority group males who registered with the Project tended to increase during the study period while an opposite trend was seen among minority males at the Main Office. In spite of the fact that there is reason to doubt the validity of trends detected through this report because of the brief period of time studied, the contrasts in this case are striking. Both series show the effect of a seasonal drop in employment during 1966 I but, from that quarter on, a steady increase in the proportion of minority group men hired through the Project and a consistent decline in those hired through the Main Office may be seen -- a decline which reached its low point in a normally high fourth quarter. Accompanying the trends already noted, were a decrease in the proportion of men not hired at the Project, and an increase in the similar group at the Main Office. Since data were not collected for Main Office non-minorities during two quarters, very little can be said about a pattern for them. However, the series appears to resemble that of the Project rather than that of Main Office minorities.

Results were not as clearcut for women, however. It was true that the proportion hired of those who filed an application increased both for minority group women at the Project and for those at the Main Office² during the first three quarters of 1966. On the other hand, the proportion of women hired of those referred to a job decreased during the same time period for Main Office minorities, but fluctuated with no apparent pattern for Project women. Although the Main Office was consistently more successful with its referrals for women, its effectiveness seemed to wane during the year whereas, the Project's performance seemed affected by nothing more than seasonal fluctuations.

Due to the fact that the number of applicants to the Project and to the Main Office fluctuated during the study period, trends based on percentages may be misleading. In an attempt to discover whether discrepancies did exist when numerical approximations were used, appropriate calculations were made and tabulated. The results indicated that no disparity in trends existed.

Placement Ratios

Although the study period is officially from November 1965 to

TABLE 5.1

Results of service to new applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Result	Project Minority						Main Office Minority						Main Office Non-minority					
	1965	I	9	6	6		1965	I	9	6	6		1965	I	9	6	6	
	IV ^a	I	II	III	IV		IV ^a	I	II	III	IV		IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	
Males																		
Total Number	100.0 196	100.0 280	100.0 141	100.0 134	100.0 136	100.0	100.0 226	100.0 328	100.0 156	100.0 176	100.0 180	100.0	100.0 228	100.0 264	100.0 264	100.0 171	100.0	100.0
Job Referral	48.5	40.0	58.2	61.2	49.2		34.5	26.4	39.1	38.6	28.4		27.7	28.4	28.4	34.6		
Hired	19.4	14.5	14.2	18.7	19.1		11.9	9.1	17.9	11.9	5.6		11.0	10.2	10.2	13.5		
Not Hired	24.5	22.4	22.0	20.1	11.0		16.8	14.9	11.5	15.3	11.7		14.9	15.2	15.2	9.4		
Refused Job	4.6	3.1	4.3	3.7	5.9		5.8	2.4	2.6	3.4	3.3		1.8	3.0	3.0	5.3		
Results Unknown	..	..	17.7	18.7	13.2		..	..	7.1	8.0	7.8		..	..	..	6.4		
No Job Referral	51.5	60.0	41.8	38.8	50.7		65.5	73.5	60.9	61.4	71.7		72.4	71.6	71.6	65.5		
Females																		
Total Number	100.0 199	100.0 281	100.0 119	100.0 150	100.0 142	100.0	100.0 163	100.0 251	100.0 131	100.0 119	100.0 108	100.0	100.0 147	100.0 273	100.0 273	100.0 115	100.0	100.0
Job Referral	29.1	18.8	37.8	42.1	42.3		35.0	24.0	32.9	38.7	34.2		44.3	26.0	26.0	50.4		
Hired	8.5	5.0	7.6	12.7	13.4		17.2	10.4	10.7	11.8	15.7		18.4	12.5	12.5	23.5		
Not Hired	19.1	11.0	14.3	10.7	10.6		15.3	10.4	11.5	16.0	12.0		21.1	10.6	10.6	13.0		
Refused Job	1.5	2.8	5.0	4.0	4.9		2.5	2.8	6.9	4.2	4.6		4.8	2.9	2.9	6.1		
Results Unknown	..	..	10.9	14.7	13.4		..	..	3.8	6.7	1.9		..	..	..	7.8		
No Job Referral	70.9	81.1	62.2	58.0	57.7		65.0	76.1	67.2	61.3	65.7		55.8	74.0	74.0	49.6		

TABLE 5.2

Results of employment referrals for applicants referred to jobs from Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966,
by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Result	Project Minority						Main Office Minority						Main Office Non-minority					
	1965						1965						1965					
	IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	I	II	III	IV	IV ^a	I	IV ^a	I	IV	IV ^a	I	IV
Males																		
Total Number	100.0 95	100.0 116	100.0 82	100.0 82	100.0 67	100.0 78	100.0 87	100.0 61	100.0 68	100.0 51	100.0 63	100.0 75	100.0 59	100.0 75	100.0 59	100.0 75	100.0 59	100.0 59
Hired	40.0	36.2	24.4	30.5	38.8	34.6	34.5	45.9	30.9	19.6	39.7	36.0	39.0	39.7	36.0	39.7	36.0	39.0
Not Hired	50.5	56.0	37.8	32.9	22.4	48.7	56.3	29.5	39.7	41.2	54.0	53.3	27.1	54.0	53.3	54.0	53.3	27.1
Refused Job	9.5	7.8	7.3	6.1	11.9	16.7	9.2	6.6	8.8	11.8	6.3	10.7	15.3	6.3	10.7	6.3	10.7	15.3
Results Unknown	..	..	30.5	30.5	26.9	..	..	18.0	20.6	27.5	..	..	18.6	..	..	..	..	18.6
Females																		
Total Number	100.0 58	100.0 53	100.0 45	100.0 63	100.0 60	100.0 57	100.0 60	100.0 43	100.0 46	100.0 37	100.0 65	100.0 71	100.0 58	100.0 65	100.0 71	100.0 65	100.0 71	100.0 58
Hired	29.3	26.4	20.0	30.2	31.7	49.1	43.3	32.6	30.4	46.0	41.5	47.9	46.6	41.5	47.9	41.5	47.9	46.6
Not Hired	65.5	58.5	37.8	25.4	25.0	43.9	43.3	34.9	41.3	35.1	47.7	40.8	25.9	47.7	40.8	47.7	40.8	25.9
Refused Job	5.2	15.1	13.3	9.5	11.7	7.0	11.7	20.9	10.9	13.5	10.8	11.3	12.1	10.8	11.3	10.8	11.3	12.1
Results Unknown	..	..	28.9	34.9	31.7	..	1.7	11.6	17.4	5.4	..	..	15.5	..	..	..	..	15.5

December 1966, we felt it desirable to obtain an idea of placement trends over a longer period of time. Using data collected by the Project, it is possible to trace general trends from its beginning until early 1967. Four different types of placement ratios were included in Table 5.3. Great caution must be used in comparing these data with those collected by the Follow-up Study. Project statistics refer to the number of placements made in relation to the number of persons who made application to the Project during the same period. Those persons placed were frequently not the ones who made application during that time period, and, if a person obtained more than one job, each job was counted as a placement. Data collected by the Follow-up Study Staff, on the other hand, indicate how many individuals obtained at least one job within three months of his registration.

In spite of different bases for collection, data compiled by the Project are consistent with those collected by the Follow-up Study. Definite improvement was noted in nearly all the ratios when they were compared with the same quarter of previous years. The effect of long-shoreman jobs, which were first available in 1965 IV and began to dominate placements during the early months of 1967, is apparent when they are excluded from the computations.

Also included in the table are ratios containing jobs of "un-specified length." A special tabulation of such jobs has been kept by the Project for over two years in response to a request from the Advisory Committee. The tabulation was initiated in order to talk in a more realistic manner about "permanent" jobs as they are commonly defined.

In this report it is also possible for the first time to view placements in relation to total active applicants, not just to total new applicants. As was explained in Section 2, active applicants include new registrants as well as those individuals who still wish to be considered for placement even though they registered during an earlier period. The fact that the ratios of placements to total active applicants decreased while the number of new applicants generally increased can probably be explained not only by an increased number of applicants obtaining jobs but also by a larger percentage of applicants being periodically removed from the active file.³

Analysis by Ethnic Group

It was of interest to determine what disparities, if any, existed between the results of services extended to different minority groups using the Employment Service. At the Project, where Negroes and Mexican Americans constituted the only groups whose members applied in substantial numbers, the difference between the pattern of results for the two (Table 5.4) was negligible. At the Main Office, the

TABLE 5.3

Placement ratios based on data collected by Project
October 1964 to March 1967, by quarter

Year	Quarter			
	I	II	III	IV
Total Placements to Total New Applicants				
1964	--	--	--	1 : 5.9
1965	1 : 10.3	1 : 4.3	1 : 3.5	1 : 2.9
1966	1 : 5.9	1 : 4.2	1 : 4.1	1 : 2.2 (3.0)
1967	1 : 1.2 (8.6)	--	--	--
Placements of Unspecified Length to Total New Applicants				
1964	--	--	--	--
1965	1 : 12.6	1 : 5.6	1 : 4.7	1 : 4.3
1966	1 : 7.9	1 : 4.5	1 : 4.4	1 : 3.1
1967	1 : 5.8	--	--	--
Total Placements to Total Active Applicants				
1964	--	--	--	1 : 5.7
1965	1 : 14.6	1 : 9.2	1 : 7.8	1 : 7.2
1966	1 : 8.7	1 : 5.5	1 : 5.2	1 : 3.0 (3.9)
1967	1 : 1.6 (8.6)	--	--	--
Placements of Unspecified Length to Total Active Applicants				
1964	--	--	--	--
1965	1 : 17.9	1 : 11.7	1 : 10.5	1 : 10.5
1966	1 : 11.7	1 : 6.0	1 : 5.7	1 : 4.1
1967	1 : 8.1	--	--	--

Note: Numbers in Parentheses represent ratios after longshoreman placements have been eliminated.

TABLE 5.4

Results of service to minority group new applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, by ethnic group

(Per cent distribution)^d

Result	Project Minority				Main Office Minority			
	Total	Negro	Mexican American	Other	Total	Negro	Mexican American	Other
Males								
Total Number	100.0 897	100.0 692	100.0 190	100.0 14	100.0 1066	100.0 769	100.0 148	100.0 139
Job Referral	49.2	50.3	43.6	..	32.5	35.5	22.4	26.7
Hired	16.8	17.3	14.7	..	10.9	12.5	6.8	6.5
Not Hired	20.7	21.2	18.4	..	14.4	15.7	8.1	14.4
Refused Job	4.1	3.6	5.8	..	3.5	3.8	6.1	3.6
Results Unknown	7.6	8.2	4.7	..	3.7	4.3	1.4	2.2
No Job Referral	50.7	49.6	56.3	..	67.6	64.5	77.7	73.4
Females								
Total Number	100.0 891	100.0 747	100.0 135	100.0 9	100.0 772	100.0 616	100.0 79	100.0 77
Job Referral	31.4	31.3	30.3	..	28.6	33.2	17.8	31.2
Hired	8.8	8.4	11.1	..	9.9	13.8	3.8	14.3
Not Hired	13.1	13.0	12.6	..	12.7	13.6	7.6	10.4
Refused Job	3.4	3.1	4.4	..	3.9	4.2	1.3	3.9
Results Unknown	6.1	6.8	2.2	..	2.1	1.6	5.1	2.6
No Job Referral	68.7	68.7	69.6	..	68.5	66.7	82.3	68.8

proportion of Mexican Americans hired was smaller than the figure for Main Office Negroes, and it was also smaller than that for Mexican Americans at the Project. The pattern which characterized results for minorities other than Negroes and Mexican Americans resembled the latter. It seems fairly apparent that Mexican Americans who applied to the Project rather than to the Main Office had a better chance of being hired than did those who used the Main Office; while differences for Negroes were neither as striking nor as uniform. Negro men who applied at the Project had only a slightly better chance of being hired than those who applied at the Main Office, but Negro women at the Main Office were more successful than were those at the Project.

Description of Jobs Obtained

Because a number of events occurred between the last report and this, the description of the types of jobs obtained by applicants is not as comprehensive as we would have liked it to be. Some measures, such as occupational classification, were severely modified because of changes made in the Employment Service coding system. As a result, others, such as upgrading, had to be abandoned because the new classification scheme could not be readily applied to the concepts. Modifications in our approach to data collection occasionally resulted in inability to retrieve all of the information that had been available originally. In spite of these limitations, the data collected did enable us to arrive at a relatively complete description of the jobs obtained by Project applicants during the study period.

Occupational Classification

Since it seems unwise to combine similar but not identical categories of the two systems of classifying occupations, an investigation of results of service in terms of occupational categories must be tabulated as it is in Table 5.5 and 5.6. Although there is a temptation to consider this table a time series, small differences detected may be primarily or exclusively a function of differences in the classification system itself, so that the temptation must be avoided in these cases. As will be pointed out, however, large differences exist which seem to be true reflections of change.

Although fewer men seeking white collar jobs entered the Project than the Main Office during the first five months of the study period, the proportion that obtained jobs was higher. This was particularly true at the clerical-sales level, where more than one-quarter of the Project men started work as compared with not more than 13 per cent of either Main Office group. The former figure was also larger than those for any other level at the Project, and is

TABLE 5.5

Results of service by occupational classification of new applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, sales only

(Per cent distribution)^d

Occupational Classification	Result of Service	Project Minority		Main Office			
				Minority		Non-minority	
		Nov '65- Mar '66	Apr- Dec '66	Nov '65- Mar '66	Apr- Dec '66	Nov '65- Mar '66	Oct- Dec '66
	Total Number	100.0 17	100.0 16	100.0 26	100.0 28	100.0 89	100.0 31
White Collar							
Professional Managerial	Started Work	17.6	12.5	15.4	7.1	9.0	6.5
	Did Not Start	23.5	12.5	15.4	21.4	15.7	9.7
	Result Unknown	.0	37.5	.0	.0	.0	.0
	Not Referred	58.0	37.5	69.2	71.4	75.3	83.8
	Total Number	100.0 44	100.0 32	100.0 61	100.0 71	100.0 119	100.0 40
Clerical- Sales	Started Work	27.3	18.8	9.8	21.1	12.6	35.0
	Did Not Start	22.7	25.0	26.2	19.7	16.8	5.1
	Results Unknown	.0	18.8	.0	18.3	.0	7.5
	Not Referred	50.0	37.5	63.9	40.8	70.6	52.5
	Total Number	100.0 105	100.0 79	100.0 121	100.0 106	100.0 48	100.0 11
Blue Collar							
Service	Started Work	8.6	10.1	16.5	17.0	8.3	. .
	Did Not Start	25.7	26.6	22.3	12.3	27.1	. .
	Results Unknown	. .	19.0	. .	5.7	. .	. .
	Not Referred	65.7	44.3	61.2	65.1	64.6	. .
	Total Number	100.0 320	100.0 284	100.0 346	100.0 307	100.0 236	100.0 89
Other	Started Work	17.5	19.4	7.8	7.8	10.6	7.9
	Did Not Start	28.1	21.5	17.6	16.0	16.5	19.1
	Results Unknown	. .	14.4	. .	6.5	. .	9.0
	Not Referred	54.4	44.7	74.6	69.7	72.9	64.0

TABLE 5.6

Results of service by occupational classification of new applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966, females only

(Per cent distribution)^d

Occupational Classification	Result of Service						
		Project Minority		Main Office Minority		Main Office Non-minority	
		Nov '65- Mar '66	Apr- Dec '66	Nov '65- Mar '66	Apr- Dec '66	Nov '65- Mar '66	Oct- Dec '66
	Total Number	100.0 7	100.0 10	100.0 24	100.0 16	100.0 48	100.0 9
White Collar							
Professional Managerial	Started Work	..	..	8.3	12.5	2.1	..
	Did Not Start	..	..	8.3	18.8	10.4	..
	Results Unknown	..	..	.0	12.5	.0	..
	Not Referred	..	..	83.3	56.3	87.5	..
	Total Number	100.0 136	100.0 135	100.0 129	100.0 133	100.0 239	100.0 71
Clerical- Sales	Started Work	8.1	20.7	16.3	7.5	19.7	22.5
	Did Not Start	26.5	18.5	20.2	19.5	18.0	21.1
	Results Unknown	.0	14.1	.0	5.3	.0	8.5
	Not Referred	65.4	46.7	63.6	67.7	62.3	47.9
	Total Number	100.0 216	100.0 200	100.0 170	100.0 151	100.0 69	100.0 21
Blue Collar							
Service Service	Started Work	5.6	19.3	15.9	19.9	16.0	28.6
	Did Not Start	17.0	19.3	15.9	20.5	9.0	28.6
	Results Unknown	..	14.5	..	2.0	..	9.5
	Not Referred	82.4	46.9	68.2	57.6	55.1	33.3
	Total Number	100.0 121	100.0 66	100.0 91	100.0 58	100.0 64	100.0 14
Other	Started Work	5.8	6.5	4.4	5.2	3.1	..
	Did Not Start	14.0	15.0	7.7	10.3	10.9	..
	Results Unknown	..	13.0	1.1	5.2	..	..
	Not Referred	80.2	65.5	86.8	79.3	85.9	..

especially striking when contrasted with the percentage of men classified for service occupations who were hired (8.6 per cent). The situation was quite different for men who sought white collar jobs between April and December 1966, the period during which data was coded using the new system. The proportion of men that looked for clerical or sales jobs and was hired through the Project (18.8 per cent) was less than the percentage for either Main Office group, particularly that for non-minorities of whom more than one-third were hired. Project men at the professional-managerial level were more successful than were Main Office men at that level, but the percentage of hires among the former was nearly the same as the percentage of Project men classified for service jobs who were hired. This is in substantial contrast to earlier results which indicated that the percentage of professional -- managerial men hired (17.6 per cent) was larger than that for men with service classifications. It appears that the overall increase in placements for Project men noted earlier was a result of larger percentages of blue collar workers obtaining jobs. This explanation is based on the fact that occupational data here highlight apparent decreases in proportions of white collar applicants placed between April and December 1966.

The percentage of Project minority women hired compared unfavorably with the percentage of Main Office women at both the clerical-sales and service levels while the old code was being used, but the comparison was considerably more favorable at both levels during the last nine months. In this instance, the differences were so large that there is no reason to doubt that they explain the overall improvement in placement proportions noted for Project women during the study period. The large decrease in the proportion of clerical-sales jobs started by Main Office minority women coupled with the lack of change in the proportion who did not start jobs, illuminates our earlier finding that the proportion hired of those referred to a job decreased during the first three quarters of 1966.

Anticipated Duration of Jobs

Data recorded by CSES still permits differentiation of the anticipated length of jobs into only two categories: (1) those expected to last three days or more (CSES definition: "permanent") and (2) those expected to last less than three days (CSES definition: "temporary").⁴ It is obvious from an examination of Table 5.7 that substantial changes occurred in the course of the study period. During November and December 1965, 28 per cent of the Main Office non-minority males received one or two day jobs, as compared to 24 per cent of Project males and 11 per cent of Main Office minority men. While the percentage of Main Office non-minorities that received casual jobs⁵ decreased sharply in 1966 I, and remained at a low level in 1966 IV,

TABLE 5.7

Anticipated duration of jobs obtained by Project and Main Office new applicants, November 1965 - December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)^d

Anticipated Duration	Males						Females			
	1965			1966			Total		Nov '65 - Mar '66	
	Total	IV ^a	I	II	III	IV			Apr - Dec '66	
Project Minority										
Total Number	100.0 148	100.0 37	100.0 41	100.0 20	100.0 24	100.0 26	100.0 79	100.0 31	100.0 48	100.0
Three days or more Less than three days	75.0 25.0	75.7 24.3	73.1 26.8	90.0 10.0	62.5 37.5	76.9 23.1	79.7 20.3	72.4 22.6	81.3 18.7	
Main Office Minority										
Total Number	100.0 114	100.0 27	100.0 29	100.0 28	100.0 21	100.0 9	100.0 98	100.0 53	100.0 45	100.0
Three days or more Less than three days	81.6 18.4	88.9 11.1	86.2 13.8	82.2 17.9	57.1 42.9	. . . .	67.3 32.7	66.0 34.0	68.9 31.1	
Main Office Non-minority ^c										
Total Number	100.0 75	100.0 25	100.0 27	100.0 . .	100.0 . .	100.0 23	100.0 86	100.0 59	100.0 27	100.0
Three days or more Less than three days	81.3 18.7	72.0 28.0	85.2 14.8	. . . .	. . . .	87.0 13.0	88.4 11.6	88.1 11.9	88.9 11.1	

the proportion for Main Office minority men increased steadily during the study period, and that for Project males fluctuated in an irregular manner. Considering the entire period, it seems that a smaller percentage of Project minority men received day work than did Main Office minority men, and that the proportions of Main Office non-minority men who engaged in casual labor was the smallest of all.

The same ordering of overall findings was found for women so few of whom were hired that data could not be examined on a quarterly basis. Changes between the first five and the last nine⁶ months of the study period were noted only at the Project where a very slight decrease in the proportion of casual jobs was observed.

Other Characteristics of Jobs

In this report, we wished to present a more complete description of the jobs for which Project applicants were hired than had appeared in previous ones. In spite of the fact that the decision was made at a point when we could not be sure that all pertinent CSES records would be available, we proceeded, assuming that sufficient information could be recovered. However, we were able to retrieve only two-thirds of the cases sought, since two obstacles were encountered instead of the one we had expected. Some job orders had been destroyed (especially those received during the early months of the study period), and others could not be located as a result of the changed system of occupational classification. It does not appear that the missing cases are randomly distributed; however, when the orders retrieved were compared with those for the entire study period with respect to the only available variables, the differences found were not large (see Table 5.8).

Approximately three-fifths of the Project applicants were placed on direct rather than on indirect openings in spite of the fact that the latter were more than ten times as plentiful (see Table 5.9). We found that firms which had a work force of less than 25 accounted for two-fifths of the hires, and that they represented an even larger percentage of hires on direct orders. Large firms (those employing more than 500 persons) accounted for less than one-fifth of the total placements and obtained a larger percentage of their new employees through orders which had been placed with the Main Office.

Service and manufacturing industries accounted for more than half of the jobs obtained through the Project; the former were responsible for 40 per cent of the hires on direct orders. With the addition of Wholesale-Retail and Government, 85 per cent of the placements are accounted for.

Two-thirds of the placements were with private firms -- as

TABLE 5.8

Two variable comparison of hire sample with total sample,
November 1965 - December 1966

Variable	Total Sample	Hire Sample
Occupational Classification		
Total Number	100.0 229	100.0 155
White Collar	27.5	22.6
Professional and Managerial	2.6	3.2
Clerical and Sales	24.9	19.4
Blue Collar	72.4	77.4
Services	18.3	21.3
Other	54.1	56.1
Anticipated Duration of Jobs		
Total Number	100.0 229	100.0 155
Three day or more	76.7	81.9
Less than three day	23.3	18.1

TABLE 5.9

Characteristics of jobs on which Project applicants were hired November 1965 -
December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Size of Firm				Type of Firm			
Total	Direct	Indirect		Total	Direct	Indirect	
Number	155	92	63	Number	155	92	63
0 - 24	40.6	45.7	33.3	Private	67.7	57.6	82.5
25 - 499	16.8	14.1	20.6	Private House- hold	7.1	12.0	.0
500 or more	18.7	15.2	23.8	Non-profit	4.5	4.3	4.8
Union	6.5	10.9	.0	Union	7.7	13.0	.0
Refused or Unknown	17.4	14.2	22.3	Government	12.9	13.0	12.7

Industry				Location of Employer			
Total	Direct	Indirect		Total	Direct	Indirect	
Number	155	92	63	Number	155	92	63
Services	34.8	40.2	27.0	Oakland	70.3	65.2	77.8
Manufacturers	21.9	19.6	25.4	Remainder Oakland Metropolitan Area	19.4	18.5	20.6
Wholesalers & Retailers	16.8	12.0	23.8	Rest of Alameda County	1.9	3.3	.0
Government	12.3	12.0	12.7	Outside Alameda County	6.5	9.8	1.6
Transportation	9.0	12.0	4.8	Unknown	1.9	3.3	9.0
Construction	3.9	2.2	6.3				
Finance	.6	1.1	.0				
Mining	0.6	1.1	0.0				

Target Industry				Member of Advisory Committee			
Total	Direct	Indirect		Total	Direct	Indirect	
Number	155	92	63	Number	155	92	63
Target	43.2	38.0	50.8	Yes	8.4	13.0	1.6
Male	9.7	5.4	15.9	No, Never	91.6	87.0	98.4
Female	20.6	19.6	22.2				
Both	12.9	13.0	12.7				
Non-target	56.8	62.0	49.2				

opposed to 83 per cent of the indirect placements. Domestic orders were not forwarded from the Main Office to the Project, which is reflected in the finding that private households accounted for placements only through direct orders.⁷

Although 70 per cent of all placements were made with firms in the city of Oakland, and 90 per cent were within the Oakland Labor Market Area, direct placements, more frequently than indirect, were with firms outside the area. The difference is undoubtedly due to the very strict boundary lines to which the longer-established CSES offices must adhere, but which the Project may ignore on occasion.

On the whole, only slightly less than half of the placements were made in industries specifically designated as "target" (on the basis of their having a very small percentage of Negroes in their 1960 work forces). A larger proportion of the indirect than of the direct placements were of this nature, however, an occurrence which is a reflection of the fact that, as was pointed out in Section 3, target industries placed orders with the Project far less frequently than they did with the Main Office.

When placements occurred with Advisory Committee firms, they were most frequently, but not exclusively, on direct orders. The percentage of placements attributable to Advisory Committee organizations was primarily the result of those furnished by a union represented on it. These jobs, which were discussed earlier (Section 3) lasted only one day.

Personal Characteristics of Individuals Hired

An attempt was made to discover whether persons hired differed from those not hired, with respect to any of the demographic variables we recorded. Our data indicate that, although none of the variables dramatically or consistently differentiated the two groups, education, work experience, length of time in area, and receipt of unemployment compensation were associated to some degree with success in finding work. Education (Table 5.10) for instance, seemed to make a difference only in the case of minority group women. At the Project, high school graduates constituted one-third of those hired, but nearly half of those not hired; and in addition one-third of those who obtained a job, but only one-fifth of those who did not, had more than a high school education. At the Main Office, minority group women with less than a high school education composed a larger percentage of the hired than of the group not hired; and the reverse was true for those with a high school education or better. The divergent results seem related to the fact that, most of the jobs obtained by women through the Project were in clerical or sales occupations, while most of those at the Main Office were in service fields.

TABLE 5.10

Educational background by results of employment referrals for new applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966,

(Per cent distribution)

Years of Education	Project Minority		Main Office			
			Minority		Non-minority	
	Hired	Not Hired	Hired	Not Hired	Hired	Not Hired
Males						
Total Number	100.0 151	100.0 186	100.0 116	100.0 153	100.0 75	100.0 90
0 - 8	11.3	11.8	8.6	9.8	4.0	3.3
9 - 11	33.1	34.9	26.7	26.8	21.3	22.2
12	43.7	39.2	42.2	38.6	34.7	40.0
13 or more	11.9	14.0	22.4	24.8	40.0	34.4
Females						
Total Number	100.0 78	100.0 117	100.0 99	100.0 98	100.0 88	100.0 75
0 - 8	10.3	9.4	14.1	6.1	4.5	5.3
9 - 11	21.8	22.2	30.3	23.5	15.9	16.0
12	34.6	48.7	37.4	39.8	46.6	54.7
13 or more	33.3	19.7	18.2	30.6	33.0	24.0

TABLE 5.11

Work experience by results of employment referrals for new applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Months	Project Minority		Main Office Minority		Non-minority ^c	
	Hired	Not Hired	Hired	Not Hired	Hired	Not Hired
Males						
Total Number	100.0 151	100.0 186	100.0 116	100.0 153	100.0 75	100.0 90
0 - 6	23.2	19.9	8.6	9.8	20.0	10.0
4 - 24	29.8	29.6	27.6	35.3	28.0	27.8
25 or more	47.0	50.5	63.8	54.9	52.0	62.2
Females						
Total Number	100.0 78	100.0 117	100.0 99	100.0 98	100.0 88	100.0 75
0 - 6	21.8	17.9	14.1	10.2	14.8	9.3
7 - 24	37.2	26.5	31.3	36.7	26.1	33.3
25 or more	41.0	55.6	54.5	53.1	59.1	57.3

TABLE 5.12

Length of time in area by results of employment referrals
for applicants to Project and Main Office, November 1965 -
December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

Years	Project Minority		Main Office Minority		Main Office Non-minority ^c	
	Hired	Not Hired	Hired	Not Hired	Hired	Not Hired
Males						
Total Number	100.0 151	100.0 186	100.0 116	100.0 153	100.0 75	100.0 90
0 - 2	28.5	30.6	36.2	36.6	37.3	43.3
2 - 5	10.6	9.7	10.3	15.0	9.3	8.9
Over 5	60.9	59.7	53.4	48.4	53.3	47.8
Females						
Total Number	100.0 78	100.0 117	100.0 99	100.0 98	100.0 88	100.0 75
0 - 2	32.1	23.9	40.4	42.9	43.2	54.7
2 - 5	14.1	5.1	9.1	9.2	12.5	2.7
Over 5	53.8	70.9	50.5	48.0	44.3	41.3
Unknown	..	..	..	..	..	1.3

TABLE 5.13

Results of training referrals of Project minority group new applicants, May 1965 -
December 1966

(Per cent distribution)^d

Result	Total	Sex		Ethnic Group		
		Male	Female	Negro	Mexican-American	Unknown
Referred to Training						
Total Number	100.0 139	100.0 87	100.0 52	100.0 101	100.0 36	100.0 2
Started	63.3	65.5	59.6	65.3	61.1	..
Did Not Start	36.7	34.5	40.4	34.7	38.9	..
Started Training						
Total Number	100.0 88	100.0 57	100.0 31	100.0 66	100.0 22	100.0 ..
Completed	34.1	17.5	64.5	28.8	50.0	..
Did Not Complete	44.3	54.4	25.8	48.5	31.8	..
In Training	21.6	28.1	9.7	22.7	18.2	..
Completed Training						
Total Number	100.0 30	100.0 10	100.0 20	100.0 19	100.0 11	100.0 ..
Obtained Job	20.0	..	25.0	0.0	..	..
Training Related	16.7	..	20.0	.0	..	..
Non-training Related	3.3	..	5.0	.0	..	..
Did Not Obtain Job	33.3	..	20.0	36.8	..	..
Unknown	46.7	..	55.0	63.2	..	..
Did Not Complete Training						
Total Number	100.0 39	100.0 31	100.0 8	100.0 32	100.0 7	100.0 ..
Obtained Job	17.9	22.6	..	15.5	..	..
Training Related	12.8	18.1	..	12.5	..	..
Non-training Related	5.1	6.5	..	3.1	..	..
Did Not Obtain Job	15.4	12.9	..	12.5	..	..
Unknown	66.7	64.5	..	71.9	..	..

Only in the case of Main Office minority men did longer work experience seem to be relevant to ability to obtain employment (Table 5.11). It is not completely clear why non-minority men and Project women with little work experience composed larger percentages of the "hired" than of the "not hired," and why the opposite was true for those with longer work histories. Equally perplexing is the finding that Project women who have only recently arrived in this area seemed to have a better chance of obtaining work than did long-time residents (Table 5.12).

A final puzzling development occurred in the case of unemployment compensation claimants at the Main Office (Table 5.13). For a reason not completely clear to those investigators, claimants were consistently a larger proportion of those not hired than they were of those hired. The explanation here may well be related to the fact that many of this group were laid off from jobs to which they expected to return.⁸ If this were actually the case and if employers interviewing them became aware of the information, there might have been a hesitancy to hire them. It would also be expected that workers who find themselves in this somewhat fortunate position would be quite selective in the employment they accept.

Training Referrals

Introduction

In the second Interim Report, considerable attention was devoted to an analysis of the development of institutional MDTA courses for the Project but little to the results of training for Project applicants. That limited investigation was restricted to applicants who had been enrolled in courses which had concluded prior to October 30, 1966. In this report, since we are concerned with obtaining a more representative description of the experiences of applicants referred to training from the Project, this analysis will differ from the previous one in two important ways: first, since a very small number of applicants were referred from the Main Office, during the study period, no comparisons were made between Project and Main Office applicants. Because of this, we were able to use information which had been collected on Project applicants prior to the study period, thus beginning the period for evaluation of training with May 1966.⁹ Second, in order to permit the maximum length of time for course completion and follow-up, data were not collected until June 30, 1966.

We selected applicants from our sample whose Project records indicated that they had been referred to training, and attempted to trace their progress from that point. Again, we relied exclusively on Employment Service records since the interview follow-up described

in Section 6 was not extensive enough to include a large number of persons who had been referred to training.

Proportion Starting Courses

Data indicate that slightly less than two-thirds of the Project applicants considered for training¹⁰ actually began one of the courses designed for the Project (Table 5.14). Although we do not know why the remaining 37 per cent failed to start a course, there are a number of possible explanations. (Records kept by CSES do not indicate the specific course to which a person was referred; but contain only a general reference to training.)

One possible explanation is that some applicants joined courses sponsored by offices in other cities. Although we know that staff members have, on occasion, informed applicants of courses outside of Oakland, the practice does not appear to have been a common one. Consequently, it probably played only a small role in accounting for the missing 37 per cent. Another possibility is that some individuals actually began courses but did not complete the first week's work; and, according to policy, were not considered officially enrolled. Whereas we were able to locate individuals with similar histories in other instances, we found none among this group. This explanation could account, therefore, for an extremely limited number of cases, if in fact it accounts for any. The final alternative seems most helpful in explaining the findings applicants were rejected by the Selection and Referral Officer(s) at the Project either because they failed to meet the requirements for the program or because the course was deemed inappropriate for the applicant. This, the most obvious of the alternative explanations, cannot be verified because it is impossible to determine from the Employment Service records the names of individuals eliminated in the screening process.

Proportion Completing Courses

When the records of the persons who started training were examined, we found that only about one-third of the group completed the course, approximately one-fifth was still enrolled as of the end of June 1967 (i.e., the course was still in progress), and the remaining 44 per cent had voluntarily or involuntarily terminated training. That extremely large variations were associated with sex and ethnicity is obvious from the table. While nearly two-thirds of the women completed training and only one-quarter failed to finish, less than one fifth of the men completed, and more than one-half did not. Similar but not as pronounced, differences were found between Mexican Americans and Negroes (Mexican Americans had a higher completion rate). A partial explanation for greater success among women and Mexican Americans may be found in the

TABLE 5.14

Results of training referrals of Project minority group new applicants,
May 1965 to December 1966
(Per cent distribution)

Results	Total	Sex		Ethnic Group		
		Male	Female	Negro	Mexican American	Unknown
Referred to Training						
Total Number	100.0 139	100.0 87	100.0 52	100.0 101	100.0 36	100.0 2
Started	63.3	65.5	59.6	65.3	61.1	--
Did not start	36.7	34.5	40.4	34.7	38.9	--
Started Training						
Total Number	100.0 88	100.0 57	100.0 31	100.0 66	100.0 22	100.0 --
Completed	34.1	17.5	64.5	28.8	50.0	--
Did not complete	44.3	54.4	25.8	48.5	31.8	--
In training	21.6	28.1	9.7	22.7	18.2	--
Completed Training						
Total Number	100.0 30	100.0 10	100.0 20	100.0 19	100.0 11	100.0 --
Obtained job	20.0	--	25.0	0.0	--	--
Training related	16.7	--	20.0	.0	--	--
Not training related	3.3	--	5.0	.0	--	--
Did not obtain job	33.3	--	20.0	36.8	--	--
Unknown	46.7	--	55.0	63.2	--	--
Did not Complete Training						
Total Number	100.0 39	100.0 31	100.0 8	100.0 32	100.0 7	100.0 --
Obtained job	17.9	22.6	--	15.5	--	--
Training related	12.8	16.1	--	12.5	--	--
Not training related	5.1	6.5	--	3.1	--	--
Did not obtain job	15.4	12.9	--	12.5	--	--
Unknown	66.7	64.5	--	71.9	--	--

nature of their courses. Most were clerical courses oriented toward providing English language training to relatively well-educated Spanish speaking applicants, or service courses that may have been less demanding than others.

Proportion Obtaining Jobs

When the courses ended, placement information was available for slightly more than one-half of the persons who had completed them. Based on these data, we can say with certainty that at least one-fifth of the group had a job to go to upon graduation, the majority of the jobs were training related. The most startling finding is that, in spite of the fact that data were available for more than one-third of the Negro graduates, none had acquired a job at the time of commencement. (Results collected at the end of three months were more encouraging, however, as will be explained shortly.)

It seems that Negroes who did not complete courses had a more promising short-term employment future than did the graduates. More than half of those about whom information was available (15.5 per cent of the individuals did not complete courses), had obtained employment and four-fifths of the jobs were training-related. We are not able totally to explain this, but it appears to support what was at one time a popular contention that employers who become aware of promising individuals enrolled in training courses offer them jobs even before they finish. In addition, finding employment is a common reason for leaving training.

Occupational Level of Courses

The applicants we investigated were enrolled in 22 different courses which were spread throughout all occupational levels except unskilled. The old classification system was used to obtain the distribution presented in the table below (Basic Education courses at the Skills Center were also included). As was pointed out in the last

Occupational classification of training courses started
by Project minority new applicants between May 1965 and
December 1966, results as of June 30, 1967

(Per cent distribution)

Occupational Classification	Total Started	Completed	Did Not Complete	Still Enrolled
Total Number	100.0 88	100.0 30	100.0 39	100.0 19

Professional & Managerial	8.0	0.0	10.3	15.8
Clerical & Sales	38.6	63.3	28.2	21.1
Skilled	12.5	3.3	10.3	31.6
Services	8.0	13.3	7.7	.0
Semi-skilled	14.8	10.0	15.4	21.1
Agriculture	5.7	10.0	5.1	.0
Basic Educ.	12.5	--	23.1	10.5

report, the clerical-sales courses were those most available in the early months of the Project, and it was the success of women, mostly Mexican American, in these courses that accounted for almost two-thirds of the graduations as of June 30, 1967. The decision to deemphasize traditional minority and female occupations in favor of semi-skilled and skilled areas is reflected in the data for those trainees still enrolled. The tabulated results for professional-managerial and basic education courses, however, are misleading.

Four professional courses were included in the list, three of which were still in progress when our data were gathered. The fourth had been cancelled prior to its scheduled conclusion because a number of terminations had diminished its original small size to the extent that its continuation could not be justified. The nature of the basic education course distorts the table. It served as a "feeder course" for the vocational training conducted at the Skills Center and of the 34 applicants in the sample who began it, two-thirds, most of whom were Negro males, completed and proceeded to a vocational course; approximately one-quarter did not finish, and the remainder (two individuals) is still enrolled.

Follow-up of those who Completed Courses

The follow-up data obtained three months after completion of training by the Employment Service were more encouraging than those available at the time the courses terminated (see next table). At this later point, information was available for all but one-fifth of the graduates. Half had reported working on a job which lasted at least 30 days, and two-thirds (one-third of the entire group) had

obtained training-related employment. However, a substantial percentage (30.0) of the ex-trainees had not been able to obtain any type of job lasting as long as thirty days.

Follow-up results on Project minority group new applicants
who completed training courses between May 1965 and June 1967

(Per cent distribution)^d

Result	Total	Sex		Ethnic Group	
		Male	Female	Negro	Mexican-American
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	30	10	20	19	11
30-day Job	50.0	--	55.0	36.8	--
Train. Related	33.3	--	30.0	21.0	--
Non-Tr. Rel.	16.7	--	25.0	15.8	--
No 30-day Job	30.0	--	35.0	42.1	--
No Follow-up	20.0	--	10.0	21.0	--

Although small numbers prevent an extensive analysis of differences that may be associated with sex and ethnic group membership, women and Mexican Americans still appear to have been more successful than were males and Negroes. An encouraging sign, however, was that in spite of the fact that none of the Negroes had found work when classes terminated, seven of the nineteen (or 36.8 per cent) had been employed in a job for at least 30 days by the end of the three months which followed training; and four had held a training-related job for a shorter period. Twice that number (42.1 per cent), however, had been unable to find any employment that had lasted a minimum of 30 days.

Reasons for Termination

Slightly more than one-third of the trainees who did not complete courses were terminated by staff for negative reasons -- either poor attendance (25.6 per cent) or lack of progress (10.6 per cent); the remainder either left voluntarily, was transferred, or separated for unknown reasons (see table below). The quarter that left in order

Reasons for termination recorded for those minority
group new applicants to the Project who did not
complete courses started between May 1965 and
December 1966

(Per cent distribution)^d

Reason	Total	Sex		Ethnic Group	
		Male	Female	Negro	Mexican-American
Total Number	100.0 39	100.0 31	100.0 8	100.0 32	100.0 7
Obtained Job	25.6	32.3	--	25.0	--
Poor Attendance	25.6	25.8	--	21.9	--
Lack of Progress	10.3	6.5	--	9.4	--
Transferred	7.7	9.7	--	9.4	--
Other	15.4	12.9	--	15.6	--
Unknown	15.4	12.9	--	18.8	--

to take a job presents a difficult interpretative problem, since the number was so small. Apparently some withdrew to accept a training related job prior to course completion; others seemed to have become disgusted with the course (perhaps most true of Basic Education trainees) and so decided to return to work; still others may have been forced by a combination of economic and personal factors to discontinue training in favor of work. The "other" reasons listed (by 15 per cent of the trainees) were related in that an emergency or some unavoidable development arose -- such as illness, entry into the armed forces, or care of family -- which forced trainees to drop out of classes.

No Referrals

A sizeable proportion of applicants to the Project and to the Main Office received neither employment nor non-employment referrals within three months of their registration. As was indicated in Section 4, an average of 40.4 per cent of Project minority group men were included in that category during the study period, and the percentage was as high as 61.3 and 65.5 for Main Office minority and non-minority group men respectively. Since we have not anticipated finding proportions of such magnitude at the time the study was planned, no provisions had been made during the early phase of the study period to collect data addressed to this issue. The oversight was corrected for this report, however.

It seemed possible, and indeed had been suggested by Project staff, that the large proportions could be accounted for by the transiency of applicants, the unavailability of suitable openings, or the general lack of qualifications. As a result, data were collected which permitted identification of (1) those applicants the staff had been unable to contact for referral and (2) those who returned to the offices in search of a job, but for whom no suitable opening had been available. In addition, in an effort to determine whether or not differences existed on personal characteristics, comparisons were made between those persons referred and those not referred.

It is evident from the data in the following table that, at least during the last nine months of the study period, neither Project nor Main Office staff members made a large number of unsuccessful attempts to contact applicants for referral. They made virtually none. It was necessary, however, for them to inform an increasingly large proportion of registrants who returned to inquire, that there were no job possibilities available for them. This finding appears related to the fact

Results for new applicants to Project and Main Office who received no referrals, April to December 1966, by quarter

(Per cent distribution)

Result	PM			MOM			MOM
	II	III	IV	II	III	IV	IV
M A L E S							
Total Number	100.0 42	100.0 37	100.0 60	100.0 84	100.0 97	100.0 110	100.0 103
Unable to contact	0.0	3.0	0.0	1.3	1.0	0.0	2.0
No suitable openings	9.4	21.2	36.5	25.0	32.3	51.4	39.0
No attempt to contact	90.6	75.8	63.5	73.7	66.7	48.6	59.0
F E M A L E S							
Total Number	100.0 60	100.0 65	100.0 71	100.0 72	100.0 57	100.0 64	100.0 49
Unable to contact	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
No suitable openings	13.0	12.3	32.3	24.6	35.7	39.1	34.0
No attempt to contact	87.0	87.7	67.7	75.4	64.3	60.9	66.0

that the number of unemployment compensation recipients is generally higher at the Main Office than at the Project and to data not reported here which indicated that the number of unemployment insurance claims rose in the fourth quarter of 1966.

Attempts to determine whether persons given some type of referral differ from those not referred led us to conclude that education, age, work experience, time in area and double registration had some bearing on the selection process. Education seemed relevant primarily to decisions made for minorities, while age affected only the choices made in the case of non-minorities (Table 5.15). On both variables, the relationship was in the expected direction. Work experience, time in area, and double registration, on the other hand, were more relevant to females than to males. Women with longer work experience (25 months or more) constituted a larger portion of the referred than of the not referred, while the reverse was true for those with up to six months work experience. Women who had come to the area within two years preceding their registration made up a larger proportion of the referred than of the not referred, while the reverse was true for those who had resided in the area for more than five years. Larger proportions of both Project minority and Main Office minority group were referred than were not referred (Table 5.16). Although these results certainly do not establish conclusively that the applicants who were not given referrals lacked qualifications valued in the job market, the evidence indicates that this might have been the case.

Summary

In general, there was little difference in the degree of success of the Project and the Main Office in obtaining jobs for men during the study period. We discovered that the proportion of total new male applicants hired was higher for Project minorities than for the two Main Office groups, but also that the proportion of men not hired was higher at the Project. When hires were computed not as a percentage of total applicants, but of those referred to a job, the difference between results for the three male groups was found to be negligible.

Although the study period was of a length such that complete confidence cannot be placed in trends, the proportion of new applicants hired tended to increase during the period for Project minorities but to decrease for Main Office minorities. These trends were seen both when hires were computed as a percentage of total new applicants, and when they represented the percentage of total new registrants referred to jobs. The results of service for Project women, on the other hand, were consistently inferior not only to those for Project men, but also to those for all other groups. The major exception was that Project

TABLE 5.15

Characteristics of persons referred and not referred from Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

	Males										Females											
	Project Minority					Main Office Minority ^c					Project Minority					Main Office Minority						
	Referred					Referred					Referred					Referred						
	Yes	No				Yes	No				Yes	No				Yes	No				Yes	No
Years of Education																						
Total Number	100.0	100.0	442	455		100.0	100.0	197	466		100.0	100.0	279	612		100.0	100.0	243	529		100.0	100.0
0 - 8	11.8	19.8				9.3	21.1				4.6	11.4				10.7	13.4				5.2	18.3
9 - 11	35.5	38.6				24.9	8.3				21.3	19.1				28.0	24.6				17.0	19.9
12	39.6	30.1				41.7	35.2				38.0	36.7				38.7	40.8				51.0	41.6
13 or more	13.1	10.5				24.1	15.4				36.0	32.8				22.6	21.2				26.8	28.2
Age in Years																						
Total	100.0	100.0				100.0	100.0				100.0	100.0				100.0	100.0				100.0	100.0
Less than 22	18.1	12.2				15.1	13.0				13.7	6.2				19.4	17.0				14.9	16.7
22 - 24	21.7	19.8				19.1	24.6				19.8	16.5				21.5	15.5				21.6	13.8
25 - 44	50.5	50.5				49.5	51.6				52.8	45.1				47.7	55.1				44.8	39.0
45 & over	9.7	15.2				16.2	10.7				13.7	32.2				11.5	12.4				18.6	30.5

TABLE 5.16

Characteristics of persons referred and not referred from Project and Main Office, November 1965 - December 1966

(Per cent distribution)

	Males										Females													
	Project Minority					Main Office					Project Minority					Main Office								
	Minority					Non-minority ^c					Minority					Non-minority ^c								
	Referred		Yes		No	Referred		Yes		No	Referred		Yes		No	Referred		Yes		No				
Months of Work Experience																								
Total Number	100.0	100.0	442	455	100.0	100.0	345	721	100.0	100.0	197	466	100.0	100.0	279	612	100.0	100.0	243	529	100.0	100.0	194	341
0 - 6	20.1	22.4			10.7	15.3			12.2	18.0			28.4	31.2			11.9	23.4			12.9	28.4		
7 - 24	31.2	24.8			31.9	31.9			29.9	18.2			31.2	26.6			32.5	31.4			28.4	22.0		
25 or more	48.6	53.6			57.4	52.8			57.9	63.7			48.4	42.2			55.6	45.2			58.8	49.6		
Years in Area																								
Total	100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0		
Less than 2	39.8	26.4			37.7	34.8			41.1	31.8			20.3	31.2			41.2	30.1			45.9	29.9		
2 - 5	10.2	9.0			13.6	10.7			8.6	7.1			14.7	9.7			8.6	11.0			7.7	12.0		
5 or more	159.0	64.6			48.7	54.5			50.3	61.2			65.0	59.1			50.2	59.0			46.3	58.1		
Double Registration																								
Total	100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0		
Yes	79.2	89.0			51.6	60.6			78.2	81.8			21.5	11.3			52.3	60.5			25.8	14.1		
No	20.8	11.0			48.4	39.4			21.8	18.2			78.5	88.7			47.7	39.5			74.2	85.9		

females appeared to receive more clerical-sales than service jobs during the last three quarters of 1966, while the reverse was true for Main Office minorities.

These findings relate directly to two issues raised in Section 5. First, to the degree that a special effort was exerted as the Project to obtain jobs for men, it was successful. In all of the gross measurements, larger proportions of Project men were placed than of Project women. The relative success of Project placements over those made at the Main Office, however, was obviously more equivocal. There was no substantial difference between Project and Main Office and the results for Project women were numerically inferior to those for Main Office women.

It is not sufficient to stop with overall findings, however. In the last report, many more detailed analyses were performed, but in the end, we found it impossible to avoid acknowledging the fact that an extremely small percentage of applicants were placed on any jobs and, in addition, only a fraction of them obtained jobs we labelled "minimally acceptable" i.e., those which were (1) at the same or higher status level as the applicant's primary occupation, (2) expected to last more than three days, and (3) held by applicant at least one month. The additional data collected since the last report, do not indicate dramatic changes. Our best estimates still indicate that an average of 17 per cent of Project men obtained at least one job during the three months that followed registration, only three-quarters of those individuals received a job that was expected to last more than one or two days, and only three-fifths obtained employment at the same or higher status level as their primary occupation.¹¹ Less than ten per cent of the men and women who walk through the door of the Project and of the Main Office are able to obtain a "minimally acceptable" job. The last feature, length of employment, will be discussed in the next section. That the Project with apparently less well-qualified applicants, and less experienced personnel, but with apparently more time to devote to applicants, should do a job comparable to the one at the Main Office must not be ignored, however. It certainly tends to indicate that, although the results in no way indicate outstanding success, neither do they indicate complete failure.

The only non-employment service investigated in this report was training. The results there were not encouraging. Only a small percentage of the Project applicants (9 per cent of the men, 5 per cent of women) were referred to MDTA training courses. Although these constituted virtually all of the training referrals made in Oakland, they represent only a small percentage of the Project population. Slightly less than two-thirds of those referred actually started courses, and 44 per cent of those had terminated prior to completion (22 per cent were still in training when our data were collected). Since

there are still a large number of courses in progress or scheduled to start, the results must be viewed in that context. The follow-up data is naturally limited to trainees from early courses, ones more heavily oriented toward female and "traditional minority" occupations, and which had concluded at least three months prior to June 30, 1967. One-third of the graduates had received a training-related job which lasted at least thirty days of the first 90 days after graduation, and another 17 per cent had received a job of at least that length which was not related to training. The data collected indicate that approximately 0.5 per cent of the Project applicants, approximately 57 persons, who were referred to training within three months of their application, completed the vocational course they started and later obtained a job related to their training. These figures seem extremely small.

Those applicants who obtained neither employment nor non-employment referrals during the last nine months of the study period, did not appear to differ strikingly from those who were referred. We assume that, as in other findings, results varied little from one segment of the period to another. The individuals not referred apparently were looking for kinds of jobs which CSES could not provide.

Section 5 - Footnotes

1. We did not determine whether the large percentage of unknown results were due to the failure of the employers to return the information requested or the failure of the staff to post it on the application forms. Our impression is that the former condition held.

2. It also seemed to increase for Main Office non-minorities.

3. After an applicant has had no contact with the Project for three months, he is sent a postcard which asks him if he still desires the Project to attempt to find him a job. A negative answer or failure to return the card results in his deletion from the active file.

4. Sometimes referred to as casual jobs or day work.

5. Data were not collected for the interim quarters.

6. In the case of Main Office non-minorities, the last three months.

7. Slight differences between percentages shown for Government and union in different sections of Table 5.9 and previous ones are a result of either different coding criteria or data processing errors.

8. This is an inference from the finding in Section 6, that many of the applicants in fact did return to the jobs from which they were laid off.

9. As was explained in the first Interim Report, data were collected on Project applicants beginning May 1, 1965, but on Main Office applicants only from November 1st of that year.

10. Those persons "considered for training" were individuals whose record indicated they had been referred to training. Since this notation did not appear to be an accurate indication of those persons actually referred to a training course, the present phrase was selected.

11. Second Interim Report, Table 33, p. 67.

Section 6

RESULTS OF A FOLLOW-UP SURVEY

Introduction

From an early stage of our evaluation study, we have planned a follow-up survey of a sample of applicants to the Project and Main Office with a view to determining, among other things: (1) the duration of jobs on which applicants were placed and the reasons for termination of those jobs; (2) the extent to which applicants who were not placed through the CSES obtained jobs through other channels; and (3) applicants' attitudes toward services provided by the CSES staff. Such a follow-up survey seemed particularly important in view of the evidence in the monthly follow-up reports prepared by the Project staff that a large proportion of jobs in which Project applicants were placed lasted only for a very short period. To what extent was this explained by the fact that many of the jobs were expected to be temporary in the first place, to what extent by dissatisfaction of the employee with the job, and to what extent by the fact that he was laid off or dismissed by his employer? In an effort to develop answers to these questions we conducted a follow-up survey by personal interview of a sample of applicants to the Project and Main Office, including persons who had been hired and persons who had not been hired, as well as a mailed questionnaire survey of employers who had hired applicants included in the "hired" group.

The Sample

In view of limitations of time and resources, it was not feasible to draw a follow-up sample of applicants for the entire study period. In order to confine the sample to a manageable size and to minimize the effects of seasonal variations in the job market, we decided to select a sample of applicants who had registered at Project and Main offices in November and December of 1965 and in the same months of 1966.

The follow-up sample was a stratified sub-sample of the one drawn for the overall study. Two groups of applicants were selected--the first consisting of persons who had been placed by CSES within three months of their applications (the "hired" sample) and the second consisting of those who had not obtained a job through the CSES (the "not hired" sample). As in the overall study, the samples were selected from each of the three analysis groups used throughout this report: Project minorities, Main Office minorities, and Main Office non-minorities. Because the number of hired persons in the original sample was so small, selection of only a portion of them would have resulted in too small a sub-sample for satisfactory analysis. It was therefore decided to use the entire group hired in the designated months. In the case of the "not hired" persons, it proved feasible, however, to select a random sample.

Although we had anticipated that it might be more difficult to locate applicants who had registered in the last two months of 1965 than in the corresponding months of 1966, this did not prove to be as true as we had expected. Nevertheless, we were forced to eliminate about one-quarter of the 1965 applicants from the sample when we found that their records could no longer be located at the CSES offices. Analysis of the limited data we had retained concerning these applicants gave us no reason to believe that they differed appreciably from those whose CSES records were found. In other words, their loss did not bias our sample.

The Problem of Non-Response

Not altogether unexpectedly, it proved extremely difficult to locate an appreciable portion of the persons in our samples. This was explained in considerable part by the high rate of residential mobility in the subject population.¹

It would be expected, in this type of situation, that we would be able to locate people with relatively stable living patterns, who would differ in many respects from more mobile or transient persons, although to a considerable extent in ways which could not be analyzed in this study. Actually, the differences found between the respondent and non-respondent populations, to the extent that they could be measured on the basis of our data, were not for the most part very great, but there were certain significant differences which must be kept in mind in interpreting our results.

The overall response rate was 45.9 per cent. Interestingly, response rates were almost identical for Project minorities and Main Office minorities, but the response rate was appreciably lower for Main Office non-minorities than for the other two groups:

	Project minorities	Main Office minorities	Main Office non-minorities	Total
Number in sample	193	174	193	560
Number of inter- views completed	94	84	79	257
Response rate	48.7%	48.2%	40.9%	45.9%

With respect to the proportions of applicants who were hired and not hired, the respondent sample did not differ appreciably from the original sample (Table 6.1). It did differ substantially, however, with respect to sex. Males were very much under-represented among respondents in the Main Office minority sample and somewhat under-represented in the Main Office non-minority sample. Unfortunately, moreover, too few interviews were completed to enable us to undertake meaningful analyses that included sex breakdowns.

As a result of the fact that Spanish-speaking people who had registered

TABLE 6.1

Differences between the sample and respondents by analysis group, interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

Category	Project Minority		Minority		Main Office	
	Total	Interviewed	Total	Interviewed	Total	Interviewed
Number	193	94	179	84	193	79
Hire Status						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Hired	42.5	45.7	38.0	39.0	42.5	46.7
Not Hired	57.5	54.3	62.0	61.0	57.5	53.3
Sex						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	52.8	59.8	63.1	39.0	56.0	48.0
Female	47.2	40.2	36.9	61.0	44.0	52.0
Ethnic Group						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	..	..
Negro	76.7	80.5	80.1	81.7	..	..
Spanish-speaking	22.3	17.4	9.5	8.5	..	..
Other	1.0	2.2	10.0	9.8	..	..
Unknown	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	..	..

TABLE 6.1 continued

		Years of Education				
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - 8		29.5	31.5	30.2	29.3	17.1
9 - 11		37.8	35.9	40.1	37.8	29.0
12		23.3	22.8	26.3	28.0	35.2
13 or more		9.3	9.8	3.4	4.9	18.7

		Age in Years				
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 22		24.9	27.7	7.3	7.1	16.5
22 - 24		34.2	37.2	44.7	50.0	32.9
25 - 44		32.1	25.5	38.0	27.4	37.3
45 & over		8.8	9.6	10.0	15.5	11.9

		Occupational Classification				
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar		17.1	24.0	28.5	20.7	58.5
Professional & Managerial		2.6	3.3	8.4	6.1	15.5
Clerical & Sales		14.5	20.7	20.1	14.6	43.0
Blue Collar		82.9	76.1	71.5	79.3	41.5
Service		26.9	31.5	33.5	37.8	13.0
Other		56.0	44.6	38.0	41.5	28.5

at the Project offices turned out to be particularly difficult to contact, that group is somewhat under-represented among Project minority respondents. There were also certain differences in age distribution between the respondent groups and the original samples, but these were not very pronounced and, for the most part, are probably not statistically significant.² Differences in educational attainment were also apparently not significant.

Among Project minorities, clerical and sales workers were somewhat over-represented in the respondent group, as were service workers. Clerical and sales workers were also somewhat over-represented among Main Office non-minority respondents, whereas service workers were relatively under-represented. The reverse was true for Main Office minorities.

What is probably a significant difference between respondents and the original sample, however, is suggested by data in the table on page 6-13, to be analyzed later, in which employers' reporting of reasons for job terminations are compared with the reasons reported by applicants. That table indicates that only 9.5 per cent of persons who were still employed by employers responding to the mailed questionnaire could not be contacted for interviews in the applicant survey, as contrasted with very much larger proportions of persons who had quit their jobs according to the employers' reports, persons who had held a temporary job which had ended, persons who were separated for various involuntary reasons, and persons for whom the employer reported that he had no record of the reason for job termination. These results suggest that persons who were still working on a job which they had obtained through the CSES were not only considerably easier to locate, but perhaps, also, were more likely to be motivated to cooperate with the follow-up survey. Particularly among those who had quit their jobs, there may in some cases have been reluctance to discuss their reasons for quitting. It should be noted, however, that the response rate from employers was also quite low (about 40 per cent), and there may, therefore, have been significant differences in characteristics of persons for whom employers supplied information and the original hired sample.

We have already commented on the fact that the number of completed interviews was too small to permit meaningful analyses of tables including a sex breakdown as well as the breakdown among our usual three analysis groups. It also proved unfeasible to include a breakdown between the 1965 and 1966 groups of registrants, except in tables relating to duration of job (for the "hired"). However, since there appeared to be little variation in the characteristics of 1965 and 1966 registrants, this does not appear to present a serious problem.³

Before reporting on the actual results of the follow-up survey, it should be pointed out that not all respondents were asked identical groups of questions (see the interview schedule in the Appendix). Persons who had been hired through CSES were questioned about the nature of the jobs they had obtained and their satisfaction with these jobs. Those

who had not been hired through CSES were asked to describe how they had found their jobs. Finally, those who had not been hired through CSES and had found no work within three months were questioned about their financial support sources, how their time was spent, and the reasons why they felt they had found no work.

The Hired and the Not Hired

Results of the follow-up survey yield interesting data on differences in characteristics of the hired and not hired (Tables 6.2 and 6.3). Since these data to some extent duplicate information we have developed from our analysis of CSES records, we shall concentrate to a considerable extent on a discussion of the differences in characteristics between the two groups of "not hired"--those who found jobs through channels other than CSES and those who were not employed during the study period.

As indicated by data analyzed in other sections of this report, among Project minorities, males figured considerably more prominently in the hired group than in either of the two not hired groups. The reverse was very much true, on the other hand, for the Main Office minorities, while, among the Main Office non-minorities, males were less likely to have been hired through the CSES than to have found jobs through other channels, but the third group of persons (those who had found no job during the study period) was equally divided between males and females. If we consider only those not hired through CSES (Table 6.3), it would appear that Main Office non-minority males were relatively successful in getting jobs through non-CSES channels.

Among minority group applicants at the Project offices, those who did not get a job in the study period tended to have a lower level of educational attainment than those who did get jobs. This relationship shows up particularly clearly if the two groups with less than a complete high school education are combined, indicating that 80.8 per cent of those who did not get a job had less than 12 years of education, as compared with 66.6 per cent of those who got a job through a non-CSES channel and 59.6 per cent of those who were placed by the CSES. The differences were not as systematic or clearcut in the case of Main Office minorities and Main Office non-minorities, but in general the educational level of those who did not get a job was relatively low.

At both the Project and Main Office, minority group persons who were less than 25 years of age figured more prominently among the groups who did not get hired at all than among those who got hired through CSES or through other channels. On the other hand, the reverse was true among Main Office non-minorities. To some extent, this appears to reflect employment difficulties among older non-minority applicants. Persons over 45 years of age represented a particularly high percentage of those who did not get a job among the Main Office non-minority applicants.

When occupational characteristics are compared, the most striking

TABLE 6.2

Demographic characteristics of respondents by analysis group and hire status, interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

	Project Minority				Main Office Minority				Main Office Non-minority			
	Hired	Non-CSES Job	No Job	Not Hired	Hired	Non-CSES Job	No Job	Not Hired	Hired	Non-CSES Job	No Job	Not Hired
Number	42	24	26	32	28	22	35	22	18			
Sex												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	59.5	25.0	23.1	37.5	75.0	77.3	40.0	72.7	50.0			
Female	40.5	75.0	76.9	62.5	25.0	22.7	60.0	27.3	50.0			
Ethnic Group												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	71.4	91.7	76.9	87.5	75.0	77.3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Spanish-speaking	23.8	4.2	19.2	3.1	10.7	13.6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other	4.8	4.2	3.8	9.4	14.3	9.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Years of Education												
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - 8	28.6	33.3	34.6	18.7	28.6	45.5	20.0	22.7	22.2			
9 - 11	31.0	33.3	46.2	58.3	21.4	31.8	25.7	22.7	38.9			
12	26.2	25.0	15.4	21.9	42.9	18.2	31.4	31.8	33.3			
13 or more	14.3	8.3	3.8	3.1	7.1	4.5	22.9	22.7	51.6			

TABLE 6.3

Demographic characteristics of respondents not hired through CSES, by analysis group and non-CSES hire status. Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)^a

Category	Project			Main Office Minority			Main Office Non-minority		
	Total	Non-CSES Job	No Job	Total	Non-CSES Job	No Job	Total	Non-CSES Job	No Job
Number	50	24	26	50	28	22	40	22	18
Sex									
Total	100.0	48.0	52.0	100.0	56.0	44.0	100.0	55.0	45.0
Male	100.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	55.3	44.7	100.0	64.0	36.0
Female	100.0	47.4	51.6	100.0	58.3	41.7	100.0	40.0	60.0
Years of Education									
Total	100.0	53.5	46.5	100.0	58.1	41.9	100.0	58.6	41.4
0 - 8	100.0	47.1	52.9	100.0	44.4	55.6	100.0	55.5	44.5
9 - 11	100.0	40.0	60.0	100.0	46.2	53.8	100.0	41.7	58.3
12	100.0	60.0	40.0	100.0	75.0	25.0	100.0	53.8	46.2
13 or more	100.0	66.7	33.3	100.0	66.7	33.3	100.0	83.3	16.7
Age in Years									
Total	100.0	52.3	47.7	100.0	64.0	36.0	100.0	54.4	45.6
Less than 22	100.0	46.7	53.3	100.0	75.0	25.0	100.0	60.0	40.0
22 - 24	100.0	42.1	57.9	100.0	44.4	55.6	100.0	66.7	33.3
25 - 44	100.0	53.8	46.2	100.0	70.0	30.0	100.0	53.3	46.7
45 and over	100.0	66.7	33.3	100.0	66.7	33.3	100.0	37.5	62.5
Ethnic Group									
Non-minority	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	55.0	45.0
Negro	100.0	52.4	47.6	100.0	55.3	44.7	100.0	--	--
Spanish-speaking	100.0	--	--	100.0	--	--	100.0	--	--
Other	100.0	--	--	100.0	--	--	100.0	--	--

difference that emerges is one we have repeatedly encountered earlier in this study--that the great majority of non-minority applicants at the Main Office were white-collar workers, whereas minority group applicants at both types of offices were preponderantly blue-collar workers. This difference swamps other differences, which in some cases cannot be regarded as very significant. However, among Project applicants, service workers apparently had a relatively poor chance of being hired through the CSES, as compared with getting a job through other channels or not getting a job. On the other hand, other blue-collar workers represented an appreciably larger percentage of those hired through CSES than of either those hired through other channels or not hired. Among Main Office minority applicants and non-minority applicants, clerical and sales workers figured considerably more prominently in the groups hired through CSES than in either of the other groups, while at least in the case of minority applicants, service workers also represented a larger proportion of those hired through CSES than of those hired through other channels or not hired, whereas the reverse tended to be true for other blue-collar workers. Another striking difference, in the case of non-minority Main Office applicants, was the relatively high proportion of other blue-collar workers who obtained jobs through non-CSES channels. Further light will be shed on these differences at a later point, when we examine the sources of non-CSES placements.

Jobs Obtained by the "Hired"

At this point we will examine the data collected in these follow-up interviews which increase our understanding of the type of jobs obtained through CSES.

Temporary Jobs

Since there is general agreement that the CSES method of classifying jobs as permanent if they are expected to last three days or more and temporary if expected to last less than three days is unsatisfactory, we decided to ask our respondents whether it was their understanding that the job they obtained was to be temporary or permanent at the time they were hired. In this way, we hoped that our data would reflect the more usual distinction between temporary and permanent jobs. Respondents who obtained temporary jobs were then asked how long they were told the job was to last, and how long it actually lasted. It should be explained that the information reported by respondents on duration of the job, as well as reasons for termination, job satisfaction, etc., relates to the last job which a hired applicant obtained through CSES within three months of the time he applied (in those cases in which he obtained more than one job within the three months).

Jobs reported as "temporary" by respondents ranged from less than one day to more than six months in duration, but their median expected duration was 10 days. Interestingly, their median actual duration was almost twice as long--17.5 days (table below). Since so

few Main Office respondents obtained temporary jobs, reliable medians could not be computed for them. However, our results clearly indicated that the median duration of temporary jobs obtained by Project applicants was very much shorter than for the total group--7.5 days, as compared with 17.5.

Length of employment on CSES jobs obtained by respondents,
temporary jobs only
Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)					
Length of job	Total group		PM	MOM	MOM
	Anticipated length	Actual length	Anticipated length		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	35	35	18	9	8
Less than					
3 days	20.0	14.3	33.3	--	--
3-5	5.7	8.6	5.6	--	--
1-4 weeks	25.7	31.4	16.7	--	--
1-6 months	22.9	31.5	16.7	--	--
More than					
6 months	5.7	11.4	11.1	--	--
Unknown	20.0	2.8	16.7	--	--
Median (in days)	10	17.5	7.5	--	--

Not only were the temporary jobs obtained by Project applicants relatively short in duration, but a larger proportion of the jobs Project applicants got were temporary. These data support those we obtained from CSES records, using CSES definitions

Anticipated duration of CSES jobs, by analysis group
Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)				
	Total	PM	MOM	MOM
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	109	42	32	35
Permanent	67.9	57.1	71.9	77.1
Temporary	32.1	42.9	28.1	22.9

Data compiled by the Project staff have also consistently shown

that a large proportion of the jobs on which applicants were placed were temporary, using the less-than-three-days definition. The most recent available monthly report indicates that, for the entire period from September 1964 through April 1967, 58 per cent of the jobs on which applicants were placed were temporary

Length of Employment

When we consider the actual duration of all jobs obtained by those hired through CSES offices (see following table), a rather surprising result emerges. Jobs tended to be shorter in duration for Main Office minority applicants than for Project minorities or Main Office non-minorities, despite the fact that Main Office minority applicants understood their jobs to be permanent in a larger proportion of cases than was true of Project minorities. On the other hand, jobs obtained by Main Office non-minorities tended to be distinctly longer in duration than those obtained by either of the minority groups, with a median duration of more than six months for the 1965 applicants, as compared with 16 weeks for Project minorities and 8 weeks for Main Office minorities. These comparisons are more significant than those relating to the 1966 applicants, since the relatively small number of months elapsing between November and December 1966 and April 1967 meant that no job could have lasted more than four to five months. Even so, the median duration of jobs obtained by non-minority applicants at the Main Office was considerably higher than for either of the two minority groups in the case of the 1966 applicants, also.

In interpreting these results, we must keep in mind the fact that most of the non-minority applicants were white-collar workers and obtained white-collar jobs. Although there are some types of blue-collar jobs that are as stable as white-collar jobs (at least for workers who have obtained considerable seniority), there are many blue-collar jobs that tend to be short-term or casual in nature, particularly at the lower levels of skill. Moreover, Negroes tend to be concentrated to a considerable extent in precisely these types of employment. Thus it is impossible to determine from gross data of the type presented below to what extent the relatively short duration of the jobs obtained by minority group workers reflected the types⁴ of jobs they obtained and to what extent it reflected other factors. However, data on reasons for job terminations, to be examined next, do shed some light on this question.

Length of employment on CSES jobs obtained
by respondents, by analysis group and year
Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

Length of job		1965				1966		
		PM	MOM	MOM		PM	MOM	MOM
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	57	19	22	16	51	23	10	18
Less than 3 days	8.7	15.8	9.0	0.0	5.9	13.1	--	0.0
3-5 days	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.8	8.7	--	5.6
1-4 weeks	19.2	5.3	27.2	18.8	11.8	8.7	--	11.2
1-6 months	24.4	26.3	27.2	18.8	33.3	30.4	--	50.0
More than 6 months or still working	42.0	42.1	31.8	56.2	31.4	30.4	--	27.7
Unknown	7.0	10.5	4.5	6.2	7.8	8.7	--	5.6
Median		16 wk	8 wk	6 mos		12 wk	6 wk	15 wk

Reasons for Termination of Job

Among the "hired" applicants who were interviewed, 37 per cent were still working on the last job obtained through the CSES at the time of the interview, and, as would be expected from our data on duration of jobs, the percentage still working was considerably higher for non-minority Main Office applicants than for either of the two minority groups of applicants (see table below). The difference, however, is perhaps not as large as might have been expected on the basis of data relating to duration of employment.

Reason for termination of CSES job according to
respondents, by analysis group
Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

Reason	Total	PM	MOM	MOM
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	109	42	32	35
Still working	36.7	35.7	28.1	45.7
Quit: personal factors	17.4	14.3	18.7	20.0
Quit: job-related factors	7.3	9.5	9.4	2.9
Laid off	10.1	11.9	9.4	8.6
Temporary job ended	22.9	26.2	25.0	17.1
Fired	4.6	2.4	9.4	2.9
Failed probation	0.9	0.0	0.0	2.9

Differences in reasons for termination of jobs reported by the three groups were not, on the whole, particularly striking. As might have been expected, termination of a temporary job was relatively more important in the cases of the two minority groups, while dismissals ("fired") figured especially prominently in the case of Main Office minorities. There appeared to be some tendency for layoffs to be relatively more important for the minority groups and for quits for personal reasons to be comparatively more important for both Main Office groups than for Project applicants, but the differences are not large and some of them are probably not statistically significant.

Some interesting comparisons can be made between reasons reported by employers (table below) and reasons reported by applicants (previous table). Questionnaires were sent to all "last" CSES employers for whom we could find addresses; these were followed by a second mailing to those who had failed to reply. In this manner, data were gathered for 136 people in our sample, of whom interviews had been completed earlier with only 88. Although a series of questions was asked in the employer questionnaire (see Appendix), employers tended to fail to respond to most of these questions and to answer only one: that relating to reason for the employee's termination.

Reason for termination of CSES job
according to employers,
questionnaire: May 1967

(Per cent distribution)	
Reason for termination	Total
Total	100.0
Number	136
Still working	30.0
Quit	17.6
Laid off	4.4
Temporary job ended	21.3
Fired	5.5
Failed probation	4.4
No record	12.5

On the whole, the distribution of reasons reported by employers did not differ appreciably from those reported by hired applicants, although a larger proportion of the applicants reported that they were still working and a larger percentage, also, reported "laid off" as the reason for the termination of the job, whereas a smaller percentage reported "failed probation." Some of the workers may have preferred to report "laid off" than to admit to having failed probation. In interpreting the differences between the last two tables, however, we must keep in mind the fact that they do not relate to the same group

of people. Employers reported on 48 workers who were not reached in the hired applicant interviews, while there were evidently 21 workers represented in the first of the two tables whose employers either failed to respond to the questionnaire or did not answer the question on reason for termination.

A more accurate indication of actual differences between reasons reported by employers and by hired applicants may be obtained from the table below, where the two sets of responses are compared for each hired applicant who was interviewed and for whom there was also an employer response. As indicated earlier, the data in this table shed interesting

Reason for termination, according to employers,
by agreement of respondent
April-May 1967

(Per cent distribution)							
Agreement with employer	Total		Employer's reason				
	Per cent	Number	Working	Quit	Temporary job ended	Laid off, fired, failed probation	No record
Total	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number		136	42	24	29	19	22
No respondent	35.3		9.5	58.3	41.4	36.8	50.0
Respondent	64.7		90.5	41.7	58.6	63.2	50.0
Total respondents	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number		88	38	10	17	12	11
Disagree	26.1	23	10.5	30.0	29.4	92.5	
Agree	61.4	54	89.5	70.0	70.6	7.5	
No employer record	12.5	11					

light on some of the factors affecting our response rate in connection with applicant interviews. Among those on whom employer supplied information, persons who were still working for the employer were considerably more likely to be included in the applicant respondent group than persons who had quit or had held a temporary job which had terminated. Where both the employer and the applicant reported the reason for termination of a job, there was agreement in about a fourth of the cases, disagreement in five-eighths, and no employer record of the reason in one-eighth. The lowest rate of disagreement occurred, not surprisingly, where the respondent was still working for the employer, and here, of course, the disagreement related to whether or not the hired applicant was still working for the employer, rather than to the reason for termination.

Satisfaction with Job

Respondents were asked to rate their jobs on a five-point scale in accordance with the degree of satisfaction they had experienced, and also, to explain their ratings. By collapsing the original scale from five to three categories, we were able to determine whether a person (1) liked, (2) neither liked nor disliked, or (3) disliked his job. Since respondents were asked to indicate their three reasons for satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the job in order of importance, we then developed a rank ordering of the reasons by assigning a value of three to primary reasons, two to secondary, and one to tertiary. On this basis we developed a ranking scale ranging from 1 (most important reason) to 9 (least important reason).

Here again, the small number of respondents limited the possibilities of extensive analysis of the data. Perhaps the most important point that emerges, however, is the fact that a substantial majority of the respondents indicated that they liked their jobs (table below). But the proportion of Main Office minority applicants who indicated that they liked their jobs was somewhat smaller than for the other two groups. This is not particularly surprising, in view of the evidence examined earlier that their jobs tended to be shorter in duration than those of the other groups.

Job satisfaction, by analysis group
Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)				
Satisfaction	Total	PM	MOM	MOM
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	109	42	32	35
Liked	70.7	73.8	62.4	74.6
Neutral	16.5	14.3	18.7	17.1
Disliked	12.9	11.9	18.7	8.6

Clearly the chief determinants of job satisfaction, as well as dissatisfaction, were the nature of the job and the amount of pay received for the work (table below). Supervisory relations ("they're always looking over your shoulder," "they left me alone except when I needed help") appeared to play an important role only in those cases in which extreme satisfaction or dissatisfaction was reported.

Frequency and importance of reasons for job
satisfaction by satisfaction
level: rank order

Reason	Satisfaction level		
	Liked	Neutral	Disliked
Number of respondents	68	19	13 ^a
Nature of job	1	1	1.5
Pay	2	3	1.5
Supervisory relations	3	5.5	3
Working conditions	4	7.5	Not mentioned
Opportunity for advancement	5	4	Not mentioned
Other	6	2	Not mentioned
Hours	7	7.5	5
Co-worker relations	8	5.5	4
Location, transportation	9	9	Not mentioned

^aAlthough we customarily do not present detailed data where a base of less than 15 occurs, we felt this one important enough to include.

When our three basic analysis groups are compared (next table), there was relatively little variation in the factors that they regarded as most important in relation to their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the job. For all three groups, the nature of the job tended to receive the highest ranking, while pay and/or supervisory relations were next in importance. There was less agreement on other attributes of jobs, with Main Office non-minority respondents attaching relative importance to co-worker relations and working conditions, whereas "other" (miscellaneous) and "opportunity for advancement" received somewhat higher rankings, relatively, on the part of the minority groups. Interestingly, location and transportation received very low rankings by all three groups. This may be explained in large part by the fact--indicated by data presented in our second report--that most of the jobs for which applicants were hired were within the City of Oakland.

Reasons for job satisfaction, by analysis
group: rank order
Interviewed April 1967

Reasons	PM	MOM	MOM
Number of respondents	42	32	35
Nature of job	1	1	1
Pay	2	3	2
Supervisory relations	3	2	3
Other	4	5	7
Working conditions	5	8	5
Opportunity for advancement	6	4	8
Co-worker relations	7	9	4
Hours	8	6	6
Location, transportation	9	7	9

Training on the Job

Less than a fourth of the hired applicants received formal training on the jobs for which they had been hired (table below). This is not particularly surprising in the light of other available data which indicate that only the larger firms tend to have formal training programs, and also in view of the substantial proportion of cases in which applicants were hired for temporary, and, in some cases, casual jobs. The fact that training received by Project minorities appeared, on the basis of our very limited data, to be somewhat longer in duration than for the other two groups, is of interest. It may indicate that at least some employers were making special efforts to assist Project applicants to succeed in unfamiliar work situations.

Length of training received on the job by
respondents, by analysis group
Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

Length of training	Total	PM	MOM	MOM
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	109	42	32	35
None	77.1	76.1	78.2	77.0
Five days or less	12.0	9.6	15.6	11.5
More than five days	10.9	14.3	6.2	11.5
Median length in days	6	10	1	5

Union Membership

Respondents were asked two questions relating to union membership: "Do you belong to a union?" and "Did you join it before or after this job?" In interpreting the responses, it must be kept in mind that some of the respondents may have previously belonged to unions which were not relevant to the job for which they were hired.

It may seem somewhat surprising that in strongly unionized Oakland 70 per cent of the respondents did not belong to a union either before being hired for the job in question or after being hired (table below). In the case of Main Office minorities, the explanation clearly is associated with the predominance of white-collar workers in the group. Even so, the percentage of this group who joined a union on the job for which they were hired was considerably larger than in the case of either of the

Union membership of respondents who received
CSES jobs, by analysis group
Interviewed April 1967

Union membership	Total	PM	MOM	MOM̄
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	109	42	32	35
Yes, prior to job	15.6	19.0	12.5	14.3
Yes, joined on job	14.7	11.9	6.2	25.7
No	69.7	69.0	81.2	60.0

minority groups. Those who did join a union on the job were probably chiefly blue-collar workers. The fact that the percentage of Main Office minorities who joined a union on the job was particularly small is probably associated to some extent with the relatively short-term nature of the jobs for which this group was hired. Most collective bargaining agreements require union membership only after 30 days on the job. It will be recalled, also, that a relatively large proportion of this group was hired for service jobs, which are less likely to be unionized than other blue-collar jobs. Probably a significant percentage of these service jobs, in the light of other data examined in our second report, were private household domestic positions for which women in the group were hired. The data do not shed any light on the extent to which members of minority groups were excluded by restrictive entry practices from certain craft unions, but this problem is known to exist in a number of unions in the area. Also of interest, and closely related, is the fact that some minority contractors employ non-union construction workers.

Changes in Wages

Although respondents were asked to report the pay rates on the jobs for which they were hired, the results could not be analyzed satisfactorily because of the small size of the respondent group, which precluded analysis of the wage data by occupation. Respondents were also asked, however, whether they received any pay change while on the job. The fact that the great majority did not is not particularly surprising in view of the short-term nature of many of the jobs and the comparatively short period of time involved overall, even for the 1965 applicants (table below).

Pay changes on CSES jobs obtained by
respondents, by analysis group
Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)				
Pay change	Total	PM	MOM	MOM
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	109	42	32	35
None	73.4	69.0	84.4	68.6
Increase	24.8	26.2	15.6	31.4
Decrease	1.8	4.8	0.0	0.0

Where pay changes were experienced, they almost invariably involved increases. Moreover, the proportions who received increases tended to be considerably higher for Project minorities and Main Office non-minorities than for Main Office minorities--a result which again seems entirely consistent with our information on the particularly short-term character of jobs obtained by Main Office minorities.

Persons Not Hired Through CSES

Among respondents who were not hired through CSES within three months of their registration, slightly more than half obtained a job through another channel, while the rest did not get a job at all within the three-month period (table below). There was a slight tendency, however, for a larger percentage of both groups of Main Office applicants to obtain jobs through other channels than in the case of Project minorities.

Results of attempts by persons not hired through
CSES to obtain jobs through other sources

(Per cent distribution)				
Result	Total	PM	MOM	MOM
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	140	50	50	40
Non-CSES job	52.9	48.0	56.0	55.0
No job	47.1	52.0	44.0	45.0

There were substantial differences, also, in the sources of the non-CSES jobs obtained by those who did get hired in the three-month period (next table). It should be noted that the information on sources of jobs relates to the last job obtained by a respondent in the three-month period in those cases in which he held more than one job.

Source of non-CSES job, by analysis group
Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)			
Source of non-CSES job	PM	MOM	MOM
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	29	35	30
Returned to old job	6.8	25.7	33.3
Private agency	6.8	8.5	10.0
Friend	6.8	14.3	3.4
Mass media	3.5	0.0	10.0
Social agency	3.5	0.0	0.0
Union	3.5	2.9	10.0
On own	69.0	48.6	33.3

The great majority of Project applicants who obtained non-CSES jobs found the job on their own. Other sources of jobs for this group were very scattered, with no one channel playing a role of any particular importance.

In the case of Main Office minorities, nearly half found the job on their own, while a quarter returned to a former job, and almost a sixth found a job through friends. Unions played a relatively insignificant role as a job source for this group, as in the case, also, of the Project minorities.

Sources of jobs for the Main Office non-minorities resembled those for the Main Office minorities more closely than for the Project minorities, but there were also certain differences. As in the case of the Main Office minorities, a substantial proportion of the non-minorities returned to an old job, in this case a third. In interpreting this finding, it must be recognized that applicants for unemployment insurance are required to register for employment at a CSES office, but that only the Main Office received applications for unemployment insurance, whereas such applications were not processed at Project offices. Thus persons who were laid off from former jobs, either temporarily or permanently, could be expected to register for employment at the Main Office, while those whose layoffs were only temporary could be expected to return to their old jobs, whether or not they obtained other temporary employment in the interim. In other words, the fact that both Main Office groups were considerably more likely to return to an old job was a

virtually inevitable result of the procedures relating to unemployment insurance. It also, however, tends to confirm other data examined in Section 2, and to be considered later in this section, suggesting that applicants at Project offices tended to be persons who, for a variety of reasons, were not eligible for unemployment insurance.

Finding a job on one's own was also an important source for Main Office non-minorities, accounting for a third of the cases. The other third found their jobs for the most part through private employment agencies, mass media, or unions, with each of these channels accounting for about 10 per cent of the sources reported by Main Office non-minorities.

These data are fairly consistent with the findings of other studies relating to the channels through which workers tend to find jobs. Formal channels generally turn out to be considerably less important than finding a job on one's own, being hired "at the gate," etc. Unfortunately, we do not have very much information on how respondents found jobs on their own. A few respondents said, "I just went from place to place asking, and finally was hired."

Those Who Obtained No Job at All

Income

Of particular interest, in the case of those who obtained no jobs at all during the three-month period, were their sources of income. Unfortunately, as is frequently the case with survey questions relating to income, the refusal rate was rather high (15 per cent) in relation to sources of income. The refusals, however, were confined to the two groups of minority respondents.

Among persons who provided information on sources of income, the most important primary source was the income of a spouse (Table 6.4). This source, moreover, played a particularly important role in the case of Project minorities, representing the primary source of income in half of the cases. In interpreting this result, it is important to refer back to Table 6.2, which indicates that more than three-fourths of the project minorities who were not hired were females. Interestingly, also, half of the Main Office non-minorities and slightly less than a fourth of the Main Office minorities who were not hired were females. Thus variations among the three groups of applicants in the extent to which a spouse's income represented the primary source were clearly related to differences in the sex composition of the three groups.

In the case of the Project minorities, income of family members other than a spouse was the second most important primary source of income reported. In view of the preponderance of females in the group, this probably reflects primarily the situation of unmarried young females living with parents. The percentage reporting public assistance

TABLE 6.4

Source of income of respondents unable to find work, interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

Source	Primary Source				Secondary Source				Tertiary Source			
	Total	PN	MON	MON	Total	PN	MON	MON	Total	PN	MON	MON
Total Number	100.0 66	100.0 26	100.0 22	100.0 18	100.0 66	100.0 26	100.0 22	100.0 18	100.0 66	100.0 26	100.0 22	100.0 18
Public Assistance	7.6	7.7	4.5	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Social Insurance	6.1	.0	4.5	16.7	1.5	.0	.0	5.6	.0	.0	.0	.0
Unemployment Compensation	16.7	3.8	27.3	22.2	6.1	.0	.0	22.2	1.5	.0	.0	5.6
Spouse	34.8	50.0	18.2	33.3	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Family	9.1	15.4	4.5	5.6	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Relatives	1.5	.0	4.5	.0	1.5	3.8	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Friends	.0	.0	.0	.0	3.0	.0	9.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Savings	3.0	.0	.0	11.1	1.5	.0	4.5	.0	1.4	.0	4.5	.0
Other	6.1	.0	18.2	.0	7.6	3.8	4.5	16.7	.0	.0	.0	.0
Refused to Answer	15.2	23.1	18.2	0.0	78.8	92.3	81.8	55.6	97.0	100.0	95.5	94.4

as a primary source of income was very small (7.7 per cent), although it is possible that some of those who refused to answer did not want to admit that they were receiving public assistance. Unemployment compensation played an insignificant role, and none of the respondents in this group was receiving any other type of social insurance.

The pattern of income sources for Main Office minorities was rather different. Unemployment compensation, reported as a primary source in 27.3 per cent of the cases, and income from a spouse or other family members or relatives, accounting for 27.2 per cent, played the predominant roles. Miscellaneous sources of income, represented in the "other" category, also played a role of some significance for this group.

Interestingly, governmental income maintenance programs played a relatively more important role in the case of the Main Office non-minorities than for either of the other groups, at least according to reported information. The proportion of this group receiving unemployment compensation as a primary source did not differ appreciably from the corresponding percentage of Main Office minorities, but other types of social insurance and public assistance were more frequently reported as a primary source by non-minorities, with the result that governmental programs represented the primary source in half of the cases, while income of the spouse or other family members accounted for most of the other cases. Savings were a primary source for slightly more than 10 per cent.

It is entirely possible, of course, that the apparently more important role played by public assistance in the case of the non-minorities is misleading, since there may have been persons in both minority groups who were reluctant to report public assistance as a source.

Secondary sources of income were reported in only relatively few cases and tertiary sources in practically none. Where a secondary source was reported, no single source played a role of any particular importance, except in the case of the Main Office non-minorities, slightly more than a fifth of whom reported unemployment compensation as a secondary source.

Activities

When asked how their time was spent during the three-month period, the proportion of those who refused to respond was equal to that refusing to report on income, and again the refusals were concentrated in the two groups of minority respondents (Table 6.5). The fact that the refusal rate was identical on the income and activities questions for all three groups suggests that the same individuals were involved.

Among those who did reply to the question relating to activities,

TABLE 6.5

Activities engaged in while not working for respondents unable to find work, interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

Activity	Primary Activity			Secondary Activity			Tertiary Activity		
	Total	PM	MON	MON	Total	PM	MON	MON	MON
Total Number	100.0 66	100.0 26	100.0 22	100.0 18	100.0 66	100.0 26	100.0 22	100.0 18	100.0 18
Job Hunting	50.0	38.5	50.0	66.7	4.5	7.7	0.0	5.6	5.6
Education	3.0	7.7	.0	.0	3.0	7.7	.0	.0	5.6
Training	1.5	.0	4.5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Unpaid Work or Housewife	19.7	23.1	13.6	22.2	6.1	3.8	4.5	11.1	.0
Social Action	1.5	.0	.0	5.6	3.0	.0	.0	11.1	.0
Recreation	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.5	.0	4.5	.0	.0
Hobbies	.0	.0	.0	.0	4.5	.0	4.5	11.1	.0
Non-directed Activity	7.6	7.7	9.1	5.6	15.2	26.9	13.6	.0	.0
Other	1.5	.0	4.5	.0	3.0	.0	9.1	.0	.0
Refused to Answer	15.2	23.1	18.2	0.0	59.1	53.8	63.6	61.1	88.9

job-hunting was by far the most frequently reported activity. However, the percentage reporting job-hunting as their primary activity varied considerably among the three groups, ranging from 38.5 per cent in the case of Project minorities to 66.7 per cent in the case of Main Office non-minorities. Again, the sex differences among these three groups of persons who did not get a job must be kept in mind. Project minorities were predominantly females, a good many of whom were apparently housewives, judging from the fact that half of them reported income of a spouse as the primary source of income. In view of this, it is not surprising to find that more than a fifth of this group reported unpaid work or housework as their primary activity.

Although Main Office minorities included a larger percentage of males (77.3 per cent) than Main Office non-minorities (50 per cent), the proportion reporting job-hunting as their principle activity was higher in the case of the non-minorities. However, the fact that the percentage reporting unpaid or housework was somewhat higher in the case of the non-minorities was consistent with the difference in sex distribution. Other types of activities were reported in very few cases, but differences among the groups cannot be regarded as statistically significant. The fact that training was reported in so few cases is worthy of comment.

Although the majority of respondents did not report a secondary activity, the replies of those who did respond are of some interest. Among Project minorities, slightly more than a fourth reported some type of nondirected activity, as did a smaller percentage of Main Office minorities, but none of the non-minorities. Other replies were quite scattered, with some of the non-minorities reporting social action, hobbies, or housework as secondary activities, while a few of the Project minorities indicated job-hunting or education as a secondary activity.

Obstacles to Employment

Those who did not find a job were also asked the question, "What do you think is the most important reason you didn't find a job?" Here the refusal rate was slightly higher than in the case of the two preceding questions and was considerably higher for the two groups of minority persons than for the non-minorities (Table 6.6). Among those who replied there were interesting patterns of differences between the non-minorities and minorities. More than 40 per cent of the non-minorities attributed their difficulty to the state of the job market, commenting on either the quality or quantity of available jobs. In addition, 27.8 per cent mentioned physical problems (primarily age) as a handicap to getting a job. Interestingly, this is almost identical with the percentage of persons aged 45 and over in this group (Table 6.2).

On the other hand, neither the state of the job market nor physical problems was mentioned very frequently by members of either of the two minority groups, whereas nearly a third of the Project

TABLE 6.6

Perceived obstacles to employment for respondents unable to find work, interviewed April 1987

(Per cent distribution)

Obstacles	Primary Obstacle				Secondary Obstacle				Tertiary Obstacle			
	Total	PN	NON	NON	Total	PN	NON	NON	Total	PN	NON	NON
Total Number	100.0 66	100.0 26	100.0 22	100.0 18	100.0 66	100.0 26	100.0 22	100.0 18	100.0 66	100.0 26	100.0 22	100.0 18
Education, Basic or Verbal Skills	12.1	15.4	13.6	5.6	6.1	7.7	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Vocational Skills, Experience	10.6	15.4	13.6	.0	3.0	.0	.0	11.1	1.5	.0	.0	5.6
Physical	13.6	7.7	9.1	27.8	1.5	.0	.0	5.6	1.5	3.8	.0	.0
Personal Problem	7.6	7.7	9.1	5.6	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.5	.0	4.5	.0
Motivation	3.0	3.8	4.5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.5	3.8	.0	.0
Job Market: Quantitative	10.6	3.8	9.1	22.2	4.5	3.8	9.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Job Market: Qualitative	9.1	7.7	.0	22.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
Other	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.5	3.8	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
No Obstacles	7.6	7.7	9.1	5.6	7.6	7.7	9.1	5.6	7.6	7.7	9.1	5.6
Refused to Answer	25.8	30.8	31.8	11.1	75.8	76.9	72.7	77.8	88.4	84.6	86.4	88.9

minorities and more than a fourth of the Main Office minorities mentioned either lack of education or lack of vocational skills as the primary obstacle. There was a slight tendency, also, for minority respondents to be more likely to mention personal problems or motivation.

These differences, although based on too small a sample to permit firm inferences, are, nevertheless, of some interest and suggest the desirability of larger-scale in-depth studies of attitudes toward unemployment on the part of Caucasians and Negroes.⁵ To some degree, they probably reflect the quite objective phenomenon of differences in the labor market experiences of the minorities and non-minorities and to some degree perhaps the subjective phenomenon of the development of a negative self-image on the part of at least some of the minority persons.

It must be kept in mind that, even among the non-minorities who did not get a job, two-thirds were white-collar workers and most of the remainder were blue-collar workers other than service workers. They were probably accustomed to holding a job under most circumstances, except insofar as the blue-collar workers, particularly, tended to encounter difficulties when labor market conditions in their trades were slack. Those who were aged 45 or over may well have encountered instances of employer reluctance to hire them because of their age.

The minorities who did not get a job in the three-month period, on the other hand, had probably for the most part experienced patterns of unsteady employment and difficulty in getting a foothold on a permanent job. Thus they were aware of encountering employment difficulties whether labor market conditions were good or bad. Moreover, in the last few years Negroes have undoubtedly become increasingly aware of the tendency to attribute Negro unemployment, at least in considerable part, to inferior skills and education, and of growing emphasis on remedial education and training programs. This may have led them to accept the notion that lack of education or skill was their primary problem.

Even so, it is somewhat curious that charges of employer discrimination against Negroes did not seem to figure in the replies of these minority respondents. Had a number of them become convinced that the fault was their lack of education or training, or did they perhaps in some cases feel that such a reply would be more acceptable than a charge of discrimination? In this connection, it is worth commenting that minority group applicants were interviewed by Negroes.

Again, reporting of secondary and tertiary obstacles to getting a job was sparse and does not add very much.

Evaluation of CSES

Ratings

Each respondent was asked his opinion of the service he had received at his office of registration (again, in terms of a five-point scale later collapsed to three categories: good, neutral, and bad).

Interestingly, most respondents rated the service as good, regardless of whether or not they got a job through CSES within the three-month period (Table 6.7). However, as one would expect, the percentages of satisfied respondents tended to be higher among those who got a job through CSES than among those who did not. Among those who did not get a job through CSES, the proportions who thought the service was good tended to be considerably higher among those who did not obtain a job at all in the three-month period than among those who got a job through other channels. Main Office minority applicants who found jobs through other channels included a particularly large proportion of neutral or dissatisfied respondents.

The fact that the proportion who thought the service was good among those who did not get a job tended to be quite high for all three applicant groups is somewhat surprising. It may be that many of them felt the CSES staff was doing its best in the face of obstacles. Furthermore, some of these respondents may have found jobs through CSES between the end of the three-month period and the date of the interview.

Differences in attitude between our three groups of applicants did not follow a consistent pattern. The highest percentage of satisfied applicants was found among Project minorities who got a job through CSES. On the other hand, among those who did not get a job at all in the three-month period the proportion who thought the service was good was somewhat lower among Project applicants than among either of the two groups of Main Office applicants, while in the case of those who got jobs through other channels the proportion of satisfied Project applicants was about the same as in the case of Main Office non-minorities.

When the rated responses of the various groups were averaged --using a scale in which a value of five was assigned to "excellent," four to "pretty good," and so on, down to one for "very bad"--the differences that emerged were not large enough to be considered particularly significant (table below). However, there was some tendency for Main Office minorities to be the least satisfied of the three groups.

TABLE 6.7

Evaluation of CSES and hire status, by analysis group. Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

Hire Status	Evaluation of CSES	Total	Project	Main Office	
			Minority	Minority	Non-minority
Hired through CSES	Total Number	100.0 109	100.0 42	100.0 32	100.0 35
	Good	77.1	83.3	68.8	77.1
	Neutral	12.8	11.9	15.6	11.4
	Bad	10.1	4.8	15.6	11.4
Not hired through CSES	Total Number	100.0 140	100.0 50	100.0 50	100.0 40
	Good	59.3	60.0	54.0	65.0
	Neutral	17.1	14.0	22.0	15.0
	Bad	23.6	26.0	24.0	20.0
Non-CSES Job	Total Number	100.0 74	100.0 24	100.0 28	100.0 22
	Good	51.4	58.3	39.3	59.1
	Neutral	18.9	12.5	28.6	13.6
	Bad	29.7	29.1	32.1	27.2
No Job	Total Number	100.0 65	100.0 26	100.0 22	100.0 18
	Good	68.2	61.6	72.7	72.2
	Neutral	15.2	15.4	13.6	16.7
	Bad	16.7	23.1	13.6	11.2

Average weighted ranking of CSES, by analysis
group and hire status
Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

Hire status	PM	MOM	MOM
Total	3.8	3.5	4.0
Hired	4.2	3.8	4.3
Not hired	3.4	3.4	3.7
Non-CSES jobs	3.4	3.0	3.6
No job	3.5	3.9	3.9

Reasons

Respondents were also asked to indicate the reasons for their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with CSES service, and the responses were classified as related to positive, negative, or neutral attitudes at the time they were coded. The most frequently mentioned reasons for a good evaluation were the quality or character of CSES personnel and a feeling that the respondent received individual attention (Table 6.8).⁶ There was a tendency for members of minority groups, particularly in the case of the Project applicants, to be more likely to mention individual attention than the non-minorities. There was also some tendency, though less pronounced, for them to comment on its absence as well as its presence. Perhaps they were particularly sensitive to whether or not they would be given adequate attention.

When the general impression of CSES was poor, a frequently mentioned explanation was that the "service was bad." Unfortunately, this response was seldom probed, so that we have little information on the respects in which the service was considered to be bad. After service, the most frequent type of complaint related to the quality and quantity of jobs offered. It is also interesting to note that, even when the service was generally considered good, there were critical remarks made about the jobs offered in some cases.

When the same rank order principle used earlier (with the addition of negative points for critical remarks) was applied (Table 6.9), the results with respect to generally favorable attitudes were quite consistent with those already noted in connection with Table 6.8. This method of handling the responses does, however, bring out a few additional details with respect to dissatisfaction, for example, relating to the absence of training opportunities, but the number of cases involved was quite small.

TABLE 6.8

Primary reason for CSES evaluation by analysis group
and evaluation. Interviewed April 1967

(Per cent distribution)

General Attitude	Primary Reason	Project		Main Office			
		Minority		Minority		Non-minority	
		Good	Neutral and Bad	Good	Neutral and Bad	Good	Neutral and Bad
	Total Number	100.0 65	100.0 26	100.0 47	100.0 32	100.0 53	100.0 22
Good	Personnel	35.4	0.0	28.6	0.0	43.4	4.5
	Individual						
	Attention	24.6	7.7	16.3	0.0	13.2	4.5
	Service	9.2	0.0	16.3	0.0	18.9	4.5
	Jobs	12.3	3.8	10.2	6.3	17.0	0.0
	Training	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Other	4.8	0.0	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Neutral	Total	4.6	11.5	4.1	12.5	3.8	0.0
Bad	Personnel	0.0	7.7	2.0	12.5	0.0	18.2
	Individual						
	Attention	0.0	15.4	0.0	6.3	0.0	0.0
	Service	0.0	26.9	4.1	25.0	0.0	40.9
	Jobs	9.2	23.1	10.2	37.5	3.8	27.3
	Training	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Other	0.0	3.8	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0

TABLE 6.9

Weighted rank order of respondents' reasons for evaluation
of CSES by analysis group and overall evaluation.
Interviewed April 1967.

Evaluation of CSES	Reasons	Project	Main Office	
		Minority	Minority	Non-minority
Good	Number	65	49	53
	Personnel	119	87	96
	Individual			
	Attention	76	33	38
	Service	32	24	50
	Jobs	23	15	31
	Training	1	-1	NM
Neutral	Number	12	16	10
	Personnel	0	-6	-12
	Individual			
	Attention	3	5	-1
	Service	-5	-16	-11
	Jobs	-4	-13	-12
	Training	-3	-2	NM
	Other	NM	0	NM
Bad	Number	14	16	12
	Personnel	-6	-18	-5
	Individual			
	Attention	-18	-13	-6
	Service	-19	-20	-25
	Jobs	-18	-27	-16
	Training	NM	-4	-3
	Other	NM	NM	-1

Note: NM means "Not Mentioned."

Summary

Despite the limitations of the follow-up survey, associated primarily with the disappointingly low response rate, the results do add to our information about the Project in certain significant ways.

One of the most disappointing aspects of the Project has been the large proportion of temporary placements, as well as the indications that many of the permanent jobs proved to be short-lived. According to the latest available report of the Project staff, only 43 per cent of those placed on permanent (three-day-or-more) jobs from January 1966 through April 1967 were working on that job 30 days after placement. About a fifth had quit, another fifth had been discharged, 6 per cent had been laid off, and no information was available on the remaining 11 per cent.

The data from the follow-up survey help us to view these results in perspective. They indicate that jobs also tended to be short-lived for minority persons placed by the Main Office. In fact, the median duration of the jobs which Main Office minorities obtained was even shorter than for Project minorities, although this result must be interpreted with some degree of caution because of the small numbers of cases on which the comparison was based. And, even though jobs obtained by Main Office non-minorities tended to last considerably longer, only 46 per cent of this group was still working on the job obtained through the CSES at the time of the interview, as compared with 36 per cent of the Project minorities and 28 per cent of the Main Office minorities.

There are indications in our data that the short duration of jobs obtained by Project minorities tended to be associated with the types of jobs involved, even when they were expected to be permanent, and was not explained by any extraordinary rate of voluntary quitting or dismissals. The proportion of jobs terminated because of voluntary quits, as reported by our respondents, was about the same for Project minorities and Main Office non-minorities, although a larger proportion of the quits in the latter case was for personal reasons (table on page 6-11). The proportion of jobs terminated because of dismissals (fired) was also about the same for these two groups. However, both of these types of terminations were relatively more important for Main Office minorities. On the other hand, layoffs, as well as termination of temporary jobs, tended to play a somewhat more important role for minority groups than for non-minorities.

These findings are, of course, quite tentative, but they suggest significant relationships which should be explored more fully by the Project staff. Now that follow-up information has been received on nearly 3,000 placements (since January 1966), it should be a relatively simple matter, if adequate records have been kept, to classify the types of jobs involved according to whether they were typically short-term or likely to be permanent and then to analyze reasons for separations for

each of these types of jobs. If similar follow-up data could also be compiled for Main Office applicants, perhaps on a sample basis, it would be possible to conduct a continuing analysis of this sort which would soon begin to shed a great deal more light on the results of CSES placement activities, as well as on the relative labor market experiences of minority groups and Caucasians. Certainly, our data suggest that a major explanation of high Negro unemployment rates is the short-term character of many of the jobs they obtain. This is not exactly a new finding--labor market analysts have been well aware of the relative concentration of Negroes in occupations with typically short-term employment relationships--but it is brought out strikingly by these data.

Secondly, in view of the relatively small ratios of placements to applicants in the first few years of the Project, it became particularly important to attempt to determine to what extent applicants who failed to get jobs through the Project were obtaining them through other channels. According to our sample data, slightly less than half of the Project applicants who failed to get jobs through CSES in a three-month period found a job through other channels within that same period. But the proportions who found jobs through other channels were higher for both Main Office minorities and non-minorities, and a major explanation of the difference was that from a fourth to a third of the Main Office applicants who got jobs through other channels were able to return to their old jobs. Moreover, Main Office non-minorities were able to get jobs through such channels as unions, mass media, and private agencies to a greater extent. Project applicants found non-CSES jobs largely on their own.

These data suggest an important distinguishing characteristic of Project applicants--also suggested by other types of data we have examined earlier--that they consist to a considerable extent of persons who have not as yet gained a firm foothold in the labor market. They include a larger proportion of youths and of women than Main Office applicants (Section 2, pp.2-6 and 2-8). They include a larger proportion of **service** and unskilled workers than Main Office non-minorities--by a very wide margin (ibid., p.2-22). And, although they include somewhat larger proportions of employed persons than Main Office applicants, they also include larger percentages of persons who have not been working for 15 weeks or more (ibid., p.2-14).

In part, these differences are associated with procedures relating to unemployment compensation--applications for unemployment insurance benefits must be submitted at the Main Office and cannot be processed at Project offices, as we have commented earlier, and applicants for unemployment benefits must register for employment at CSES offices. Clearly, they are likely to register at the Main Office for employment at the time of applying for unemployment benefits and are not likely to register at Project offices. Moreover, evidently in a significant proportion of the cases they are on temporary layoff and are able to return to their old jobs within a relatively short period.⁷ Contrariwise, it is consistent with many of the other characteristics of the Project applicants

that they are persons who are not likely to be eligible for unemployment compensation. And, to the extent that they get placed in very short-term jobs, they are not likely to acquire such eligibility.

Finally, the follow-up study showed that large proportions of applicants at both types of offices appeared to be satisfied with CSES services. Such differences as appeared in attitudes toward the Project and Main Office were not consistent among the various groups of applicants that were analyzed (Table 6.7). Moreover, the quality of the personnel and individual attention were frequently favorably mentioned. These results suggest that most job applicants at CSES offices in Oakland feel that they get courteous treatment and that the staff is genuinely trying to assist them, even when the placement effects are unsuccessful.

Finally, the results of the follow-up survey underscore the fact that special efforts to open doors to jobs for Negroes and Mexican-Americans are going to have to continue over a long period of time, for we are not dealing with a situation in which, once a job has been found for an applicant, his problem is settled. The high proportion of short-term jobs they obtain, even among those expected to be permanent, means that minority group applicants are likely to be returning as job-seekers to CSES offices again and again until they get a foothold in a steady job or achieve upgrading through some type of institutional or on-the-job training.

Footnotes - Section 6

1. Significantly, a very similar problem has been encountered in a study of unemployment in Berkeley currently being conducted by the Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley. This is a two-stage household survey, including a locator survey of approximately 4,500 households in the low-income areas of the city, followed by a more intensive interview survey of a sample of Negro and Caucasian employed and unemployed persons selected on the basis of the locator survey. After the second phase began, about six weeks after completion of the locator survey, it was found impossible to locate some 11 to 12 per cent of the persons in the sample because they had moved in the interim.

2. It will be recalled that significance tests are not being used in this report, because of the fact that comparisons are being made between all members of selected applicant groups (in the case of the data analyzed in this section, all applicants who were hired in selected months) and samples of other groups.

3. Two other minor problems relating to the reliability of the data should be mentioned. In approximately 10 per cent of the cases, the number of jobs reported by the respondent differed from the number recorded by the Employment Service. However, the number of instances in which the Employment Service recorded more jobs than the respondent reported was equal to the number of times the reverse occurred, while in only 2 per cent of the cases did the discrepancy involve more than one job. Secondly, 4 per cent of the respondents reported that they had obtained jobs from a CSES office other than that which we had designated as their "office of registration." In all of these cases, applicants had apparently registered at a second office and had been successful in getting a job either from both places or only from the alternate. Since we were not investigating double registration, we simply noted the occurrences and collected information concerning the jobs in which we were originally interested (i.e., the last job obtained through the office of registration).

4. In connection with this table, it should be explained that the 1966 applicants who were coded as employed more than six months or still working were actually all in the still working category. Clearly, none of these persons could have worked six months or more by April.

5. The previously mentioned Berkeley study is designed to shed light on this question, among others.

6. This was an extremely difficult question to code. We felt that replies such as "I felt they really cared about getting me a job"; "They'd just sit there for hours while they waited on people who came after me"; "I was treated like a dog" concerned not only the staff, but

also how the individual felt he was treated (as opposed to how all others were treated). Consequently, some answers were coded for both "personal and individual attention," the order depending on where we felt the emphasis was placed by the respondent.

7. The fact that our samples were drawn in November and December may have resulted in the inclusion of a relatively large proportion of unemployed building trades workers.

Section 7

PERCEPTIONS OF POLICY MAKERS

The individuals who have the greatest potential influence on the Project are certain key staff members of CSES,¹ two administrators of the Department of Human Resources² and the members of the Project's Advisory Committee. Although there are considerable differences in the amount of power, real or illusory, possessed by the various members of this group, they have been responsible for the destiny of the Project, and this will continue to be true.

It is our belief that, in order to function effectively in the vital role of directing the Project, those persons in positions of responsibility must have a grasp of the overall problem facing the unemployed minority group persons, some concrete and viable ideas of solutions, and a clear picture of the role the Project can play in the resolution of Oakland's problem. Without these, it seems highly unlikely that effective courses of action can be charted.

In an effort to determine the nature and clarity of the perception of this group, interviews were conducted in July 1967, the month after the Project technically ended.³ In all, 24 people were interviewed: 16 members of the Advisory Committee,⁴ 6 employees of CSES, and 2 employees of the city.⁵ The questions were open-ended to permit unprompted, spontaneous responses, but probing for clarification was, of course, conducted consistently. The interview dealt with the respondent's conception of the unemployment problem and possible solutions, with the Project's role in the problem solving, and with the personal contributions made by the respondents.⁶ Since the data collected in these interviews do not lend themselves to statistical analyses, we are presenting a narrative summary of the results.

The Minority Unemployment Problem in Oakland

Oakland's unemployment problem is primarily a "minority unemployment problem." The city's unemployment rate is twice the nation's, but the rates are particularly high in the target areas where the residents are predominantly members of minority groups. In other words, unemployment is a more serious problem among minority group persons than among the non-minorities. Respondents were asked why they thought this was so, what action should be taken to alleviate the situation, by whom the action should be taken, and what obstacles they perceived to their solutions.

Causes

Most respondents tended to believe that the problem was caused, not just by one, but by a combination of factors. However, two explanations

were mentioned particularly frequently. Three-fourths of the respondents felt that the lack of education and training possessed by minority group persons was a reason, while more than half believed that prejudice, especially against Negroes, contributed to the problem. Some persons did not qualify this latter response, but others indicated that they referred to the entire history of prejudice in this country. A fourth of the respondents mentioned the exodus of industry from Oakland as a factor, and a fourth pointed to the elimination of low-skilled jobs either because of technological changes or for reasons not elaborated. There was also mention of: (1) hiring practices by both private and public employers which adversely affect the minority group person, e.g., improper use of tests and the existence of excessively high entrance requirements (five persons); (2) migration of minority group persons with low-skills into Oakland (four persons); and (3) a poor attitude on the part of the unemployed (two persons). All the remaining reasons given were mentioned only once and included such factors as: cultural difference, union practices, lack of communication between the employers and the unemployed, inadequate Oakland leadership, the lack of local industrial development, and national economic policy.

These responses clearly indicate that the great majority of those responsible for the Project felt that minority group persons were not "qualified." Even the effect of prejudice, past or present, was regarded as of secondary importance, and no other single explanation seemed significant to a large number of the people. Although a shortage of low-skilled jobs in Oakland was mentioned by some respondents, this was an outstanding factor to many. The group tended to be relatively unconcerned about policies and practices of management and labor which may tend to exclude minorities from jobs they could perform. In general, those who felt that the condition of the economy and the practices of management and labor were salient aspects of the problem were in the minority.

Responses, moreover, were couched in general terms. In most cases, evidence was not presented to support the statements made. Only five persons were able to support their points with data -- senior staff persons with CSES and the Department of Human Resources, and the Advisory Committee chairman.

Solutions

As would be expected on the basis of the opinions about causes, the most popular solution (suggested by 17 respondents) was for remedial education and training programs. No other single suggestion was mentioned as frequently, although some type of economic remedy was suggested by almost half of the respondents. About a third of the group indicated that a federal government policy of full employment was needed, and, although some of them had no specific methods to recommend beyond "economic planning," others suggested public works programs, tax incentives to guide location of industry, and subsidies to firms hiring marginal labor. Those

recommending the latter course suggested that the federal government might subsidize the products produced by marginal labor. Three businessmen felt that the City of Oakland should provide investment incentives in the form of tax concessions to attract industry into the area.

The use of job developers was suggested by three persons, but no one indicated where the jobs would be found or how they would be developed. Three others suggested that employers should modify their hiring practices by replacing pre-employment testing with probationary hiring. Five individuals felt that there was a need for educational directives, while one candidly commented that the solution to the problem would be to stop misleading the unemployed with false promises that create despair and mistrust.

The primary solution followed the conventional lines that programs should be established outside of the employers' domain to prepare the minorities for work. When employer-sponsored training was mentioned, as it was by some, the suggestion was invariably accompanied by a reference to some form of government subsidy. Although there were some who alluded to business responsibility, no one appeared to feel that industry should shoulder the main burden of training. When we consider that less than half of the respondents offered any type of economic solution, and less than a fourth offered any tangible recommendations for changes in employer practices, it seems clear that the group's solution comes close to the rather simplistic notion that all can be cured by getting the minorities qualified. Both the sources of the problem and the nature of proffered solutions seem inadequate in the face of the very complex series of circumstances, practices and attitudes which we feel are at the root of the problem. The nature of the responses support one of the feelings these investigators have had throughout our observations -- that, the group neither has a firm grasp of the underlying causes of the problem nor does it have any imaginative creative solutions to the problem. In particular, it has no solutions which would greatly disturb the status quo -- the kinds of solutions which are ultimately necessary to correct any major imbalance.

Obstacles

Only four people saw no obstacles to their proposed solutions. A lack of commitment by those who hold political power was mentioned by about two-fifths of the respondents, some of whom went on to disagree with the priorities followed by the federal government (Vietnam War over Poverty War). Others blamed resistance on the influence of taxpayers and established businesses. Insufficient commitment of existing intellectual and monetary resources by those in power was also mentioned. Other obstacles, mentioned only once in each case, consisted of conservative backlash, lack of minority power, the need of profit by industry, the "psychological effects of tradition," and fear of change.

In spite of the fact that the answers were fragmented, the theme which appeared to underlie the majority of the reasons given was the unwillingness or the unreadiness of those in a position of power to take effective steps.

Implementation

The respondents were extremely divided in opinion over the question of responsibility of implementation of programs. More than half felt the federal government should assume the major responsibility because (1) it has more funds, (2) it has greater control of the economy, (3) it is more likely to establish equitable standards, and (4) the problem is too large for state or local governments. Three persons adamantly insisted that the federal government stay out.

Most of the others felt that local governments had an advantage because of their nearness to the problems and their jurisdiction over local taxes (which they felt would be affected by any changes). Although eight respondents vehemently opposed local control, three indicated that the federal and local governments should have cooperative roles.

Private concerns were mentioned by only four, who felt them better equipped, in that they are more flexible than bureaucratic government organizations. Minority representatives tended to feel that private enterprise should be made responsible; the businessmen strongly supported state and local governments as the "agents of change."

The answers to this question displayed a considerable amount of polarization. While on the surface it seems unlikely that effective programs of the scope needed to solve the problem will be possible without the cooperation of federal, state, and local governments, as well as of private industry and labor, the realities of the situation suggest that the degree of cooperation needed may be very difficult to achieve.

Employment Goals

To a considerable extent, the key to the effectiveness of policies to combat minority unemployment is the ultimate goal envisioned for the economy. The definition of full employment becomes one of the essential determinants of the priorities. For this reason, the respondents were asked to indicate what they considered a "satisfactory employment situation" and whether or not they felt it could be attained. About four-fifths said that "ideally, it would be a state of full employment," that is, one in which everyone who wished to work could do so. Only one person thought that the United States would ever experience full employment on the basis of that definition.

"I think it's possible in three years, if the government took the steps I've mentioned. [...public projects, restoration, rehabilitation of cities]. But I don't think they will do so. Except in times of national military intervention, the economy is not geared to full employment. Employers have a vested interest in retraining a large pool of unemployed. In a racist society such as this, minorities will either be excluded entirely, or become the residual elements."

A third of the respondents felt that it was unlikely that full employment in these terms would ever exist. A situation of "equal unemployment" was considered satisfactory by somewhat less than half.

It seems that most of the respondents, although aware that economic factors are the root of the unemployment problem, are unable to conceive of an economic system in America that could offer full employment. Although they admit that an "ideal system" would achieve this goal, most accept the fact that it will not be possible under the present system. A businessman and two minority representatives recognized that "if we had equal unemployment, then we'd be left to deal with an economic problem not a racial problem." Perhaps it is because the economic problem seems so insurmountable that the group has displayed a tendency to divert its attention from it.

Commitment by Specific Groups

All respondents were asked the kinds of commitments business, labor and minority groups should make toward solving the problem. Specific suggestions, such as adoption by employers of a policy that a certain proportion of those they hire should be minorities, or that pre-employment tests should be omitted in favor of on-the-job observation, were made by only three people. The most consistent single answer was the generalization that hiring policies should be changed. There were a few answers with a modicum of specificity, e.g., developing jobs by changing the job structure; "changing their attitudes toward minorities," and "...participating in training programs," but the businessmen tended to say that employers could not be expected to make specific commitments to hire a certain number of minorities because the conditions of the market and their need for "flexibility" precluded such practices. Some said that adoption of quotas was in itself discriminatory and advocacy of such a policy would destroy the "diplomacy" established in the employer community. None gave examples of such diplomacy, however. Some businessmen suggested that the realistic substitute to quotas is "literal equal employment opportunity."

Few specific suggestions were made in connection with the role of labor. Most labor representatives on the Advisory Committee joined recently, and their unions are among the best in the area on the issue

of race. Respondents outside the labor unions seem to have little idea as to their operation or the problems that confront them. Thirty per cent generalized, saying, "they should be committed to getting more minority members," but declined to propose means by which more equitable minority participation could be insured.⁸ The labor representatives on the Advisory Committee made comments which ranged from direct action to political pressure. Support was given to the idea of union boycott of employers who discriminate and public criticism of unions that discriminate. Other union representatives suggested that apprenticeship and pre-apprenticeship programs should be made more available to the unskilled, and that pressure should be exerted on the federal government through their international offices for the adoption of a national policy of full employment.

Almost half felt that minorities should "commit themselves to attaining political power" -- again, few speculated as to how it could be done, although two stated specifically that "Black Power" should be avoided. A third felt that leaders should encourage the use of the "existing services" by their people. The minority representatives differed little from the non-minorities -- they mentioned only that positions of power were necessary (three persons); specific, but unnamed, demands should be made (one person); and discussion of minority problems with "educated persons" should be held (one person). These do not sound like comments from forceful, dynamic representatives of Oakland's minority community who know how to exert the needed pressures to ensure progress.

In general, the comments suggest that the employees and unions should stop discriminating and that the minority groups should obtain political power. Although there was some mention of compensatory mechanisms such as quotas, the number of such suggestions was not sizeable, and the concept was rejected by nearly all the business representatives.⁹ The responses to these questions are consistent with others in their indication of a lack of solidified thinking offering any viable short-run solutions to the problems facing the Project applicants.

The Project

It's Role in Solving the Problem

In an attempt to get at perceptions of the role the Project had been designed to play in the problem-solving process, the question "To what aspect of the problem was the Oakland Adult Project considered a solution?" was asked. In response, a rather large percentage (nearly one-third) of the Advisory Committee members admitted that they were unable to give an answer, because they were relatively new additions to the Committee and had little knowledge of its origin. A bare majority

of the respondents who did offer a response indicated that the Project had been designed to improve communication between the employers and the unemployed. The notion that such an approach could really be an effective solution to the problem, however, was roundly rejected by two top CSES officials. Six other respondents felt that the Project had been designed to help CSES provide more adequate service to minority group persons. These respondents were apparently unaware that the choice of CSES to administer the Project was a reluctant decision made several months after the original discussions by the group of businessmen began.¹⁰

The answers to this question seem surprising in view of the general agreement, expressed earlier, that education and training of minorities was the solution to the minority employment problem. Although there were some persons who pointed out the necessity for economic solutions or for changes in employer practices, no one indicated that improving communication between employers and the unemployed would solve the problem. For this to emerge as the predominant raison d'être for the Project must be interpreted as an indictment. What seems to be an even greater indictment is an admission from a high ranking CSES official who was involved in the early planning that the Project "was never considered a solution to anything."

Its Goals

When those interviewed were asked to name the goals of the Project, the replies did not include the aspects of the Project which were to have been its most unique features. In general, there was a lack of specificity in the answers: "...to find jobs," "...to reduce unemployment," and "...to register the unemployed" were the most popular responses. Only five persons mentioned training, and four, counseling. None spoke of the program of "personal diplomacy" through which the Advisory Committee members were to attempt to influence their peers and to "open new doors" of employment to the minorities of Oakland. It seems very significant that no one, including the staff of CSES and DHR,¹¹ mentioned this goal, which was emphasized in the proposals and which theoretically served as the basis for the Advisory Committee's very existence. In view of the developments during the life of the Project, on the other hand, it is understandable why no mention was made, although it is also quite possible that the newer members of the Committee were not familiar with the original proposals.

Its Success

A decided majority of the respondents (about two-thirds) felt that the Project had been unsuccessful. Only one thought it had been successful, while two felt there had been limited success. The others felt that an evaluation was impossible, although some of them indicated that the Project records were probably not a true reflection of the jobs

people obtained through the Project, since some of the applicants pass on information about jobs to their friends who, in turn, are hired.

As a rule, no indication was given of the criteria used for the evaluation, and most respondents qualified their statements, saying, for example, that the "problem was too large for the Project to handle -- that despite the hopelessness of its task, the effort had been noble." The replies showed a pervasive reluctance to criticize the Project, per se, although most did not deny that it failed in its ultimate goal: "the placement of the minority unemployed." The Employment Service staff agreed that it did not achieve its goals, but top officials maintained it had contributed substantially to a movement to change the policy of CSES. They indicated that there has been serious consideration of such changes as allocating staff and facilities on the basis of numbers of applicants rather than on the number of job orders (this implies a change in orientation from the employer to the unemployed).¹²

It was only with respect to "registering the unemployed" and counseling applicants that there was any substantial belief that the Project had been successful. About a fourth of the respondents mentioned these as favorable aspects of the Project.

Suggested Changes in Goals

In spite of general agreement that the Project had not been successful, no changes in goals were suggested. About seven-tenths of the respondents felt its methods should be changed, but there was no consensus as to how the readjustments were to be made or what direction should be taken. Four declined to make suggestions, because they felt that, since a solution to the problem was beyond the scope of the Project, it might as well retain its present status. The most frequent response (made by about 30 per cent of the respondents) was that job developers should be hired. Three businessmen criticized the "rigidity in CSES and its poorly trained staff"; one attributed the "poor motivation" seen among the staff members to the bureaucratic structure of the agency which "failed to offer incentives"; while two others felt that more training was needed to help them deal with the complex problems of the users of the service.

Four suggestions concerned the Advisory Committee. Two persons (one CSES staff and one Advisory Committee member) recommended disbanding it, on the grounds that: (1) preparation of the reports it requires of CSES only wastes staff time, (2) it failed to develop jobs, and (3) it had served its purpose in making an "initial impact," but the Project should now be left to "professionals." Two others (businessmen) felt the Advisory Committee should be given more power and autonomy so that "it would be better able to utilize the creative potential of its members" whose innovations were "stifled by the rigid CSES policies."

Results of Participation

The final section of the interview was devoted to an attempt to determine how effective the members of this group felt they had been in affecting change within the Project or within their own organizations.

Influence on Project

Nearly two-thirds of the respondents felt they had had little or no influence on the Project. Only senior staff members, the Advisory Committee chairman, and three others felt they had been personally effective. The Project Director, who should have been the most influential, mentioned only his ability to recruit the type of staff he desired. His office managers obviously had confined their attention to their office staff and had neither made attempts nor been invited to participate in total Project decisions. Only one person was able to cite a dramatic example of influence. He was the union representative to the Advisory Committee, who cited his ability to persuade his union to give preference to Project applicants when hiring on temporary jobs. (This was the most significant act of "personal diplomacy" of which we are aware during the life of the Project.) Only two other members of the Advisory Committee felt they had had influence: one was unable to give examples, the other cited his success in having advertisements for the Project placed in public places.

When questioned as to whether or not they felt obstacles to their effective participation existed, the members of the Advisory Committee and the Department of Human Resources did not tend to mention any. The CSES staff, however, viewed the Advisory Committee as obstructionary, as did some minority group members of the Advisory Committee. One staff person felt so strongly about the Advisory Committee obstruction that he indicated he never made suggestions to it because he knew they would not be accepted. The Spanish-speaking members of the Advisory Committee felt that they had been outvoted in the matter of retaining one of the Spanish-speaking offices.

In view of the fact that very few of the Advisory Committee members felt they had exerted influence, it is somewhat surprising that they perceived no obstacles to their effectiveness. Even though there have been periodic complaints about the lack of authority which the Advisory Committee had had vis-a-vis the top echelon of CSES, no mention was made of this here. The committee members apparently did not feel they had been prevented from acting; they simply had not acted. An explanation of this lack of assertiveness was suggested by one of the Advisory Committee members. "I feel an apathy exists in the Committee. There is an unwillingness to face specifics...to identify areas of resistance and tackle them." He saw the major obstacle to his effectiveness, and perhaps to that of the entire

committee, as "...the whole thing is too polite -- too much diplomacy and not enough action." In the light of answers to earlier questions, it seems reasonable to speculate that this apathy may be related to a lack of awareness of what has to be done, as well as to a realization that the Project is based on unclear premises.

Influence on Own Organization

Members of the Advisory Committee were asked, "Has your participation in the Oakland Adult Project led to your organization taking any specific steps to improve the employment opportunities for unemployed minority persons?" With the exception of the representatives of the labor union mentioned earlier, none could cite specific acts. Two felt their firms had "done something," but could elaborate no further. Two others reported that their organizations were doing "everything possible to promote equal employment opportunities," but they had done so before the Project began. The minorities reported that their organizations continually press for better employment conditions.

It is not surprising that the people who are unable to give specific meaningful examples of contributions to this Project are also incapable of documenting instances of influence in their own organizations as a result of their participation in the Project.

A gratifying discovery was made, however, when this question was asked of the top CSES official interviewed. He indicated that the Project has caused CSES to reconsider the whole function of the employment service, that a shift of emphasis is occurring where the attempt is to serve the individual instead of the employer. In order to carry out effectively this redirection, CSES is considering future allocation of staff on the basis of the number of people using an office rather than the number of job orders received. This is certainly an important step for the Employment Service to take. Although it seems unlikely that the Project was the sole cause for this new direction, particularly since there are similar activities for both adults and youths in other sections of the state as well as a Youth Opportunity Center in Oakland, experience with the Project must have contributed to this major policy consideration. There can be little doubt that this is the most positive discovery made during the interviewing. But in addition, if the necessary decisions are made to implement effectively the shift of emphasis this change may well be the most significant development emerging from the Project's existence.

Footnotes - Section 7

1. The Project Director, Office Managers, Coastal Area Manager and the Field Supervisor.

2. The Executive Director and the Manpower Coordinator.

3. With the cessation of Ford Foundation funds and the assumption by CSES of the full financial responsibility for the staff and offices, the Project which had originally been jointly funded for three years technically ended.

4. Eighteen persons serve on the Advisory Committee currently. Two were not available during July. Six business, five labor, and five minority representatives were interviewed.

5. The former Director of the Department of Human Resources was interviewed because of the significant role he had played in the past, and in view of the fact that his replacement had not been named.

6. See appendix for interview schedule.

7. Programs to help change the prejudiced attitudes of employers. A number of isolated suggestions were made including the encouragement of firmer implementation of federal equal employment opportunity.

8. Minority representatives did suggest that some form of quota system should be devised both in accepting memberships and in dispatching workers on jobs.

9. The fact that five of the six employers voluntarily indicated that businessmen could not become committed to quota hiring indicates some sensitivity on the part of business to this issue.

10. See Section 1, p. 1-2.

11. The Department of Human Resources, City of Oakland.

12. See discussion in Section 4.

Section 8

OVERALL EVALUATION

Attainment of Objectives

In previous sections, we have not directed the discussion of results of our data specifically to the question of whether the goals of the Project, as set forth in the proposals, were achieved. That discussion has been reserved until now. The reader should be well aware of the limitations of our data that have been carefully noted throughout this report -- limitations which affect the degree of precision with which we have been able to evaluate the Project's progress. Although the precision has been impaired in certain cases, the information available is sufficient to permit satisfactory approximations to the answers sought. What follows are statements summarizing the degree to which the Project achieved the seven major objectives set forth in the proposals.

1. To Conduct a Skill Inventory of the Minority Work Force

In June 1964, the Project Director with the assistance of over 100 volunteers conducted what has been referred to as a "skill inventory." The "inventory," which was modelled on one conducted by CSES in San Francisco some months earlier, was primarily concerned with acquiring the names of specific persons who might be served by the Project. There was no apparent interest in using the inventory as a research tool to determine the characteristics and/or skills of minority group persons whom the Project might be expected to serve during its proposed three years.

For three days, minority group persons who reported to designated locations in the two major Negro ghettos of Oakland were assisted in filling out CSES registration forms. The responsibility of making arrangements for the facilities used and for obtaining volunteers to assist in the activities was primarily that of the Human Resources subcommittee of the Advisory Committee. It was this group that worked with the Project Director in organizing the entire three-day event.

Although no quantitative goal had been set for the registration period, some disappointment was expressed by the Project Director when he discovered that only 276 persons had been registered. Very few, if any, of that number were Spanish-speaking, since the publicity had been directed entirely to the Negro community. The Mexican-American

representatives on the Advisory Committee were quite disturbed at this and insisted that the second "inventory" being planned should be directed to all minorities. Although the Advisory Committee, on many occasions, discussed the possibility of having another "skill inventory," none was ever conducted.

Consistent with the original conception of the activity, no steps were taken to use the data collected until the Project offices opened. At that time, the Project staff contacted persons who had registered in June to determine whether they were still interested in obtaining employment. Those who could be contacted and had retained their interest were placed in the Project's active applicant file.

Although a so-called "skill inventory" was conducted, the manner in which it was handled suggests that it might more appropriately have been called a "pre-registration." Since this is true, the validity of the activity should be seriously questioned. It would appear much more desirable to plan a well publicized event for the registration of those persons interested in using special employment facilities after, not before, those facilities are operative. Unforeseen delays in opening of the offices may lessen the confidence of the persons interested in utilizing the services and thereby dampen initial community acceptance. In the case of the Project offices, a period of more than two months elapsed between the "pre-registration" and the opening of the first Project office, more than three months until the opening of the remaining two initial offices. Since insufficient funding had made a comprehensive skill inventory unfeasible, it is unfortunate that a decision was not made to conduct an "initial registration" instead of a "pre-registration."

2. To Provide Specialized Placement Services Adapted to the Needs of the Minority Population

To the extent that the Project provided specialized placement services, the emphasis was more on the interpersonal relationships between the staff and the applicants than on the types of services offered. The pervading atmosphere at most of the Project offices was one of concern and interest in the applicants as distinct from a matter-of-fact, impersonal attitude. There was only one service available to Project applicants for any extended period of time that could be labeled "specialized," however. It was Family Service counseling. This service became an integral part of the Project on the assumption that a sizeable percentage of the applicants had family problems which, if solved, would improve the applicants' ability to find employment. There was very little demand for this service from the beginning and a number of modifications were attempted during the course of the Project, but none appeared to increase the general acceptance of the

service by the applicants. Although we made no intensive investigation of the reasons for this, it appears that few applicants perceived problems which could not be most effectively resolved by a steady income.

A variety of other special services, designed to meet particular needs of the applicants, were instituted at the Project offices, but most of them were short lived and of questionable effectiveness.¹ All were designed to help the applicants modify some personal characteristic -- e.g., appearance, test-taking ability, job-hunting techniques, etc. -- on the assumption that if modification took place, the applicant's potential for obtaining a job would increase. The early attempts which had been made to provide services calling for the Project staff's active intervention (beyond the making of telephone calls) in assisting applicants to find jobs were effectively stopped by two events. The first was the hiring of the job development "Specialists," who rapidly became the only persons connected with the Project with responsibility for making personal visits to employers in attempts to develop jobs for Project applicants. The second event was the inability of the Project Director to limit the intake of applications.

In his February 1965 letter to the Advisory Committee, the first Project Director suggested two alternate ways of limiting intake because he felt that it was "...better to give complete service to some than to give half baked service to all."² Neither of his alternatives were accepted for reasons which seemed related both to lack of support by the Advisory Committee and lack of approval by CSES. There was no enthusiasm expressed for the proposals by the Advisory Committee, perhaps because the Project Director's proposals were actually substitute alternatives to a case-load approach which had been previously suggested by an Advisory Committee member. Plans for initiating the case-load method, which had generally gained favor with the Committee, were pursued but no discussion of the Director's proposals occurred. It was probably the decision handed down through the CSES chain of command that sounded the official death knell, however. Limiting the intake of applicants to CSES offices were considered contrary to CSES policy and, therefore, not permitted. It was this decision, never challenged by the Advisory Committee, which perhaps more than any other doomed the Project to being little more than a decentralized CSES operation as opposed to a truly creative, experimental Project. It was certainly the decision which, as much as any other, prevented the Project from providing the types of specialized placement services which might have been meaningful and which had been discussed in the early months of the Project. Such services would have included the expending of considerable staff time and energy to performing at least the following services: (1) making personal visits to employers to develop jobs for specific

Project applicants, (2) assisting the applicants in developing effective techniques in applying for work, and (3) extending contact with employers and applicants past the point at which work was secured in order to facilitate the applicant's adjustment to the job. Although it is uncertain that any of these procedures would have been successful, the probability would have been greater if the Project intake had been smaller. Needless to say, the chances would have been best if these and other activities had been effectively coordinated with persistent and imaginative efforts by the job development "Specialists" and influential members of the business community.

Admittedly, there would be difficulties in executing the proposal. The Employment Service would have to establish a clear, concise method of limiting intake and one which would be consistent with the stated goals of the Project. A conceivably complex system of waiting lists would undoubtedly have to be devised. But the fact that the task would be difficult and subject to attack, is not considered by these investigators to be sufficient reason for permission to be denied. If a program (such as this Project) is designed to be truly experimental, those responsible for administering it must be prepared to be innovative.

3. To Place Eligible Unemployed Workers

The term "eligible" was never defined during the life of the Project and there was general agreement by key staff persons that the term eluded an acceptable operational definition. When these persons were questioned on the subject, the opinions expressed emphasized that the variety in standards set by employers was so great that it would be impossible to categorize applicants in any absolute sense, that the more appropriate approach would be to make determinations in respect to particular jobs. Although these investigators do not believe that this is a completely tenable position, it was recognized that considerable time and resources would have to be expended to arrive at an acceptable definition which acknowledged distinctions resulting from occupational classifications. As a result of the complexity involved and because the Project offices exerted no obvious efforts to make distinctions in their service, we arrived at a very gross operational definition which was utilized only in analyses for the second Interim Report. "Eligible" was considered the same as "qualified" and these terms were used to identify individuals who received a regular (as opposed to an entry-level) occupational classification when they registered. Examination of the placement data collected for that report suggested that the "eligible unemployed" were placed at no different rate from the total group of Project minority applicants. In brief, the placement data collected during the entire study period suggest that male, minority group

applicants received at least one job from the Project within three months of registration in slightly larger proportions than did males at the Main Office. The encouraging aspect of this finding in the light of the apparent lower qualifications of Project applicants was offset by other data indicating that a larger proportion of Project placements were for casual labor and that a larger proportion of Project applicants were downgraded. When examined from the standpoint of quantity of long-term jobs, the Project's placement results have been consistently disheartening.

4. To Upgrade the Underemployed Workers

In spite of the fact that both "upgrade" and "underemployed" are used in a number of different ways, neither term was defined during the life of the Project. References in the proposals inferred that the underemployed would be defined as those who "cannot obtain employment commensurate with their education and background...."³ In early Advisory Committee meetings, however, upgrading was discussed in terms of on-the-job promotions for minority group persons. After the Project offices had been operating a few months, there was virtually no mention of either term. Because of the Project's failure to define its terms, and the related failure to devote any special emphasis to upgrading, this study did not resolve the difficult problem of arriving at an operational definition for "underemployed" and used two related but simplified definitions for "upgrade" -- (1) obtaining a job at a higher status level than one's primary occupation or (2) obtaining a job at a higher status level than the last job held.

Results during the November 1965 - March 1966 period indicated that regardless of the measure used, only about one-quarter of the Project men were upgraded -- findings which were not significantly different from those at the Main Office. In addition, we discovered that one-third of the Project minority men were downgraded, a proportion which was significantly higher than that for Main Office minorities (when upgrading was defined as the difference between the job obtained and the last job held) but slightly less than that for Main Office non-minorities. The change in the CSES coding system prevented our extending this measure over the entire study period for this report, but we have no reason to believe that the results would have been very different. The data we have collected suggests that in its attempts to obtain jobs for applicants, the Project has resulted in more downgrading than upgrading.

5. To Train Minority and Other Disadvantaged Workers Under the Manpower Development and Training Act

It is the training component which has experienced perhaps the

most modification since the start of the Project. Original plans called for the training of 500 persons through conventional MDTA institutional courses. The term disadvantaged was never defined, however, and was apparently included in the proposal only to indicate that although training was intended primarily for minority group persons, CSES could not eliminate non-minorities from the courses. Section 4 of the second Interim Report was used to trace the development of training courses associated with the Project, and it represents our most complete efforts along these lines. One of the major points made in that presentation was that the early training programs specifically intended for Project applicants¹ for occupations which were either of a low skill level or were those traditionally held by minorities. The primary exceptions were in courses for women. The period following the reorganization of the Project, the increase of staff, and the advent of the Skill Center was characterized by initiation of higher skill level courses in traditionally male occupations.

In this report, training was examined in basically the same manner as placement. We were concerned with the proportion of applicants referred to training and the proportion that ultimately obtained a training-related job after the conclusion of the course. The institutional courses examined were not limited to those written under the funding for the original proposal but included Skill Center courses as well as those early Main Office courses which had sizeable representation from Project applicants. The data reflected results of referrals within three months of registration as in the case of placement data, but no comparisons were possible with Main Office data since virtually no training referrals were made from the Main Office, and Project courses were developed in quantity.

The results analyzed in Section 5 of this report suggest that, especially in light of the fact that Project applicants appear not to have a firm footing in the labor market, a very small percentage of applicants are referred to training and that of those who do a disappointingly small percentage complete the course and obtain a training-related job during the first three months after completion that lasts for at least one month.

6. To Maintain a Program of Education, Information, and Job Solicitation with Employers and Unions, in Order to Increase the Employment Potential of Minority Workers

"Employment potential" is probably the most ambiguous of all phrases used in the statement of objectives. Though never defined, it apparently was interpreted as meaning any change in attitude, policy, or practice by an employer (or union) that would increase the

probability of minority group persons being employed. Activities could conceivably range from a statement of intention not to discriminate to an affirmative program of recruitment and selection designed to make employment of minorities a certainty. Although our original plans called for the interviewing of employers in an effort to discern any changes in policy or practice which could be attributed to activities initiated by the Project, these plans were altered. In part, the change resulted from a shortage of time and resources, but to a great extent there was little that we observed in the Project's activities that led us to believe we would collect data that would justify such a large and complex undertaking.

In discussing the Project's second objective, we have alluded to our evaluation of this one. The program of education, information, and job solicitation was placed in the hands of two job development "Specialists" (formally known as the Director of Industry Liaison and the Director of Labor Liaison). These men, who were heavily influenced by the public relations background of one, were unable to describe the rationale for their contacts with management and labor beyond the generality that the approach to each employer or union was dictated by that organization's past practices. Their evasiveness under repeated attempts to elicit information from them, their failure to accede to the request from this study to permit one of our staff to accompany them on an employer visit, the contents of their monthly reports, and the manner in which meetings with groups of businessmen were conducted suggest to these investigators that the "Specialists" did not have a well formulated approach which they could explain logically and defend. To the degree we could discern, they appeared to be selling a commodity which they suspected was unsaleable and they seemingly relied most on giving employers a possible way of meeting the provisions of federal contract compliance regulations.

Attempts to bring the "Specialists" under the effective supervision of the Project Director were unsuccessful. They would not accept supervision from him but instead responded to direction from the employer representatives on the Advisory Committee. An effective working relationship between the Employment Development Subcommittee of the Advisory Committee, the "Specialists," and the Project staff never developed.

Our data suggest strongly that the efforts of job solicitation from all sources -- Specialists, staff, Advisory Committee, publicity, etc. -- failed to provide a substantial source of job opportunities for Project applicants. During our study period, an average of 8 per cent of the job orders received came directly to the Project. No increase in the proportion or number were evident during the period.

A marked improvement was noticeable at the beginning of 1967, however, when the actions of one Advisory Committee member provided large and regular numbers of one-day jobs for Project applicants during the winter and early spring.

7. To Open New Doors for Qualified Minority Workers

In the absence of a definition, we assumed that opening of new doors involved obtaining employment for minorities in jobs traditionally not held by Negroes and other minority persons. As a result, we developed a list of industries and occupations in which Negroes were severely under-represented according to the 1960 Census data.⁵ None of the data collected during the study period indicated that the Project has been instrumental in opening those doors shut to Negroes in 1960.

Explanation of Findings

The conclusion that the Project has not succeeded in accomplishing the goals set for it is inevitable. There appears to be no single explanation for the failure, however, but instead a rather complex interaction of circumstances and behavior that have effectively hampered the Project and thereby prevented it from making what we consider a significant contribution to solving one of the pressing problems of our time. (In its role as a demonstration project, it could be expected to do that.) It would be grossly incorrect in our opinion to reach the simplistic conclusion that the failings of the Project can be laid at the feet of one person, or one group of people. There have been shortcomings on the parts of all groups affiliated with the Project, though the limitations have varied from group to group and from subgroup to subgroup. A thorough explanation of the failings of the Project require an examination not only of the behavior of the individuals and organizations responsible for the Project's operation but also of the conditions that created and help perpetuate the problem. By placing the results in this larger context, the possibility of arriving at potential courses of action in the future should become clearer.

The following attempt to approximate a comprehensive explanation of the causes of the Project's failures will be directed to three major issues: (1) the complexity of the overall minority unemployment problem, (2) the appropriate role of the Project in an attempted solution, and (3) the organizational and individual shortcomings in the operation of the Project.

Complexity of the Problem

It is clear that one of the most severe domestic problems facing this country is that of minority group unemployment. Increasing attention has been focused on this issue within the past few years, and particularly in the wake of the recent summer disturbances in the black ghettos throughout the country, there has been increasing support of the position that the answer to the minority groups' problems is "jobs." There have been more and more insistent demands for employment, but many of the responses to these demands seem inadequate. This Project was the first large-scale effort which was addressed to Oakland's problem, and some of the failures can be explained simply by this factor. Considerably more insight can be obtained, however, by first examining the dimensions of Oakland's particular minority employment problem and secondly attempting to trace its roots. As with all locales, some of the origins of Oakland's problem are peculiar to the area, some are typical of the country.

Description of Oakland's unemployment problem

The symptoms of the unemployment problem in Oakland are apparent when national unemployment averages are compared with those of the City of Oakland and when the unemployment rates of the residents of Oakland's

predominantly Caucasian areas are contrasted with those of the residents of Oakland's predominantly minority areas.

The national unemployment rate in 1960 was 5.6 per cent⁶ compared with 7.9 per cent for Oakland.⁷ A steady decline in the national unemployment rate began in 1964 when it was 5.2 per cent and continued through 1966 when it was 3.9 per cent. During this same period, the Oakland unemployment rate remained constant at approximately the 8 per cent recorded for the last six months of 1966. Estimates of minority group unemployment in Oakland have consistently placed it at least twice as high as that for non-minorities. A recent survey indicates that unemployment rates for persons living in Oakland's "target areas," areas predominantly populated by minority group persons, is 13.1 per cent as compared with 5.3 per cent in the non-target areas, those predominantly populated by Anglo-Caucasians. The estimated rate for minority youth is even higher; for the target area residents between the ages of 14 and 24 who are in the labor force the rate is 25 per cent.⁸ It is because of this much greater incidence of unemployment among minorities that Oakland's unemployment problem is clearly a minority unemployment problem.

Causes of Oakland's problem

At the risk of oversimplification, we have decided to focus briefly on three types of reasons which clearly appear to have contributed to the contemporary problem in Oakland. First, we examine some of the salient economic reasons; then look at various institutional factors, particularly those policies and practices of organizations directly concerned with employment; and finally we survey what appear to be the most prominent socio-psychological aspects of the problem.

Economic reasons. Movement of both industry and population have been the major reasons for Oakland's current unemployment problems. There has been a net movement of industry out of Oakland, while minority persons, predominantly Negroes, have moved into the city. During the Second World War, Oakland had a thriving economy due mainly to the war demands of the shipbuilding industry and port activities; but when these demands subsided, an industrial exodus began which has apparently not yet ended. Between August 1958 and July 1966, 35 companies, each employing more than 100 persons, moved out of Oakland taking with them a total of 10,747 jobs.⁹ The departing firms, which were predominantly manufacturing companies, employing a high percentage of low-skilled labor, were replaced during the same period by only 12 new companies with more than 100 employees. These firms, predominantly service companies, brought with them not only few jobs, but also, ones requiring different skills. By 1966, they were providing only 2,267 jobs, most of which were white collar.

The expansion of business in southern Alameda County has been influenced not only by relocation of almost a third of the companies that moved out of Oakland during the eight year period cited, but also by the

advent of industry from other sections of the state and country. This dramatic expansion of business in that area has not effectively altered the plight of the low-skilled Oakland minority, however. Employers in the south County appear to discourage commuting, and it is difficult for minority group persons to relocate in those sub-urban communities. The difficulty seems to be a result both of discrimination in housing and the extremely limited supply of low-cost housing there.

Immigration to Oakland rose sharply during World War II, which brought 67,000 new residents to the city between the years 1940 and 1945. Among them were large numbers of Negroes from southern states possessing little education and few skills, who had been recruited by industrial concerns in this area. After the war, the decline of the shipbuilding industry, as well as the railroads, another major contributor to Oakland's economy in the past, left large numbers of low-skilled minority group persons without work. Although the whites have been able to follow industry into the suburbs, the minorities have been forced to remain in the city. Both previously mentioned surveys indicated a sharp increase in the Negro population between 1960 and 1966, with most of the new arrivals locating in the target areas which are also the areas from which the industries have been moving.

The reasons which have frequently been mentioned for the exit of industry are: high labor costs, due to the high degree of unionization in the area; high taxes, part of which are attributable to the high incidence of (non-contributing) welfare recipients; and high land prices due to limited supply in the densely developed city. The land cost factor is especially restrictive to manufacturing concerns who need large acreages. A study¹⁰ in 1964 concluded that the shortage of available land and its high costs were the major factors governing the relocation of the firms examined. The study also concluded that labor costs were not such an important factor since the costs of labor reflected the high productivity of labor in the area.

Apart from the economic conditions peculiar to Oakland that affect employment, there are two other major factors working against the low-skilled workers of all races. The rate of technological change is fast eliminating traditional low-skilled occupations and requiring even higher qualifications for the jobs which it creates. The other is the national economic policy of the United States which tolerates a much higher level of unemployment than any of the advanced European economies. Though the country has a national average of 4 per cent, it is not evenly distributed geographically, ethnically, nor socially, so, as happens, the figures rise to three or four times the national average among the socially disadvantaged who, due to their lack of skills, are the residual claimants.

Institutional reasons. The net effect of policies and practices of institutions responsible for education and housing in Oakland has been to leave large numbers of minority group persons with poor scholastic attainment

isolated in two large ghettos. A great number of signs point to the fact that Negroes leave school (whether they complete high school or not) ill-equipped to interact effectively in a highly competitive labor market, are unable to move to those areas where the jobs they might obtain can be found, and are faced with a series of obstacles when they apply for those few jobs that are available in Oakland. Although the significance of educational and housing deficiencies cannot be overstressed, we will limit our discussion here to those institutional practices most directly related to obtaining employment -- those of management and labor.

Perhaps the most serious obstacle facing the minority group person with little skill who is seeking work is the one of qualifications. In their avowed constant search for the best men for the job, employers erect qualification barriers which must be modified if minority group persons are going to be employed in larger numbers. Employers demand what, to many, seem to be unrealistically high qualifications for entry-level jobs. Behind this practice appears to be the policy of selecting employees not so much for the job at hand, but for the higher level job to which he might be promoted in the future. This practice apparently has been an outgrowth, not only of the employer's desire to gain the maximum return for his investment (in this instance, wages) but also, out of certain demands made by labor unions. Some unions, in their desire to control the supply of labor as the base of their bargaining power, and in their efforts to maximize promotion possibilities for their members, reinforce (or perhaps, at times, precipitate) the employer's setting of entry standards that are higher than those necessary for the job.

Aside from the question of what employees are being selected for, this is a problem of how the selection is being conducted. A great deal of criticism has been leveled at employers for the highly questionable manner in which the selection process is conducted. It has been felt that certain practices have, either by design or accident, made it more difficult for minority group applicants to obtain jobs. The California Fair Employment Practices Commission published a pamphlet in the fall of 1966 designed to influence employers to redirect their energies in the selection process.¹¹ Specifically, they were entreated to (1) accurately define job duties and requirements, (2) screen applicants only on factors related to job requirements, (3) use tests appropriately and only when they relate to performance, and (4) consider all relevant factors in the final selection.¹² That there was widespread feeling that such precautions are not being taken conscientiously by employers should be attested to by the existence of such a document.

Another practice which frequently prevents minorities from being considered for jobs is the nature of a company's recruiting program. If for no other reason than to limit the number of applicants being considered for jobs, steps are taken to limit intentionally the dissemination of information about job vacancies. Even when such steps are not taken, however, the recruitment procedure used may not be sufficient to enhance the possibility of receipt of applications from minority group applicants.

It is quite obvious that the recruiting and selection processes can become not only very complicated, but, if carried out properly, even more time-consuming activities than they are now. When the arguments of employers or unions who resist making changes in their present system are examined, one frequently is left with the feeling that many shortcuts are introduced into the procedure, to a large extent because it is too costly to do otherwise. Expediency, however, frequently militates against the chances of employment for minority group persons. Since private enterprise exists ultimately for the purpose of making profits, to the degree that changes of the nature suggested above adversely affect the profit margin, they will be resisted. This is one of the most obvious difficulties with the attempt to induce modification of hiring practices.

Socio-psychological reasons. But hiring practices as they currently exist are undoubtedly still influenced a great deal by racial and ethnic prejudice -- the most pervasive attitudinal contributor to the problem. (Although the discussion which follows does not provide new insights to an old problem, its inclusion can be justified on the basis that there was little indication of a willingness by Advisory Committee members to confront the issues raised here.) Even if there may be some debate about the amount and form of the discrimination which currently exists in Oakland, there can be little doubt that it was prevalent in the past. It is actually the historical discrimination in hiring and education that have made the major contributions to the problem; current examples are merely perpetuating it. The effect of the past acts of injustice has been to deprive members of minority groups of those prerequisites which employers ostensibly value -- educational achievement, work experience, and an enthusiastic willingness to work under almost any conditions. Many minorities who are "not qualified" for jobs today find themselves in that position because the employers and unions who may not discriminate today did discriminate in the past and did permit inferior schools for minorities to exist. The significance of this history of discrimination cannot be underestimated. For it is in the long list of abuses inflicted upon Negroes that the roots of the current problem can be found. If discrimination had not effectively prevented large numbers of Negroes from obtaining the power, wealth, influence, and knowledge needed to participate effectively in society, the current problem would not exist as a racial one. The fact that prejudice and discrimination effectively prevented Negroes from participating equally in the American society and was preceded by the most destructive of all known types of slavery -- destructive to the point of stripping the slaves of their cultural identity and depriving them of their status as human beings -- cannot be dismissed as lightly as some would like. The past events strongly suggest that employment practices labeled fair today are not at all fair to those who have been treated unjustly in the past. It suggests further that those organizations and individuals who meted out and supported the unfair treatment of the past are deluding themselves if they adopt the position that equal treatment today is enough.

Perhaps the major deterrent to large-scale effective action to correct the wrongs speedily is the interrelationship of competitiveness, and the desires for power, security, comfort, and status which dominate our affluent society. Full-scale equalization would require investments of time, money, manpower, and other resources--both private and public--far in excess of that presently being spent. But more than that, it would call for this country to renounce its traditional role of being basically more concerned with preserving the right of the "ambitious" to advance even at the expense of the less privileged and being basically unconcerned with promoting the self-actualization of all peoples. A large-scale change would call for the country as a whole to recognize that it has a history of exploiting the uneducated, the unsophisticated, the powerless, while it has helped either overtly or covertly to keep the exploited down.

Summary of Primary Issues

By way of summarizing and expanding somewhat on the influences pointed out above, there appear to be at least five major issues related to the minority unemployment problem.

1. The quantity of jobs in Oakland which can be filled by persons with little education, few skills, and little experience seems quite small.

2. The short supply of such jobs appears to be a result of a number of factors among which are the following: movement of industry out of Oakland, increased technology which has eliminated low-skilled jobs, hiring practices which not only emphasize selection of most qualified person for the job but frequently require higher standards than are needed.

3. The number of minority group persons with a poor educational background, few skills, and minimal work experience who are seeking employment seems fairly large.

4. This condition appears directly related to the series of past injustices that have been inflicted upon the minority groups in this country, but most particularly upon the Negro. The past practices in employment and education, in this area and in other parts of the country, have been two of the major contributors to creating the present condition.

5. There are practical and psychological factors preventing the public and private sector from taking those steps which are needed to help quickly rectify the present conditions.

The Role Played by the Project

Considering the complexity of the minority employment problem, the necessity to delineate clearly the role the Project was to play in the attempted solution seems a prerequisite to effective functioning. Since the Project's role was neither thoroughly discussed nor re-examined during its life, we are forced to impute what it was and to comment on the effectiveness with which it was carried out.

The Project appeared, more than anything else, to serve the function of matching Oakland residents to Oakland jobs. Such a role has little validity in light of the analysis presented earlier. Confirming the search for jobs to Oakland could only make the possibility of finding them more difficult. Directing attention to the developing areas in the outlying districts would be an essential element of a well planned and executed attempt to match people to jobs. The major reason that this approach was not used lay in the fact that CSES regulations restricted the operation of the Project to the greater Oakland area.¹³ This is one of the examples of CSES policy interfering with potentially more effective operation of the Project.

Another detrimental policy decision was discussed in the last section--the failure of CSES to grant permission to limit the intake of Project applicants. Because all applicants had to be registered, time was used in the registration process which may have been profitably redirected to providing assistance or services to a smaller group of clients. The shorter number of manhours spent completing applications could have been used to provide such needed activities as job development and follow-up.

The outstanding weakness of the role the Project was playing in matching applicants to jobs was the ineffectiveness of its job development activities. The absence of a coordinated, well planned program participated in by staff, "Specialists," and Advisory Committee members designed to persuade employers not only to eliminate all traces of discriminatory recruitment and hiring practices, but also to take definitive steps to compensate for past injustices was a crucial omission. While it is true that such a program might very well have been unsuccessful, it is doubtful that it would have been less successful than the one conducted. The advantage of such a program would have been the ability to obtain information on what accomplishments are possible in Oakland when a well organized program is systematically conducted by three important and potentially complicated elements.

The role of matching applicants to employers can be appropriate only if (1) energies are expended to modify effectively the attitudes and practices of those who control the jobs as well as those who enter

an increasingly competitive job market, (2) the area of job solicitation is appropriate for the jobseekers, and (3) the efforts of those performing the role are coordinated with the activities of organizations working on other aspects of the problem. This last point will be developed more fully in the last section.

Organizational Difficulties

In addition to the difficulties created by the complexity of the overall minority unemployment problem and those arising because of the ineffective role the Project played as a problem solving agent, there were additional difficulties which can be attributed to the nature of certain organizational affiliations and to (the) manner in which certain individuals interacted.

The California State Employment Service

In general, public Employment Services throughout the country do not enjoy a favorable image in the eyes of either employers or jobseekers. The public tends to view them as agencies which receive not only the least desirable jobs but also the least capable workers. Studies consistently indicate that only a small percentage of individuals use public agencies in their efforts to find jobs and that employers favor other methods of recruiting workers.

Although CSES is reputed to be one of the best state services in the country, it is apparently faced with many of the problems common to all public agencies. While it can offer its staff job security, it provides relatively low wages. It requires adherence to a comprehensive manual of instructions that, if followed unswervingly, stifles creativity. It is obligated to serve all who request assistance, but is usually provided with insufficient funds to provide the diversity of services needed to assist effectively the more difficult-to-place applicants who tend to dominate its clientele. Finally, CSES is subject to influence from the state executive and legislature, influence which may have definitive impact on policy decisions.

When viewed in this context, there should be little surprise that the wisdom of selecting CSES to administer the Project was questioned both originally and on several other occasions. We indicated in Section 1 that the original choice was made with reluctance. It seems unfortunate that this discomfort felt in the formative stages of the Project could not have been used constructively to devise safeguards against those feared developments. Efforts could have been made to include features which would encourage the evolution of a creative, cohesive, and independent operation. Obtaining a waiver to permit the hiring of non-CSES personnel for key Project positions would have been a significant endeavor. If such permission had been granted, it might have been possible to obtain personnel who were prepared by experience, aptitude, and/or attitude to approach this unique program not only with dedication and concern, but

also with inventiveness and lack of organizational intimidation. It appears that such modifications were not attempted initially and none were made during the life of the Project--not even when the second Project Director was being sought. Although there was some discussion of creating an exempt position for the job, no strong pressure was exerted by the Advisory Committee, and they did not participate in a formal screening of applicants.

What tended to develop was what had been feared--an unimaginative, pedestrian approach to the problem. The Project's inability to break away from CSES tradition, as pointed out earlier, prevented potentially important developments from occurring (e.g., limiting intake). All staff anxieties over punitive retribution for assertiveness, a characteristic generally attributed to civil service employees in this country, could only be reinforced by the events surrounding the dismissal of the first Project Director. The second Director was considerably less assertive and has enjoyed a longer tenure. It is unlikely that there is no causal relationship between the two events.

Other key personnel, such as Project Office Managers, assumed a basically silent role in the establishment of Project policy. They apparently enjoyed considerable autonomy in the management of their offices but participated little in overall policy decisions. Their interaction with the Advisory Committee was limited primarily to reporting outstanding accomplishments at their office during a particular month or shedding light on a problem being investigated by the Committee.

It should be understood that the sources of the anxieties alluded to above were two-fold. Being career employees, the key staff persons seemed loathe to do anything that would hurt their chances for promotion within CSES, and, therefore, there was the hesitancy to speak out on issues that would be looked upon with disfavor by superiors. But there was also hesitancy to act in a manner that would incur the displeasure of Advisory Committee members. These gentlemen, at least collectively, had the potential power to have staff reassigned from the Project. As a result of their extremely difficult position, the staff appeared either to go quietly on its way, modifying those rules it felt necessary to alter or following them with increasing disillusionment.¹⁴

One development within the CSES Oakland area cannot be overlooked, even though it will be examined only briefly. One of the not unexpected developments during the life of the Project was what many, including these investigators, interpreted as a resentment of the Project by the Main Office. This may have been heightened by the fact that this study chose to compare results from the two operations. The antagonisms between the two operations usually focused around job orders. It will be remembered that more than 90 per cent of the Project's

orders came from the Main Office. Because referrals on these orders were made from both offices and since the Project was less prone to meet unerringly the requests of the employers, difficulties ensued. There was overt concern expressed by some at the Main Office that the chances for jobs of both Project and Main Office applicants were being threatened by the increasing antagonism felt by the employers. In a situation as complicated as this one, it is extremely difficult to retrace the actual events and motivations of individuals involved. It is true, however, that a directive was forwarded from the Department of Employment in the spring of 1967 indicating that the Project could not refer applicants on Main Office orders without prior clearance from that office. The effect of the directive has been to make referrals on these orders more difficult and time consuming. This CSES policy change which has great affect on Project operation has never been discussed at an Advisory Committee meeting.

There are two brief but important points which this example helps to illustrate. First, although we are unprepared to say definitively that most or even part of the involvement that the Main Office management had in the interactions which preceded the directive were motivated out of annoyance with or resentment of the Project, it does seem a clear possibility. Second, the fact that such a significant decision could be made by CSES without requesting advice from the Project's Advisory Committee is one of the clearest and most recent evidences of the extent to which CSES does not turn to the Committee for counsel. Furthermore, it is evidence of the degree to which the Project keeps the Advisory Committee uninformed of crucial developments.

Since the remarks in this section have tended to be extremely critical of the CSES and its personnel, a note of caution is in order. It would be incorrect to interpret this discussion as a complete castigation of the Employment Service or of the Project personnel. It is much more closely an attempt to evaluate the forces at work which made the job of the CSES personnel extremely difficult. The forces in fact appeared so strong that exceptional men were needed to overcome them. For the most part, we were impressed with the sincerity of the Project personnel including that of the Director who has been singled out for criticism by virtue of his position. Our evaluation was intended in no way to impugn the motives of the Project personnel; it was intended instead to indicate that regardless of the efforts made, the participants seemed caught in a web which they could not break.

The Advisory Committee

A tripartite alliance¹⁵ of three such basically divergent segments as management, labor, and minority groups inevitably faces difficulties. There are two extreme modes of behavior that might characterize the functioning of such a group as this one. On the one hand, the members could react to all situations as representatives of their particular organization, being primarily concerned that their

"company's" position is reiterated clearly and in addition trying to make certain that the Committee engage in only those activities which would be in the best interest of their organization. This approach would be expected to lead not only to the absence of progress but also to the constant refueling of traditional hostilities. On the other hand, the representatives could bring to the Committee their personal experience and acquired knowledge of the different dimensions of the employment situation so that satisfactory strategy could be developed to assist the Project in most effectively reaching its goal.

As is usually the case, neither of these extreme conditions was an accurate characterization of the manner in which this particular group interacted. It is true, however, that the Committee most closely approximated the former extreme during its early phases of operation and that it always remained far from the second mode of functioning. Although it was seldom alluded to directly, company or union affiliations were always very apparent and effectively limited the amount and type of action in which a member was willing to engage. The unwillingness of employer representatives to engage in any type of action which would be represented by the business community was obvious, and the labor representatives seemed to have the same hesitancy about upsetting either the rank and file or the other union officials. For the most part, this attitude on the part of labor seemed much more true of the early phase of the Project, the period before the original union representatives left the Committee. It was not entirely absent, however, when the new members joined.

In order for a committee composed of men who are parts of the two most important and opposing vested interests in the employment field--management and labor--to accomplish the changes necessary to help relieve the minority unemployment problem in Oakland, it appears to us that the group should contain individuals with unique qualifications. The committee should be dominated by top executives of large and influential organizations--executives who are committed to resolving the problem and either are or could become predisposed to taking dramatic steps over a prolonged period in an attempt to spearhead change. We are not so naive as to think that persons who meet these requirements are easy to find. The goal should nevertheless be approximated. Only a small percentage of the Advisory Committee consisted of top executives, but they, no more than the men with less important positions, displayed little enthusiastic involvement with solving the problem and contributed little or nothing in substantive ways. To the degree that the members made positive contributions to the Project, it was along administrative lines, such as the initial reorganization of the Project (October 1965), the initiation of the OJT program, etc.¹⁶

The role of the minority group persons on such a committee is vitally important. Even if management and labor representatives were as powerful and as predisposed to action as those in the model above, minority representatives on the Committee should be articulate, incisive, and knowledgeable so that they effectively participate in planning and evaluating the strategy of the Committee. With employers and union representatives displaying little power and/or enthusiasm, the task of the third segment is even greater. Those minority group representatives on the Advisory Committee did not meet the qualifications just outlined. The second chairman approximated this model most, but he was unable to mold an effective committee. The members of this subgroup were most effective in bringing about administrative changes that would assure better service for Mexican American applicants.

In short, none of the segments of the Advisory Committee contained members who were able to interact in a manner consistent with the development of a dynamic committee. As a result, the committee as a whole was ineffective. The Advisory Committee members also seemed caught in a web they were unable to break. In spite of the fact that some of the members appeared sincerely desirous of seeing progress, they were unable to arrive at a workable methodology.

Relationship of CSES and the Advisory Committee

The agency administering the Project, CSES, and the Citizens' Advisory Committee never developed the type of working relationship essential for an effort of this kind. Since this failure has been mentioned several times, we will not develop it here. Although this lack of cooperation has not been explored in detail, our impression is that it was due primarily to a mutual lack of respect.

Footnotes - Section 8

1. See Section 4 of this report for a more detailed discussion.
2. Letter from the Project Director to the Advisory Committee, February 3, 1965.
3. Application for a Demonstration Adult Training Program under the MDTA with special emphasis on minority group and other disadvantaged applicants, submitted by CSES, Oakland, California, January 20, 1964, p. 10.
4. Those written for "Cal 308" funds.
5. For an explanation of the selection procedure used, see Second Interim Report, p. 85.
6. U. S. Department of Labor, National Annual Averages of Employment.
7. California Department of Employment, Oakland Labor Market Developments, January 1966.
8. 701 Study.
9. Unpublished records of CSES.
10. W. Harrison, Jr., Factors in Recent Locational Decisions by 21 Firms in San Francisco-Oakland Area (Berkeley: University of California Press,).
11. Technical Advisory Committee on Testing, Fair Employment Practices Equal Good Employment Practices, State of California, Fair Employment Practice Commission, May 1966.
12. Ibid.
13. It should be remembered that the Oakland Employment Service area includes the following cities: Oakland, Piedmont, Emeryville, San Leandro, and Alameda.
14. This description was intended to convey the collective response of key personnel, not as an accurate description of each individual's behavior.
15. It should be noted that the Advisory Committee has evolved into this tripartite alliance by default. It originally included a fourth segment composed of representatives-at-large. The number of these members was smaller than other segments initially, and as these members have severed their relationship with the Committee, they have not been replaced.

16. Again, the one major exception to these statements is the labor representative who supplied the Project with the large quantity of job orders.

Section 9

RECOMMENDATIONS

In spite of the fact the Project had very limited success in accomplishing the goals established for it, certain insights can be gained from the Oakland experience which may be helpful to those planning similar projects in the future. Such persons might profit from the difficulties encountered in the Oakland Project and by avoiding some of its shortcomings, have a greater possibility of success in their efforts. With these considerations in mind, the suggestions which follow are intended to guide future projects administered by public employment services where there is a desire to involve members of varied segments of the local community. The primary goal of such programs, of course, would be the attempt to help alleviate the adult minority unemployment problem in that area.

The Role of the Project

In constructing programs designed to help resolve the extremely complex problem of minority group unemployment, it seems essential that the Employment Service devote sufficient time not only to describing the symptoms of the local problem, but also to developing explicitly the role to be played by the special project. The description of the role should follow logically from the analysis of the local problem and should be related specifically to knowledge or assumptions¹ about the nature of the potential applicant population, as well as about the supply and location of the jobs and training opportunities potentially available. It is difficult to envision that the role of any program conducted by a public employment agency will vary a great deal from that of finding jobs for people (as opposed to a large scale program of job creation through federal subsidy) but the nature of such an attempt can vary considerably. Since this is true, a number of points should be made explicit as the role of the project is delineated in the proposal. First, the characteristics of those persons the program is designed to serve should be described not only in general terms but also in operational ones. If the project is charged with serving the hard-core unemployed, for instance, there should be no uncertainty about the criteria used to define this term.

Second, the geographical boundaries within which the program will operate should be made explicit. The conflicting effects of industrial decentralization and the urbanization of minority group persons suggests that in areas where these phenomenon are in evidence, boundaries

should be established in such a manner as to permit solicitation of orders from the areas of new industrial expansion. It is quite likely that the geographical boundaries of the program will approximate county or regional lines rather than city limits. It is also likely that the area from which applicants are drawn will be more restricted than that from which jobs are solicited.

The third point to be specified in the description of the program's role is the extent to which attempts will be made (1) to induce employers to change their hiring practices and (2) to help applicants alter characteristics which might make them less acceptable to employers. Since there is considerable latitude in the emphasis and nature of efforts possible along these lines, it is important to specify clearly the relative weight assigned to each potential component.

In addition to setting forth a clear statement of the role envisioned for the project, the proposal should include a statement of how the program's efforts will relate to other local attempts to resolve the problem. If other on-going programs exist, a description should be made of how the new effort will coordinate with them and the extent of any overlap. Funding agencies should be prepared to fund a number of well coordinated programs devoted to different aspects of the same problem.

Employment Service Policy and Project Goals

Since existing policies of a state employment service might conflict with the most appropriate action needed for the effective execution of special programs, the funding agency should take specific precautions to eliminate this potential source of difficulty. The steps taken should be designed to determine either that the agency, with its existing policy structure, is able to execute effectively those goals established for the program or that explicit modifications of policy have been made for the purpose of increasing the possibility of success of the program. Although it is not being suggested that agency-wide modifications be made initially, it does seem advisable that the agency be committed to maintaining the modifications for the program during its entire life and to making whatever permanent changes seem dictated by the results of the project.

From our observations of the Oakland Project, there are at least three areas which should be investigated. First, a determination should be made of whether existing policy requires the program to restrict its job solicitation activities to the same geographical area as that from which its applicants are drawn. This inquiry is particularly important because, as alluded to earlier, the dynamics of population and industrial movement throughout the country tend to

indicate that the minority group persons for which special projects are designed are located to an increasing large degree in areas from which industry is moving. A program designed to assist those who have particular difficulties finding employment should be able to search for jobs in those geographical areas where there are the largest quantities of jobs of the nature which could be held by the project applicants.

Second, the persons conducting the program should be able to limit the intake of applicants to a size and nature consistent with effective pursuit of those goals outlined for the program. If a program is to accomplish the difficult task of assisting the hard-core unemployed, for example, in their search for jobs, full recognition of the difficulty of such a task must be reflected in the depth of services which the staff has the time to offer. If the program is forced to serve each person who applies for service, regardless of whether he fits the criteria established for program applicants, it is quite likely that undesirable consequences will result. We discussed in detail in Section 7 the negative effects visible in the Oakland program which seemed related to the program's inability to limit intake. It is suggested that future programs restrict acceptance of applicants to those who meet specific criteria established for the program. All other persons desiring assistance should be referred to the established Employment Service operation in the area. It should be possible for the Employment Service to outline possible solutions to two problems which can be anticipated from such an arrangement. If the number of applicants that meet the criteria is too small even after persistent efforts have been made to attract them, either the criteria can be formally modified or interim service can be extended to persons who do not meet the criteria. While such interim service is being offered, more effective methods should be developed to attract those persons who meet the criteria. On the other hand, if persons who meet the criteria apply in excessively large numbers, an effective way to resolve the situation would be to establish a system of waiting lists. The use of waiting lists is common in certain public agencies and could be used to advantage in a special program of this nature.

The resolution of a related problem is also necessary. Policy should be set to determine the maximum number of applications to be accepted from among those persons who meet the criteria. It is suggested that a modest ratio of applicants to placement personnel be established, so that these staff persons will have a small number of applicants assigned to them. The number should be small enough to insure that each placement person is able to devote intensive efforts to obtaining a job or a training opportunity for all persons assigned to him. Not until the staff person has obtained a job, a training position, or determined that all available resources have been exhausted will he cease active involvement with an applicant assigned to him.

At the time such a decision is made, the applicant should be formally notified, preferably in person, with a statement of the reasons for the decision and any final assistance that might be offered.

The third area which should be explored is one concerning the utilization and hiring of staff. In order to carry out some of the recommendations made above, and others to be made later, it will probably be necessary to modify the job description of personnel traditionally employed by the employment service. Individuals who have experience with the labor market, who are aware of the complexities of the minority unemployment problem, and who can work effectively in a constantly changing situation which will require considerable flexibility on their part are needed at all levels of the operation. Since persons who meet this description are rare, the Employment Service should make special provisions to hire such persons even if it requires obtaining individuals who might not be career public Employment Service employees. The agency should obtain special waivers covering the life of the program to enable it to hire, when necessary, persons who would accept a temporary position with the program. Additional steps should be taken to assure that a reasonable percentage of the personnel at all levels will be minority group persons. The possible dilemma of hiring minorities with less experience at the risk of sacrificing the proficiency and versatility needed in a program of this type must be resolved through innovative hiring provisions. One possibility would be the creation of quasi-apprenticeship positions at all levels which would be designed specifically to provide training for those minority group persons who have potential ability but limited experience. This is only one possible device which could be built into a proposal to help insure that the program engage in activities similar to ones it may request employers to adopt. Provisions for the use of consultants is another important device which should be used to provide assistance to the entire staff in their efforts to face the challenges of the new program.

Basic Elements of the Program

Any program developed to increase employment opportunities for minorities should include two essential elements (1) an element designed to develop jobs and to promote change in the hiring practices of employers and (2) a component designed to assist the applicants to modify their characteristics or qualifications so that they will be better able to find employment. A third component which should also be included is operational research.

Modifying Employer Practices

The program of job development in many respects is the most

crucial element of a project of this nature. It should be fully integrated into the operation of the overall program and should be designed to encourage employers to make those changes necessary to provide employment for minority group persons, especially those served by the project. In order to maximize the possibility of succeeding in such an effort, a well-coordinated, systematic approach seems indicated. This component should be based on a clear and explicit rationale which can be used to guide the activities of those assigned to this phase of the program. The staff should be able to discuss with employers issues related to the validity of standards established for certain jobs, the reliability and validity of devices used to select personnel, as well as the actions that could be taken by employers committed to making affirmative moves to change the composition of their work force.

The job development component should be prepared to explore with employers such issues as the institution of employer-financed training programs for the type of applicant served by the project, the initiation of a company sponsored upgrading programs which would be coordinated with measures taken to employ project applicants in some of the jobs vacated, or the initiation of a program in which minority group persons are hired even though there may be what appear to be more immediately suitable applicants available. This approach should traditionally be coupled with special provisions by the firm to facilitate the adjustment of the new employees. Along these lines, the job development staff should be prepared to explore such matters as assigning new employees to supervisors who have agreed to the plan, who are psychologically capable of performing such activities and whose work load are not so large that they would be unable to perform an effective job. The company should provide these interviewers with the training necessary for effectively handling the problems they will encounter.

If the job development component is to be structured in such a manner that emphasis is placed both on convincing employers to use the program as a new recruiting source as well as on influencing them to change policies and practices to permit the hiring of more minority group persons, coordination is essential. It is necessary not only to coordinate the activities of all staff persons involved with developing jobs but also to coordinate these activities with similar ones conducted by other agencies in the area.

Modifying the Characteristics of Applicants

A second component of the program should be designed to assist applicants in their attempts to locate a job and to provide opportunities designed to improve their chances for employment. This segment of the program should be designed to provide intensive attention to the specific employment difficulties of a small number of applicants at any one time. Applicant intake should be limited as suggested earlier, and placement personnel should be trained and encouraged

to provide varied and individualized services to applicants. The services offered could include attention to such areas as correct methods of filling out applications, familiarization with test taking procedures and pointers on interviewing techniques. It is important not only that the areas covered in the interaction be guided by the needs of the applicant, but also that the methods used be flexible. Such innovations as accompanying the applicant on a job referral should not only be possible but encouraged when it is appropriate. The assumption on which all of these suggestions are based is that the greatest possibility for successful placement of persons who have experienced difficulty obtaining jobs is individualized attention and assistance in overcoming at least the superficial obstacles to employment. Since it is possible that only limited success will result from efforts to obtain regular employment for those persons the program is designed to serve, a concerted effort should be made to provide intensive and unique opportunities for assistance. If such possibilities are provided and they fail, then valuable information will have been obtained.

Efforts should also be made to make training opportunities available to project applicants. Although it would appear that MDTA programs offer meaningful possibilities for such training, our examination of the training component of the Oakland program was not extensive enough to permit detailed recommendations for future projects. One of the major precautions which should be taken, however, if a training component is attached directly to the program, is the assurance that the type of applicant to be served by the project can be trained effectively within the existing guidelines for MDTA trainees.

Operational Research

A third component of any demonstration project should be a research unit which is equipped to function under the direction of the project director. This component would be responsible for collecting data needed by the project on a regular basis in order to more effectively carry out its activities. This research component should be distinct from follow-up study which might be contracted separately to evaluate the progress of the program. The operational research component could profitably devote its energies to gathering such data as: (1) the characteristics of applicants registering, so that this information can be communicated to the job development component, (2) the characteristics of the jobs on which applicants obtain employment and those on which they do not, (3) the degree of success experienced by project applicants on jobs and in training courses, and (4) the recent labor market developments in the area that have a bearing on the project. The program director needs to be kept informed of such data in order to make decisions effectively.

Role of Citizen's Committee

Although our reports have included considerable criticism of the citizen's group attached to the Oakland Project, it is possible that under more favorable circumstances a citizen's group could play an important part in the program. Of fundamental importance, however, is the nature and clarity of the group's role. The experience in Oakland suggests that the groups should serve as resource for the program and not in a capacity which could be interpreted as policy making. The major function of the group clearly should be to provide assistance to the program staff in its efforts to develop job opportunities for its applicants. The group would be looked to most directly to provide assistance and suggestions for the attempt to modify employer and union practices.

To make the role as unambiguous as possible, the group should be called a Citizen's Resource Committee instead of an Advisory Committee. The group should not only include employer labor and minority representatives, but also social scientists. The addition of labor economists, psychologists and sociologists should help provide a depth of understanding of the problem which will undoubtedly be needed in most areas. Top men in all four segments of the community should be obtained and satisfactory working relationships should be developed whereby the program can best utilize the resources made available to it. Individual or small group consultation on specific problems might be the most effective method of interaction and should either supplement or replace full committee meetings.

Miscellaneous Suggestion

A final suggestion will be made which does not fall under any of the headings used thus far, but which is quite important. It concerns the organization of the program within the Employment Service operation. It is recommended that steps be taken to insure that the program is independent of any established employment service operation in that area. Situations similar to the one here in Oakland, where the project was initially made a component of the existing centralized operation, should be avoided. Not only should the program be independent and flexible, but also special efforts should be made to minimize competition between the new program and the older operation. If the new program has a strong job development component and is forced to rely primarily on those orders developed by it, a system of priorities can be arrived at with the established branch which has old "customers" that the new operation might attempt to draw away. A firm, acceptable arrangement must be agreed upon between the job development component of the project, the manager of the established

organization, the supervisor of both, and the companies involved. It should be possible, depending upon the local situation, to arrive at an agreement which involves transferring some firms to the new program, maintaining others at the established operation and working out a procedure for transferring those orders which each operation is unable to fill. Without such agreements, unnecessary competition between two branches of the same agency will probably develop.

APPENDIX A
FOLLOW-UP SURVEY - APPLICANTS

Note: Sections completed depended upon the status of the applicant as follows:

<u>Status</u>	<u>Sections Completed</u>
Hired through CSES	1, 2, 3, 4, 6
Not hired through CSES	1, 2, 6, 7
Entered MDTA training	5

FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW

1. Name _____ 2. Phone _____
 3. Address _____
 4. Office I.D. Number _____ 5. Office _____
 6. Reg. Date _____ 7. Reg. + 3 months _____

8. No. of jobs _____ 9. Training: Yes ☐ No ☐
 10. Last employer _____
 11. Address _____
 12. Referral date _____ 13. Dates of employment _____
 14. Job title _____

15. Job _____ 16. Other: Project _____ M.O. _____ Other CSES _____
 17. Non-CSES jobs _____
 18. Last employer (from this office) _____
 19. Address _____
 20. Dates of employment _____
 21. Job title _____

22. Character of employment: Permanent Full-time ☐ Permanent Part-time ☐ Temporary ☐
 23. Anticipated duration of temporary employment: Days _____ Weeks _____ Months _____
 24. Length of employment Days _____ Weeks _____ Months _____
 25. Character of employment change None ☐ Perm Full-time ☐ Perm Part-time ☐ Temp ☐
 26. Union member: No ☐ Yes, prior to job ☐ Yes, while on job ☐
 27. Pay rate \$ _____/hour or \$ _____/
 28. Pay change while at the job None ☐ Increase ☐ Decrease ☐
 29. Length of training at the job None ☐ Days _____ Weeks _____ Months _____
 30. Method of training at the job None ☐ Individual ☐ Group or class ☐ Sup ☐
 31. Assignment change while at the job None ☐ Promoted ☐ Demoted ☐
 32. Nature of termination Quit ☐ Laid off ☐ Fired ☐ Term ☐

Reason _____

33. Overall evaluation _____ Reasons:

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

5

34. This office: No ☐ Yes ☐ 35. Different: No ☐ Project _____ M.O. ☐ Other _____

36. Course name _____ 37. Place _____

38. Overall evaluation _____ Reasons: _____
 1st _____
 2nd _____
 3rd _____

39. Date finished _____ 40. Post try jobs: Total _____ TR _____ NTR _____

41. Job title: 1st TR _____ 42. Dates _____ - _____

43. Job title: Last TR _____ 44. Dates _____ - _____

6

45. Evaluation of CSES _____ Reasons: _____
 1st _____
 2nd _____
 3rd _____

7

46. Source of income (highest 3): Pub Asst _____ Soc Ins _____ Unemp Comp _____ Spouse _____ Inmed Family _____
 Relatives _____ Friends _____ Savings _____ Other _____, Specify _____

47. Activities (3 most important): Job Hunting _____ Education _____ Non-paid work _____ Social Action _____
 Recreation _____ Hobbies _____ Non-directed Activity _____ Other _____, Specify _____

48. Major obstacles: _____ 49. Can overcome? _____ 50. Plan (be specific): _____
 a. _____ Yes ☐ No ☐ ? ☐ _____
 b. _____ Yes ☐ No ☐ ? ☐ _____
 c. _____ Yes ☐ No ☐ ? ☐ _____

51. Ever employed? Yes ☐ No ☐ 52. Date _____

Interviewer _____ Date _____ Completed: Yes ☐ No ☐

8

53. Employer evaluation _____ Reasons: _____
 1st _____ 2d _____ 3d _____

54. Training instructor evaluation _____ Reasons: _____
 1st _____ 2d _____ 3d _____

55. Interviewer evaluation _____ Reasons: _____
 1st _____ 2d _____ 3d _____

B-iv.

APPENDIX B

FOLLOW-UP SURVEY - EMPLOYERS

EMPLOYER'S EVALUATION
FS-35

Our records indicate that you hired _____
on or about _____ 196____. Please provide the following information
about this person:

1. Job Title _____
2. Was the job covered by a union contract? Yes ☐ No ☐
3. Dates of employment: _____ 196__ to _____ 196__.
4. Nature of termination (check one):
Quit ☐ Laid off ☐ Fired ☐ End of temporary job ☐
5. Reason for termination: _____
6. Pay rate: Start \$ _____ / _____; End \$ _____ / _____.
7. Overall evaluation of performance (check one):
Outstanding ☐ Above average ☐ Average ☐ Below average ☐ Poor ☐
8. List the most important reasons for your evaluation:
a. _____
b. _____
c. _____

This form was filled out by: Employee's Supervisor ☐ Personnel staff ☐

Date _____

The following information is ☐ / is not ☐ requested:

Last known forwarding address of employee:

Thank you very much.

C-vi.

APPENDIX C

POLICY-MAKERS' INTERVIEW

QUESTIONNAIRE

Conceptions and Appraisal of the Minority Unemployment Problem
in Oakland and Oakland Adult Minority Project

Date _____ Time _____ Place _____ Miles _____

Name _____ Title _____

I.L.C.O. Organization _____

Non-O.A.P. Occupation _____

Relationship to O.A.P. _____

Time served with O.A.P. _____ Attendance _____

Previous experience of unemployment problems _____

How did you become involved in O.A.P.? _____

I. The minority unemployment problem in Oakland

(Oakland has an unemployment rate twice that of the national average; the rate is even higher when calculated for those areas designated 'target areas' which are mainly populated by minority persons. It is the disproportionately high unemployment rate among minority persons that tends to make the unemployment problem a minority unemployment problem.)

(a) Why does the above problem exist? _____

(b) What action should be taken to solve the above problem? _____

(c) What, if any, obstacles do you see to your proposed solutions? _____

(d) Who should be responsible for the implementation of suggested solutions?

(e) (1) To what should employers be committed if they are to make any real contribution to solving the problem? (Is there anything to prevent implementation?) _____

(2) To what should labor be committed if it is to make any real contribution to solving the problem? (Is there anything to prevent implementation?) _____

(3) To what should minority group persons and organizations be committed if they are going to make any real contribution to solving the problem? (Is there anything to prevent implementation?) _____

(f) What would you consider a satisfactory employment situation? (Could it exist? When?) _____

II. The Oakland Adult Project as a solution to the minority unemployment problem

(a) To what aspect of the problem was O.A.P. considered a solution? _____

(b) What have been the goals of O.A.P. to date? _____

(c) How successful has O.A.P. been in achieving the above goals? To what degree has it been unsuccessful? (Why?) _____

(d) Should there be any changes in the goals and methods of the O.A.P.? _____

(e) Why do you think the above changes should be made? _____

III. What has been the extent of the interviewees' participation and influence

(a) What influence do you feel you have been able to exercise on the practice and policy of O.A.P.? _____

(b) Have there been any obstacles to your exercising influence on O.A.P.? _____

(c) Has your participation in O.A.P. led to your organization taking any specific steps to improve the employment opportunities for unemployed minority persons? _____

C-x.

- (d) Are there any other points relating to the minority unemployment problem and O.A.P. which have not been raised so far on which you would like to comment?

Interviewer _____ Length of interview _____ Time _____