

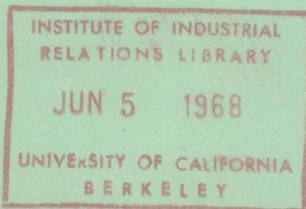
Minorities

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THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF RACIAL MINORITIES

Proceedings of a Conference

The University of Wisconsin
Center for Studies in
Vocational and Technical Education,
1968



THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF RACIAL MINORITIES

**Proceedings of a Conference
May 11-12, 1967**

**Prepared by the Center for Studies
in Vocational and Technical Education**

The University of Wisconsin

The Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education is affiliated with The Industrial Relations Research Institute, The University of Wisconsin. We are indebted to Betty Shaw and Karen Krueger for editing these *Proceedings*.

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PREFACE

Like other conferences recently sponsored by the Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, the Conference on the Education and Training of Racial Minorities was designed to achieve three complementary objectives.

Its first goal was to bring together academicians, government officials and educators, in vocational schools and other institutions, in a lively and enlightening discussion on a subject of crucial current importance. As is indicated in the listing of conference participants, we succeeded in attracting a notable group of spokesmen from universities, government agencies and vocational schools throughout the country. The discussion was lively; we trust it was also enlightening.

Secondly, the conference was designed to encourage and serve as a forum for research on this vital topic. The emphasis throughout was placed on research findings which would provide information and insights of value to educators. Education and training are generally recognized as important factors in the achievement of equal opportunities for racial minorities. Too often, however, discussions on this topic are constructed more in terms of polemics than of facts or practical programs. In this conference, the "hard" findings of research investigators were tested in discussions by critical experts in this field.

Finally, the conference was arranged with an eye to these published *Proceedings*. Those presenting papers as well as the discussants, were selected so as to make a lasting and worthwhile contribution to the literature on the education and training of racial minorities. In giving the widest possible distribution to this report, we hope that the conference objectives achieved in Madison will also be met for an even larger group of interested readers from academic, government or educational circles.

We are grateful to the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research for co-sponsoring the conference, together with our Center. The Center was established in the fall of 1964 under a five-year grant from The Ford Foundation.

We are especially indebted to Karen Krueger, Project Assistant in the Center, who assisted notably in making the conference a success, from the initial planning to the final publication of these *Proceedings*.

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Section I

Howard Rosen, Chairman

EQUAL APPRENTICESHIP OPPORTUNITIES IN NEW YORK CITY

RAY MARSHALL AND VERNON BRIGGS, JR.*
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

New York City has had a great variety of minority employment problems and has had a wide variety of programs designed to improve the employment conditions of groups. Efforts to get more Negroes into New York apprentice programs have attracted national interest, because they were accompanied by demonstrations and because they have been relatively successful. This paper is based on the conviction that a review of these experiences will be beneficial to those undertaking similar programs in other cities.

THE ISSUE IN PERSPECTIVE

A 1960 study by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD) disclosed that (1) "Both historically and currently, Negroes have not been utilized by industry [in New York] in the skilled craft components of the labor force;" and (2) that "apprenticeship has not been, nor is it presently, a significant mode of entry for Negroes into skilled-craft occupations."¹ With reference to the entire state, the report stated that in 1940, out of 7,421 apprentices, there were 36 Negroes (or about .5 percent); by 1950, out of 10,000 apprentices, there were 152 Negroes (or about 1.5 percent); and, in 1960, out of 15,000 apprentices, there were about 300 Negroes (or about 2 percent).² About 73 percent of the total apprentices in the state were in New York City, with the bulk of these concentrated in the construction and printing trades. SCAD found that "of the relatively few Negro apprentices in

*The authors are, respectively, Professor and Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Texas. This paper is based upon research done under contract with the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research, to be published under the title of *The Negro and Apprenticeship*, by the Johns Hopkins University Press, Fall 1967.

¹New York State Commission Against Discrimination, *Apprentices, Skilled Craftsmen and the Negro: An Analysis*, April 1960, p. 13.

²*Ibid.*, p. 15.

the state, nearly all are located in the New York City region, "and primarily in the electrical, bricklaying, painting, and "possibly carpentry trades."³ Similarly, the report stated that there were no Negro apprentices in the city in the following trades: plumbing, steamfitting, sheet metal working, structural and ornamental iron working, plastering, and mosaic and terrazo working.

A second report, made in 1963 by the New York Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, concluded that:

... Negroes are denied access to employment in most of the building trades in New York City. The study further indicates that retention of present practices in admission to apprenticeship programs will mean that Negroes can expect no more than token participation in most of the building trades in the future.⁴

The format of the 1963 report was similar to the earlier SCAD findings except that it indicated little had been done since 1960 (with the exception of the notable action by Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW)--to be discussed below--about which the report is highly complimentary but pessimistic in its expectation that other unions might follow their example).

A third study, issued in 1963 by the New York City Commission on Human Rights, reported that:

The City Commission on Human Rights finds a pattern of exclusion in a substantial portion of the building and construction industry which effectively bars nonwhites from participating in this area of the city's economic life.

The Commission finds the foregoing condition is the result of employer failure to accept responsibility for including minority group workers in the staffing of his projects, union barriers to Negro admittance, and government failure to enforce regulations barring discrimination.⁵

³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴ "A Report of the New York Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights," reprinted in *The Role of Apprenticeship in Manpower Development: United States and Western Europe*, Vol. III (Washington: Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 1964), p. 1250.

⁵ The City Commission on Human Rights, *Bias in the Building Industry: An Interim Report to the Mayor*, December 1963, p. 10.

Since 1963, the Building and Construction Trades Council has released figures indicating the number of nonwhites admitted to various apprentice programs. These figures, shown in Table 1, must be interpreted with care, since Puerto Ricans are often included as nonwhites in New York City statistics. These tables also do not indicate the number of nonwhites who have dropped out after having been admitted.

TABLE 1.

Nonwhite Participation in Apprentice Programs in
Selected Building Trades Unions Since March 1963

<u>Union</u>	Nonwhite Apprentices Admitted Between March		Total Nonwhites Apprentices Admitted Between March
	<u>1963-1965</u>	<u>1965-1966</u>	<u>1963-1966</u>
Carpenters District Council	623	7	630
Operating Engineers #15	7	(no program)	7
IBEW #3	240	35 ^a	275
Iron Workers #361	8	N. A.	8
Iron Workers #40	N. A.	14	14
Elevator Constructors	N. A.	2	2
Plumbers #1	16	6	22
Plumbers #2	9	0	9
Sheet Metal Workers #28	0	11	11
Steamfitters #638	9	6 ^b	15

^aData supplied by Workers Defense League.

^bData supplied not by union but by Area Co-ordinator for the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Source: N. Y. City Building and Construction Trades Council (except where indicated).

Nevertheless, there can be little question that in spite of uneven progress in some apprentice programs, developments since 1961 have caused considerable change in New York programs. We turn our attention next to some of the more notable of these events.

SPECIAL BACKGROUND DEVELOPMENTS

The 1962 Apprentice Class of IBEW Local 3

IBEW Local 3's experiences with Negro Apprentices have been without parallel anywhere in the nation. With over 34,000 members, Local 3 is one of the largest locals in the construction trades. The union has two broad categories of members: "A" Division which does the construction work, and "BA" Division which does manufacturing work. About 30 percent of the membership is in "A" Division and 70 percent is in "BA" Division--mostly holding semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. Minority representatives in 1961 totaled 1,500 Negroes and 3,000 Puerto Ricans--or 4,500 in all.

Traditionally, eligibility for apprenticeship in the New York electrical industry was based upon a father-son relationship. In the early sixties, however, Harry Van Arsdale, Local 3's business representative, sought to broaden the opportunity base for admission by making sons of its "BA" members eligible for apprentice positions in the "A" Division. In this way, the sons of the 4,500 minority members were also made eligible.

However, Local 3's apprentice recruitment pattern underwent a drastic reversal during 1962. As an outgrowth of contract negotiations in which the 25-hour week was established, Van Arsdale announced that his union would sharply increase the number of apprentices selected for the next class and that every effort would be made to assure substantial minority participation.

In complying with the agreement, Local 3 sent out 2,000 letters on April 3, 1962, requesting the submission of applications. Civil rights groups, employers, vocational high schools, and other unions in the city were notified. A total of 1,600 completed applications were received. To review the applications, a special three-man screening committee was established consisting of: Dr. Harry J. Carmen, Dean Emeritus of Columbia University; Robert McCormick, Director of Apprentice Training of the Joint Industry Board; and Edward Mays, Assistant to McCormick, who in 1961 became the first Negro to graduate from the apprentice program and receive an "A" journeyman's card. The qualifications established by the committee included a high school diploma, an aspiration to go to college, and an age limit of 18 to 21 years. There was no written test given to any applicant; in fact, no written tests had ever been given for admission into the local's apprenticeship classes before 1966.

A class of 1,020 new first-year apprentices was selected in 1962 (more than the total number in the entire five-year program at that time). Of this number, 240 were Negroes and 60 were Puerto Ricans.⁶ The 300 minority group apprentices were placed in the regular apprenticeship training class which would lead to full journeymen status with class "A" membership. The significance of this event cannot be stated in strong enough terms; its importance can be gauged by the fact that the U. S. Census of 1960 reported only 79 Negro electrical apprentices in the entire nation.

The 1963 Demonstrations

On May 15, 1963, a civil rights group known as the Joint Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity (JCEEO)⁷ announced plans to picket the construction site of the Harlem Hospital to protest discrimination in the building trades. The committee demanded that 25 percent of the employees at the job site be Negroes or Puerto Ricans (at the time, nine of the 64 employees, or 14 percent were Negroes). JCEEO had asked for a meeting between all parties to discuss the subject. The offer was declined by the unions and the contractors although the Acting Mayor, Paul R. Screvane, accepted the offer. After the refusal, JCEEO started picketing the job site in June 1963. After two days of picketings, characterized by intermittent clashes with the police, the Acting Mayor ordered the suspension of the construction work "in order to develop a climate" to study the charges.

The demonstrations at the Harlem Hospital project were part of an attempt to shut down all publicly aided construction in the city until 25

⁶The figures showing the number of Negroes admitted in 1962 were supplied by officials of the WDL, the Building and Construction Trades Council, and other interviews in the city. This figure is higher than those reported in "The Report of New York Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights," reproduced in *The Role of Apprenticeship in Manpower Development: United States and Western Europe*, pp. 1253-54. That report showed only 140 Negroes were admitted. All other sources interviewed have reported 240 Negroes were admitted.

⁷JCEEO's membership was composed of representatives of the New York Chapter of CORE, the Negro-American Labor Council, the Workers Defense League, the Urban League of Greater New York, and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

percent of the jobs were filled by Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Accordingly, demonstrations began during the summer at the Rutgers Housing Project (on the lower East Side), the Downstate Medical Center (in Brooklyn), the Rochdale Village housing project (in Jamaica), and Madison Houses (in Harlem). Blocking access entrance to job sites, daily sit-ins at the mayor's office (lasting ultimately for 44 days), sit-ins at the governor's office in the city, clashes with police, and over 650 arrests of demonstrators at those sites kept the issue in the headlines. Meetings were held between union, civil rights, and city and state government officials.

The Rodgers Committee

The first indications of progress toward a settlement came on July 23, 1963, when the city's Building and Construction Trades Council announced a plan to establish a specific referral committee to assist in processing nonwhite applications for apprentice and journeyman positions. The biracial committee, more commonly known as the Rodgers Committee, was formed to screen and interview Negroes and Puerto Ricans who believed themselves qualified for employment in the construction industry. The interviewees were referred to the committee by civil rights groups, the state employment service, a special city government program, a separate state recruitment program, or by individuals who requested, through their own initiative, an opportunity to be interviewed. The interviews were conducted in a downtown hotel rather than in a union hall. Moreover, the committeemen worked without pay and the entire cost of the operation (about \$9,000) was paid by the Building Trades Council.

To be interviewed by the committee, an applicant (1) must have been either Negro or Puerto Rican and (2) must have resided in the city for at least two years. After he was interviewed, the applicant was either rejected or referred to the local union in the trade applied for. Referral did not constitute admission; rejectees, on the other hand, could appeal to a special three-man committee (one man appointed by the governor, one by the mayor, and one by the Secretary of Labor). The referral committee met twenty-four times between August 9 and October 26, 1963.

A total of 1,624 Negroes and Puerto Ricans expressed an interest in apprenticeship. Of this number 528 were rejected before being interviewed (129 because they were nonresidents; 202 because they were either over or under age for apprentice programs; and 197 because they lacked minimal education). Thus, 1,096 were scheduled to be inter-

viewed. Of this number 426 (or 39 percent) did not appear. The remaining 670 were personally interviewed with the result that 573 (or 83 percent) were referred to unions and 97 were rejected for the following reasons: lack of minimal education--21; over and under age--20; nonresidents--6; not Negro or Puerto Rican--50.⁸

The Rodgers Committee also attempted to refer journeymen. A total of 494 individuals applied to the committee for journeyman positions: 243 were rejected (57 because they were nonresidents; 54 because they had no construction experience; and 132 because they had no journeyman experience). Accordingly, 241 were to be interviewed but 72 (or 28 percent) did not show up. Of the 179 actually interviewed, 109 (or 61 percent) were referred and 70 were rejected. The 70 rejectees were disqualified because: no journeyman experience--23; no construction experience--21; age--2; not Negro or Puerto Rican--24.⁹

Of the 682 apprentice and journeymen referees, the information provided on actual placement is somewhat sketchy. A total of 111 referrals were accounted for in the report (action was still pending on many applications at the time of issuance of the final report). In aggregate terms, 81 of the 111 were accepted; 28 failed to appear at the union halls; and only two were rejected who actually applied to the unions. It is clear, however, from a review of Table 2, that many of those whom the unions had accepted decided not to avail themselves of the opportunity once it was offered to them (such is clearly the case with the carpenters' experience). Accordingly, actual placements were far fewer than the number of referrals.

The Rodgers Committee drew two important conclusions from its efforts. First, massive campaigns to recruit applicants can be a fruitless undertaking: 498 (or 25 percent) of the applicants for apprentice and journeyman positions did not show up for the referral interview,¹⁰

⁸All figures in this paragraph are taken from "Report of the Building Industry of New York Referral Committee," December 18, 1963, pp. 4-5, (typewritten material).

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 4 and 6.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 12. These figures do not include those who could not be interviewed at prescribed times. All of those who notified the Committee of time conflicts had new appointments made at convenient times. Two applicants of this broad recruitment effort stated "that they were recruited in the park (and) did not know what it was all about and had no desire for any training."

TABLE 2.

Specific Placements of Initial Referrals
by the Rodgers Committee

Cement Masons	9 accepted (no breakdown between apprentice and journeymen)
Elevator Constructors	9 accepted (no breakdown between apprentice and journeymen)
Operating Engineers #15	4 apprentices accepted (10 more placed on list for consideration for next class) 3 journeymen accepted
Operating Engineers #30	1 apprentice accepted
Glaziers	4 apprentices accepted
Lathers #46	4 apprentices accepted
Painters	18 apprentices accepted 3 journeymen accepted (4 others accepted but they declined)
Carpenters	3 journeymen accepted 43 apprentices accepted a) 5 did not show up to the District Council to be interviewed b) 2 declined membership c) <u>36</u> were referred to locals 43 (Sub-Total)
Of the 36 referred to the Locals:	
	a) 22 failed to report to the local b) 7 reported but failed to return for initiation and placement c) 1 reported but declined membership d) <u>6</u> reported and were employed 36 (Sub-Total)
Operating Engineers #94	1 apprentice selected
Structural Steel and Bridge Painters #806	7 journeymen accepted 1 apprentice accepted
Painters #1456	2 acceptances (no breakdown between journeymen and apprentices)

Source: "Report of Building Industry of New York Referral Committee," (December 18, 1963), pp. 15-18.

and many others failed to apply once referred. Secondly, the committee came to the following critical conclusion on the preparation of the youths who appeared before it:

One of the greatest eye openers to this Committee was the apparent abandoning of many youths in our schoolsystem. Most of the Committee was shocked that boys who were graduates of our vocational high schools or who had at least two years in these schools could not spell such words as "brick," "carpenter," "building," etc., or could not add inches and feet. . . . It is quite apparent that they are the products of a social system that pushed them through the earlier grades of school without insuring that they had the basic tools necessary for a minimal academic education. They were shunted to the dumping ground of the "vocational school."

We call attention to this problem because the apprentice in any trade must come equipped with these tools. It has been the experience of many who direct apprentice programs that the apprentice with a firm academic schooling fares better than the vocational-trained apprentice. We see a very good lesson for those who are interested in minority groups entering the skilled crafts.¹¹

Summing up its work, the Committee stated that:

We had been led to believe that there were thousands who couldn't gain admittance into the building trades unions. As a committee we felt that the numbers who came forward were small and those qualified were even smaller in number.¹²

The Sheet Metal Workers Local 28 Case

In March 1964, the State Commission for Human Rights (NYSCHR, formerly the State Commission against Discrimination) ruled that Sheet Metal Workers Local 28 had systematically barred Negroes throughout its 76-year history. Although the NYSCHR's action was based on a verified complaint of James Ballard (a Negro apprentice

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

¹² *New York Times*, December 19, 1963.

applicant) filed by the State Attorney General with the State Commission in late 1962, the decision was seen as revolutionary in that it was based upon the existence of a historical pattern of exclusion rather than relying entirely on a specific complaint.

The union appealed the NYSCHR decision that it was guilty of discrimination, and on review the Supreme Court of New York County upheld the Commission's findings *in toto*.¹³ The Court outlaws as "illegal and unconstitutional" the union's customary father-son preference. The Court also agreed with the Commissioners' proposal that affirmative relief be taken by the union to open up its membership ranks to all qualified applicants. Shortly afterward, the Court accepted a plan drawn up by the industry concerning the selection methods for the next class of apprentices. It was agreed that 65 apprentices were to be admitted into a class to be formed no later than March 15, 1965. As a further stipulation, the Court stated that it expected that new classes would be formed thereafter on a regular basis. After forming the spring class of 1965, however, the union announced that it would not form its customary fall class of 65 apprentices. The union later agreed to form a new class but balked over being told how large it was to be. Hence, on October 18, 1965, the Lower Court issued a second order directing that a class of 65 be formed on or before October 30, 1965. Both the employers and the unions appealed this order claiming that it represented judicial interference. Class size, they contended, had nothing to do with the discriminatory practices condemned in the original ruling. On December 10, 1965, the New York Supreme Court, Appellate Division, affirmed the Lower Court ruling that a second class be formed in 1965 and that it consist of 65 apprentices (this class ultimately had 11 Negroes in it).

The New York Apprenticeship Law

With the Sheet Metal Local 28 case in the headlines in early 1964, the apprenticeship issue was rekindled in the state legislature. Acting on the recommendation of the State Attorney General, a measure was introduced to make it "an unlawful discriminatory practice" to select persons for apprenticeship program on any bases "other than their qualifications." The language of the proposed act had been composed by the State Civil Rights Bureau. The bill was brought before the lower house from the rules committee "in a surprise move" only a few days before the scheduled adjournment of the session. Immediately before

¹³252 NYS 2d 649.

the vote was taken a memorandum was circulated to many legislators from Raymond Corbett, President of the State AFL-CIO (and business agent for Iron Workers Local #40 in New York City), indicating his organization's opposition to the proposal. Consequently, the bill was defeated by ten votes. Ostensibly, the opposition was concerned with the question of how the concept of apprentice selection "by objective criteria which permit review" would be enforced.

Corbett's action drew immediate protests from civil rights, government, and even union representatives. Civil rights groups denounced Corbett's stand and threatened to renew their picketing of construction sites. The Speaker of the Assembly, Joseph F. Carlino, joined in the criticism. A few days later, Corbett announced that the State AFL-CIO would withdraw its opposition since "our reasons for objecting to this have been misunderstood."¹⁴ On March 24, 1964, shortly after Corbett's announcement, the bill was passed by a vote of 135 to 10 (out of 150 possible ballots).

Although the bill became a law a few days later and was to become effective on September 1, 1964, a one-year grace period was allowed for apprentice programs to be brought into compliance. It is understood from our field interviews with State BAT Officials in New York, as of late 1966, that all major programs in New York City except that of Plumbers Local 2 were in compliance with the New York apprenticeship law.

The New York regulations for equality in apprenticeship programs provide less latitude to the industry than the federal apprenticeship regulations issued by Secretary of Labor W. Williard Wirtz in 1963. The New York regulations require the selection of apprentices "after full and fair opportunity for application on the basis of qualifications not based upon race... in accordance with objective standards which permit review." New York did not follow the federal example of permitting selections which "demonstrate results." Under the federal regulations, no control is exercised over the selection standards so long as they are objectively administered, but the New York regulations provide that, "No program may be or remain registered unless it includes an acceptable selection procedure and acceptable standards for admission." The New York law also specifies that to be acceptable, tests must be reasonable, meaning "reasonably related to general intelligence and/or job aptitude, and developed and administered by compe-

¹⁴ *New York Times*, March 24, 1964.

tent organization." In addition, the New York law requires apprentice sponsors to give applicants written statements of qualifications for admission and specify in writing the reasons why applicants are not appointed. Any applicant who is rejected must be notified that he may register a complaint with the NYSCHR" if he believes that his failure to qualify on the applicant list, or his ranking on such list, or his failure of appointment was caused by discrimination. . . . "

The penalties under the New York law are limited to deregistration. Program sponsors may have a hearing before programs are deregistered, except where the NYSCHR has found discrimination, in which case the program may be deregistered without a hearing.

The Plumbers Local 2 Case

In April 1964, the spring building season in New York was ushered in with a new confrontation that centered upon minority participation. On April 30, 1964, all the plumbers on a \$25 million city construction site (the Terminal Market) in the Bronx struck when three nonunion Puerto Ricans and one Negro plumber reported to work. The nonunion plumbers had been hired by a contractor who had made an agreement with the City Commission on Human Rights (CCHR) to hire from minority groups. The four men were interviewed in late April 1964 and told to report to work on April 30. Following the union walkout, the four filed charges with the CCHR alleging that they were being discriminated against by Plumbers Local 2.

On May 1, 1964, the plumbers again refused to work, claiming that they would not work with nonunion men. The CCHR began proceedings to cancel the building contract because of discriminatory practices. It was the first time that any governmental agency in the state had initiated such a step. As the stalemate entered its seventh working day, President Lyndon Johnson requested that Secretary of Labor Wirtz investigate the matter. At the same time, AFL-CIO President George Meany dispatched two aides from the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department to gather the facts concerning the dispute. On May 11, 1964, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) started picketing in front of Local 2's headquarters and staged a sit-in inside the lobby of the union's office building. Finally, on May 15, 1964, after the walkout had lasted two weeks, an agreement was announced by Mayor Wagner and George Meany. It was agreed that the regular journeyman's examination would be given the four men, and, if they passed, their applications would be accepted so that they could go to work immediately. Although Meany criticized the CCHR for forcing the company to hire the four men and

was quoted as saying on the same day that the action of the local "was completely justified" since it is the practice of American Labor to work with union men, "¹⁵ he was nevertheless instrumental in the settlement.

Hopes for an end to the impasse were soon dashed, however, because the four workers refused to take the examination. The attorney for the group said that it was illegal (allegedly violating the Taft-Hartley ban on the closed shop, since only the employer has the right to determine the qualifications of his employees) for the union to give the test. On May 18, 1964, when the four showed up for work they were told they were "not hired" by the contractor since they refused to take the test.¹⁶ Work was resumed by the other union members. On the evening of May 18, three of the four nonunion plumbers relented from their earlier position and, in the presence of the CCHR representatives and the press, the three men took the journeyman's test. They all failed. Subsequently, the three filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) alleging that the union had violated the Taft-Hartley Act by causing the employer--through the strike--to discontinue the employment of the newly hired employees.

On June 5, 1965, the NLRB ruled against Plumbers Local 2 by holding that in no instance may union membership be a condition of employment prior to the expiration of the seven-day grace period allowed by the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) (after which time the union may admit them or else they can stay on the job as nonunion employees) and that standards for judging competency for admission to the union cannot be limited to the passing of a particular union's test.¹⁷ While the decision did not pertain specifically to racial discrimination, it was heralded by an NAACP spokesman as "a real breakthrough against the discriminatory practices of unions."¹⁸

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE

The nucleus, about which almost all activity for recruiting, preparing, and referring Negroes for apprenticeship openings has revol-

¹⁵ *New York Times*, May 16, 1963, pp. 1, 38.

¹⁶ *New York Times*, May 17, 1964, pp. 1, 46

¹⁷ ⁵⁹ *Labor Relations Reference Manual*, pp. 1234-38.

¹⁸ *New York Times*, June 6, 1965.

ved in the city, has been the pioneering work of the Workers' Defense League (WDL). Founded shortly before World War II as a human rights organization, the WDL moved into the apprenticeship area in 1963 as a participant in the JCEEO demonstrations. After the construction site was closed, it became very apparent to civil rights leaders in general and the WDL staff in particular that they had no way to fill vacancies in apprenticeship programs even if they were made accessible. As a result, WDL decided to concentrate on the apprenticeship problem as one of its primary missions. At first it planned to do a case study of the reversal experience of IBEW Local 3. Instead, however, it decided to assume the more ambitious task of recruitment. But in order to accomplish this objective, it was first necessary for the League to determine the unions' admission standards. Information was not available from most of the unions, the state apprenticeship offices, or the city's apprenticeship information center (which had been established in September 1962). Thus the WDL decided to being its work by gathering and publishing a guide to the entry requirements of New York apprentice programs. After months of fruitless efforts to uncover these standards, the League found a man in the New York State Employment Service who had such a listing in his files. Once secured, the data was published and widely distributed by the WDL in a booklet entitled, *Apprenticeship Training in New York, Openings in 1963*. The booklet listed 3,000 openings for apprentices and told exactly where and how to apply and---most importantly---what qualifications were prerequisites for application. Since many Negroes from the ghettos know what a carpenter is but have no idea what a sheet metal worker does, and therefore would never apply to one of these unknown trades, each trade was carefully explained so that the reader would know exactly what the trade did. The handbook also sought to entice presently qualified minority people to apply for apprentice openings and to encourage potential applicants to acquire the necessary qualifications.

Early in 1964, the WDL received grants from the Taconic Foundation to undertake more extensive operations. In May 1964, Ray Murphy, a New Jersey employment specialist with a Master's degree in psychology, became director of the WDL's Apprentice Program. He was assisted by Ernest Green. Full-scale operations commenced on June 1, 1964, with the opening of a special office in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, which is convenient to the heart of New York's minority community.

Recruitment efforts and the dissemination of information have been the cornerstone of the WDL's efforts. A group of Brooklyn ministers had promised the WDL a list of 600 applicants for appren-

ticeship, gathered in conjunction with the construction site demonstrations of the preceding year, but the ministers never made the list available despite continual efforts to secure it. It was therefore necessary for the apprentice program to begin its work from scratch. Contact was established with other youth employment organizations in the city which were requested to refer all eligible and interested young people to WDL; information channels were established with various community organizations (such as churches, fraternal, and civil rights groups) through mailings and direct talks to meetings; membership was established with the Central Brooklyn Co-ordinating Council in order to coordinate WDL's work with the broader anti-poverty program for the area; and liaison was begun with the school system and with local school officials and counselors. WDL staff members made speeches to the students and conducted apprenticeship conferences at local schools.

In its initial efforts to collect a list of available applicants, the WDL staff gathered a list of 700 names from area vocational schools. Since many of the 300 applicants who actually presented themselves to the WDL for testing and screening were not qualified, the WDL found itself in the awkward position of being forced to tell many of the minority group respondents it had recruited that they were not eligible to enter an apprenticeship program. Such blanket efforts, therefore, have been replaced by new approaches which emphasized more selective recruitment.

In addition to locating minority applicants, an important explanation for the success of the WDL's work has been its ability to win the confidence of many union officials in the community. Initially, some local union officials thought that the League was "some communist group," but their fears were quickly dissipated. It became obvious that the WDL, unlike some other groups, was more interested in getting Negroes and Puerto Ricans into apprentice programs than in embarrassing the unions. From the inception of its apprentice program, WDL has sought and received consultative advice from local and national AFL-CIO civil rights staffs. Moreover, local union officials were contacted and informed of the League's objectives and methods. Its efforts were designed explicitly to avoid direct and dramatic public confrontations with the unions. In fact the WDL reports that "the emphasis of the Apprenticeship program has always been on placement of applicants (rather than on 'cases' or education, publicity, or on pressure)."¹⁹

¹⁹"Report of the Committee on Minority Employment Rights: Report of the Apprenticeship Program," WDL (undated, mimeographed material), p. 4.

As a result, the WDL has by unwritten consent become the chief referral channel through which virtually all minority applicants must pass if they seek entry into an apprenticeship program in the city. Indicative of this accord is the fact that most of the major unions, which are under no legal compulsion to do so, now notify the WDL in advance of the dates on which entrance tests are to be given, so that minority applicants can be assured of an opportunity to apply. Peter Brennan, chairman of both the city and state Building Trades Councils, and other union officials directly involved with New York apprenticeship training programs spoke in the most laudatory terms of the work of the WDL. It is apparent from these interviews that WDL representatives have worked hard to develop this rapport and hope to strengthen it in the future. Evidence of this feeling of relative achievement can be found in a 1966 report of the WDL activities for the preceding year. The report stated: "It is our impression that some trade unionists who now realize that their unions must be integrated are relieved to discover a responsible and reliable source with which to work."²⁰

Unlike most of the recruiting efforts conducted by Human Relations Boards or civil rights groups in other cities, the task of the WDL does not simply end with the provision of people to union examination sessions. The WDL goes much further. Once notice of a forthcoming examination is received, a group of applicants is picked for special preparation classes. The selected group--all of whom are "above average high school graduates. . . who can most easily obtain other work, or who think of higher education as an alternative"²¹ -- have all been interviewed and given a thirty minute aptitude test (the Otis Quick Scoring Test of Mental Ability--Gamma C) by the WDL staff. The WDL defends its practice of concentrating, but not solely relying, on the "cream of the crop" of minority people because of its experience with the "time-lag problem" that has frequently been the pitfall of similar efforts in other cities. For example, there is frequently a long waiting period between the time that an applicant initially expresses an interest in apprenticeship and the time that a class is officially formed. The WDL's experience is that "persistence without any assurance of eventual success is rare among applicants."²² With the ad-

²⁰Report to the Taconic Foundation from the Workers Defense League for the period June 1965 through December 1965 (New York: WDL, January 4, 1966), p. 3.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 3.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

vent of its intensive tutoring program, however, the WDL reports that it has been able to lower its initial acceptance criteria. An enlarged staff and better instructional materials have enabled the League to broaden its tutorial program and to adjust to individual needs and abilities.

In addition to tutoring, the WDL provides its applicants with other vital services which have added significantly to its successful placement experiences. Medical examinations are given without charge to the applicants through an arrangement made with the Medical Committee for Human Rights; loans are provided to pay application fees, initiation dues, and for tools; donations are given to those who need financial assistance to pay for notary fees, photostat records of transcripts, transportation costs (to union halls, job sites, or to employers' offices); applications are processed, including such services as sending the materials by certified mail, writing to high schools for transcripts; or personal assistance in completing application forms (the Sheet Metal Workers application form, for example, was nine pages in length); appeal cases are prepared by the WDL before union appeal boards and if necessary, before public antidiscrimination authorities; and temporary jobs are found for needy applicants who must await the often lengthy union screening process (in this regard, many of these jobs have been secured through special arrangements between the WDL and the New York Employment Service and with other unions, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Local 99, the Hospital Workers Union Local 1199, and the Drug and Retail Clerks Union, District 65).

A review of some of the WDL's specific experiences would be useful. As noted previously when the Sheet Metal Workers Local 28, early in 1965, was ordered by the State Supreme Court to give its first entrance examination, there were 340 applicants (50 of whom were Negroes and Puerto Ricans) for 65 positions. The WDL had recruited 28 of the Negro applicants. Dr. Kenneth Clark, director of the City College of New York Social Dynamics Institute, began a tutoring class on vocabulary and algebraic equations. The examination was given by the New York University Testing and Advisement Center on February 13, 1965. Scott Green, the brother of WDL's assistant director and one of the Negroes recruited by WDL, placed 68th which was the highest of all of the Negroes tested (the next highest Negro placed 97th). But when three whites who made higher scores than Green declined to accept the openings offered to them, Green became the 65th man on the list. Thus, he became the first Negro ever to be admitted to the local union.

In November 1965, when the next apprentice class was formed by

Local 28, 12 of 25 applicants sent by the WDL--all of whom had been recruited and given special preparatory work--placed among the top thirty taking the examination. One Negro dropped out, which left eleven who were accepted into the program.²³ The results of the WDL program are indicated by the fact that of the first Local 28 class, 22 percent of the whites and none of the Negroes placed among the top 65; but in the class that had been tutored intensively by the WDL, 56 percent of the nonwhites (14 of 25) and 38 percent (51 of 135) of the whites placed among the top 65. The WDL had far more notice prior to the November 1965 examination than it had had for the preceding one. As a result, all of those who passed had attended the special classes every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday for two months prior to the examination. The tutoring sessions were geared to passing a specific test rather than toward providing a general education. Those who passed the written test were then briefed on what to expect from the oral interview.

The WDL tutoring program has been so successful in placing minority members into apprenticeship programs that Local 28 challenged the validity of the scores made by its November 1966 apprentice applicants. Of the 147 applicants who were actually examined, 32 were Negroes, 24 of whom passed the test. Thus 75 percent of the Negroes passed the test as compared with only 31 percent of the whites. Moreover, of the top ten scores, nine were achieved by Negroes--one of whom had a perfect paper. Local 28 contended that the performance of the WDL applicants was not normal, and it suspected that the scores might have been obtained by "some nefarious means." The Local, therefore, proposed to retest the entire group but was prohibited from doing so by the State Commission for Human Rights, which obtained an injunction against the union from the State Supreme Court. As of March 1967, the case was on appeal, and the admission of the 24 Negroes was still in abeyance.

Recently, with respect to its efforts to perform a similar miracle in placing Negroes in Plumbers Local 1, a new twist was added to the Defense League's remedial program. In addition to being tutored for the written examinations by the WDL staff, several "volunteers" from Western Electric joined the program. Applicants attended tutorial sessions on test taking, basic mathematics, algebra, spatial relations, and mechanical reasoning, and, if they pass the written examination, are

²³ Under another court order, Local 28 was directed to admit an additional 35 applicants. Two WDL applicants were among the next 35 but, since both of them dropped out, all of the additional 35 were white.

invited to attend mock interviews with the Western Electric Volunteers serving as make-believe members of the joint apprenticeship committee.

The WDL's experience in recruiting for the Plumbers Local 1 examination, given in July 1966, is also revealing. Local 1 had notified the WDL on April 1, 1966, that it would accept applications until May 31, 1966, for its examination. The union stated that it would allow Murphy and Green to be cosponsors for all applicants to the union from their office. Immediately, the WDL set out through all of its channels to locate interested applicants. Ultimately, 51 Negroes and Puerto Ricans were interviewed and pre-tested by WDL. The city's academic schools, rather than the city's vocational schools, proved by far to be the more fruitful source of applicants. The WDL's experience supports the common assertion that vocational school youths are poorly educated.

Yet, lest one should conclude that the WDL's efforts never fail, its experiences with the 1966 class of apprentices for Plumbers Local 1 should be reviewed. Giving an admission test for the first time in two years, the union announced that a class of twenty apprentices would be formed. The WDL had fourteen applicants file through its offices to take the examination. Ultimately, only three WDL recruits took the test in July 1966. The Local announced that one of the criteria to be used for qualification to take the written examination was a 75 percent average in the senior year of high school. Since none of the eight WDL recruits who had originally intended to take the test had such averages, the WDL appealed unsuccessfully to the union that the average of 75 percent was arbitrary and that in a competitive examination prior grades take care of themselves. The union replied that the requirement had been approved by the state and refused to allow the recruits to take the test. The WDL then enlisted the support of the United Federation of Teachers who were able to have grades changed for three of the applicants so that they would have a 75 percent average. The three took the written test and placed No. 3, No. 4, and No. 19 out of a total of fifty people taking the exam. However, Local 1 refused to appoint them to the class because: 1) they did not score in the 30th percentile in each of the five sections of the test, and 2) the union claimed it didn't receive official notification that the three applicants' records had been changed. The WDL replied that the first requirement was arbitrary and that the over-all ranking should be the determining factor and, as for the second contention, the WDL reported it had written each high school principal involved asking that such appropriate notification be given.²⁴ None

²⁴The data contained in this paragraph is drawn from the testimony of the WDL before the City Commission on Human Rights on September 26, 1966 (mimeographed material) and subsequent discussion with WDL officials.

theless, the three Negro applicants were denied admission.

In addition to work with the recruitment and the preparation of applicants, WDL has done a limited amount of research into the background of the whites who successfully enter into these programs. One of their most detailed studies was of the spring 1965 Sheet Metal Workers apprentice class. The background of the 65 entrants who were accepted into the class were reviewed. With respect to high school diplomas, the following results were gathered:

<u>Type of Diploma Received</u>	<u>Number of Recipients</u>
Academic	21
General	21
Commercial	7
Vocational	4
No Diploma	4
High School Equivalency	2
Mechanical	1
Other	1
Technical	4

Of the ten who scored highest on the examination, eight had academic diplomas, one had a technical diploma, and one had a general diploma. Moreover, 25 of the 64 white entrants had spent between one semester and five semesters in college. In other words, the obvious conclusion was that the recruits gathered by the WDL were in competition with many students who had received academic preparations in high school and, in many cases, in college.²⁵

Similar research should be undertaken by other groups who are interested in the placement of minority youth into apprenticeship classes. Such studies, it would seem, are prerequisites of successful preparatory programs. The WDL, recognizing the scope of the competition, continued to require a high school diploma for most of its recruits, even though the sheet metal workers' standards required applicants to have only a tenth grade education. Similarly, for a class formed during the summer of 1966 by Ironworkers Local 40 (which had not had a class in two years), the union accepted applications from anyone with at least two years of high school, but the WDL staff has held to its requirement of a high school diploma before assisting an applicant. In

²⁵The data contained in this paragraph are derived from materials supplied by the Workers Defense League.

view of a 1966 study by the U. S. Office of Education, which found non-whites in Northeastern cities to be, on the average, over three years behind whites graduating from high school at the same time, the WDL's requirements seem well founded. In order to implement its informational programs, the WDL distributes a periodic apprenticeship bulletin and newsletter to agencies and individuals concerned with apprenticeship, (as well as to applicants for apprentice) programs.

In passing, it should be noted that the WDL became a part of the Randolph Institute in January 1967. Shortly afterward it received a \$277,000 grant from the U. S. Department of Labor and another grant of \$44,000 from the Ford Foundation to finance its continued efforts in New York City and to establish similar undertakings in Westchester County (N. Y.), and in Buffalo.

CONCLUSIONS

New York has had some of the most chronic cases of municipal problems. In the past, the apprenticeship question has been more volatile here than elsewhere. Yet, as is also typical of events in this unpredictable city, the remedial developments have been far more extensive and unusual than in any of our other study cities.

Significantly, however, although the issue has been in the public spotlight and frequently has involved public agencies, the greatest strides toward resolution have come from private activities. The Workers Defense League has no legal status. Its role has been to accomplish the task of promoting apprenticeship in general, of dispensing detailed information about specific programs, of recruiting individuals interested in applying, of tutoring applicants to pass the written examination, and of conducting follow-up research studies of the experiences of the successful white and nonwhite entrants into the programs in order to improve their procedures for the future. We are persuaded that such comprehensive efforts are required to produce meaningful progress in the construction trades.

However, before all the accolades are given to private initiative, it is important to recall the events giving rise to their establishment. Had it not been for the prodding of the state and city human relations commissions, and the 1963 demonstrations, it is questionable that such a program would have been instigated in its present form. The demonstrations served to focus public attention on this problem; the public reports acted to document the pattern of exclusion; and the

legal proceedings worked to eliminate some of the past inequities. In other words, the activities of the public bodies have been to set the stage whereby private, long-term programs can be established on the principle of equal opportunity. The public agencies, with the lone exception of the CCHR's efforts in the plumbers' case, have stayed out of the vital recruitment area. In most other cities where any progress has been made in this area, the public agencies have been in the vanguard of recruiting activities. When these public agencies enter into the labyrinth of apprenticeship, they are forced to consider the issue as but one of the many social problems they are called upon to resolve. Accordingly, their activities are typically short-run and designed to meet an immediate need. In most cases, city human relations agencies lack the staff and the facilities to perform all of the needed tasks to accomplish meaningful long run results. New York, therefore, is fortunate to have the establishment of such an organization as the WDL which can provide the specialized expertise needed to understand apprenticeship and the continuing relationship required to maintain channels of communication between the community as a source of supply of applicants and the JAC's as a source of demand for apprentices.

The WDL approach also has another unique advantage over public agencies. The WDL has no punitive measures at hand to threaten recalcitrant unions. It cannot convene public hearings, revoke contracts, shut down projects, or require headcounts. Its success is premised upon the existence of a climate of mutual respect for all parties concerned. While the WDL operation can benefit by the removal of artificial obstacles to Negro entry into the trades by the public agencies, it cannot be associated with the direct use of punitive powers by these public authorities.

The historic actions by IBEW Local 3 demonstrate the significant difference that an attitude conducive to change can have upon opening doors hitherto barricaded to minority members. The actions of Local 3 resulted in more Negroes gaining access to apprenticeship training in one year than the WDL (as successful as it has been) has achieved in over three and one-half years. Nowhere has any other private group, government agency, civil rights crusade, or equal employment opportunity mandate, either individually or in consort, been able even to approach this feat. While the local's motive may not have been affected entirely by social considerations, there is no doubt that its amenable attitude made Negro participation in the electrical industry in New York more than simply a token occurrence. Its actions seem to show that the private sector can itself do more (if it is inclined to do so) to alleviate the problem on its own than it can ever be forced to do by legal procedures.

Thus, experiences in New York City represent a ray of light in an otherwise foggy area of national concern. Each city has its unique characteristics and personalities, but in no other city have the divergent forces worked together so successfully as here. While the experiences of no single city can be transferred in their entirety to another, differing locality, there still remains much that can be learned from the New York experiences by all parties to this issue in every sector of the nation.

PUBLIC EDUCATION'S ROLE FOR MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT

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No single approach can or should be proposed as the only proper one in pursuit of the social justice that is the nation's most important goal today. This applies to programs of education and manpower development, as well as to sit-ins and voter drives. Nevertheless, the progress of civil rights has created a great mandate for follow-through on the part of both public and private institutions that will turn the rights already won and the opportunities already opened into reality for large numbers who do not yet enjoy them. The purpose of this paper is to examine the present role and relationship of education and manpower development in that follow-through, to propose ways in which they could function more effectively, and to make some concrete proposals for immediate action.

Because of the profound sensitivities and misconceptions that surround this entire subject, it seems wise to state at the outset some propositions which are taken for granted in the course of this paper. One is that social action of many kinds will have to continue on many fronts for a long time before the civil rights battle is won for all Americans. This is no brief for gradualism against militancy or, for that matter, any particular civil rights strategy over another.

Second, is that the most immediate and pressing need of Negroes and other disadvantaged groups, particularly in the urban ghettos, is for substantive participation in the economic life of the community and nation. And, while this necessarily means jobs, it also means open-ended access to advancement and responsibility, not merely employment which trades one kind of subservience or dependence for another.

Third is that to generalize about the intellectual needs or capacities of children in the ghetto is neither constructive nor fair. Many of them are equal or exceed the capacity for excellence of children of the white middle-class suburbs; therefore, to design expedient or second-class educational programs which ignore the drive toward higher education among them is both wasteful and wrong.

In short, anyone who reads this paper as a panacea for civil rights, a prescription for all minority youth, or a proposal to make all young Negroes technicians, will miss the point. I am concerned mainly with those whose needs are not now being met. In the course of the discussion, I will propose a program which can provide a greater, not a lesser, number of options and alternatives--both in terms of occupation and higher education--than are now available to all children who suffer environmental disadvantage.

This paper is not a condemnation of public education in general or vocational education in particular. Their shortcomings and failures in meeting the urgent social needs of the times should not warp our perspective or dull our appreciation of what the public schools have done to foster unity and equality in this nation, and what they are capable of doing in the future. Few are more aware than educators themselves that the system serving the minority child, especially in the South and in urban areas of the North, has failed in its trust. But many professional educators are among the most ardent advocates of reform, and school officials are the ones whose lobbying has brought unprecedented federal assistance and national attention to public education in the past. They have the capacity to do the same and more in the future.

Yet, American education is in trouble today in the large city school systems, and we are already beginning to hear the distant drums of discord in suburbia. Each year approximately two and a half million students are graduated from American high schools. Of these, 53 percent continue their education at institutions of higher learning; of course, not all graduate. The remaining 47 percent, some 1,175,000 young men and women, terminate their formal education with high school graduation. Add to this the approximately 900,000 who drop out each year before completing high school, and one finds a yearly total of over two million students who terminate their education at the 12th grade level, or earlier. About 400,000 of these students have some marketable vocational training in high school. The remaining 1.5 million enter the labor market with no real skills, and, as we know, the existing market offers few opportunities for these unskilled workers. In the meantime, we are deluged by an avalanche of materials, statistics, publications, speeches, and meetings devoted to the problems of manpower development and our public schools. The issue being studied today is urban education.

This all adds up to the fact that the public schools want to provide programs to serve all individuals; the public schools want to be student oriented. The fact that the urban schools recognize the need for reorganization is well documented.

American public education, particularly the vocational system, has been severely criticized of late for not providing successful educational and manpower development programs in our nation's urban ghettos, but the mission to educate and train ghetto youth was never given to vocational education. Moreover, the vocational educator could not volunteer for the mission unless he had some voice in the early education of the child--something which has been understood only recently.

Very little attention had been given to our nation's separate vocational system until late in 1963. Most projects initiated since the early 1950's to improve public education were reactions to the Soviet Union's dramatic scientific achievement. They were far removed from the vocational processes or the ghetto child. We now have new math, modern physics, programmed instruction, computer-assisted teaching, instructional television, teaching teams, teaching machines, teacher aids, nongraded classes, and behavioral objectives. These new inputs have proven more effective than the old methodologies, but this is not the point. The issue is that each has been developed within individual disciplines, none particularly relevant to the others or, more to the point, relevant to the mission of vocational education, which has been principally to train people for jobs identified by area surveys and not for continuing education. Also, each innovation in education has tended only to replace an old process in its specific role, replacing, in effect, one orthodoxy with another, so that school improvement programs have been less than optimal. Each in fact has shown that the system itself is out of date, out of touch, and out of balance.

School officials are aware of the many potentially talented young people who are unable to unlock their capacities in outdated, conventional programs. They are ready to initiate carefully formulated educational and training plans that consider the economically and verbally disadvantaged, the talented and the average, the visually acute and the mechanically adept. They are also ready to respond to those adults not able to enter the conventional, formal patterns of institutionalized learning. The resources, however, to develop such programs have been placed elsewhere: Head Start has been part of the poverty program; vocational education does not articulate with elementary and secondary education, nor with union apprenticeship programs; manpower development programs have been a labor department responsibility; and most other poverty programs have been outside the school systems.

This proliferation demonstrates a will to respond. But the barrage is only bracketing the target. The division of responsibility, in the

apparent belief that these separate fiefs can operate effectively through some kind of voluntary coordination or referral system, is one of the most serious liabilities which the nation faces in mounting a workable follow-through to social action on the education and employment fronts. Most questionable of all is the apparent notion that it is possible to separate education and occupational skill development to any good effect.

An educational and community program on manpower development should be founded on a clear understanding of the proper role of each. The community responsibilities lie in fiscal and manpower policies, employment practices, and bettering conditions under which people live, learn, and work. Economic opportunity really means such resources as small business loans, shopping centers, Negro-white savings and loan associations, banks, insurance companies, and other financial institutions serving the nonwhite population. The Labor Department's program in manpower development really means advancement programs for *employed* people.

The educational and training responsibilities lie with our nation's public school system

My thesis is: An effective educational manpower development program cannot be a piecemeal, multi-administered referral mission with partial responsibilities given to a number of agencies, each with well-meant but arbitrary functions, dependent on each other but based on diverse and often short-term objectives. The recently published unemployment rate of males in urban ghettos underlines the urgency of a systematic approach which wipes out, instead of perpetuating, the artificial barriers between the vocational process and general education, manpower development programs and adult education, and the artificial prerequisites of higher education programs and on-the-job training.

If there were a single system of education and training, the public schools could provide a program of education which would go beyond the usual verbal, single path of classroom instruction which now is required of the total student population. Alternate pathways could be opened through which any desired terminal objective at each level and stage of learning could be attained. As the situation now stands, elementary schools do not have the simulation and activity value of the vocational system; vocational education has no voice in how earlier schooling shapes its intake; adult community action and literacy programs are given in a vacuum; community manpower programs are remedial, compensatory, at best, and hopefully, tied to employment;

each new innovation in public school education becomes a single additive program without the potency to change the system itself.

Because of the fragmented approaches which divorce the problems of education and employment, it has never been possible for scholars and theorists to take a comprehensive approach to resolving such questions as: At what grade levels should learning experience relating to the work world be introduced? How can vocational and standard academic curriculums be coupled? How can vocational and industrial courses best be designed and made part of the mainstream? How should technical institutes fit into the scheme in regard to relations with secondary schools, junior colleges, and universities?

The division of responsibility aggravates the problems concerning the training of teachers. What requirements need they meet in both academic work and industrial experience? What institutions could best educate them? What arrangements would be necessary to minimize the obsolescence of skills? And most important, how do we raise the low esteem in which people hold vocational education in comparison to nonrelevant academic instruction?

We know much more about learning than we did sixty years ago. Experimental programs show that the educational system must have precisely stipulated objectives and clearly defined diagnoses of learning styles. For a great number of children, the curriculum should be experientially based. The major effort to develop programs for children now having trouble should be based on learning by doing.

Few intelligent educators would assume that the native learning capability of ghetto children is any different from that of children of a more serene environment. Nevertheless, for many, learning is "doing." Education in the ghetto is experience; it is not the reciting of words. For these, opportunities must be provided to awaken interest--in doing, making, and creating. These activities, if properly teamed with relevant language arts will provide an opportunity for the child to learn. Frustrate him, make him sit and recite words unrelated to the values in his experience, and he is lost to education. Of course, what is applicable to children in the ghetto is certainly sound for suburban children as well. But to have meaning, compensatory efforts should be in activities denied children because of their environment, not because of prior assumptions about how learning should proceed.

It cannot be too greatly emphasized that when some children come to class their minds do not represent a clean slate in reference to the subject matter to be studied. Many of them have already established

definite opinions, and fixed biases and beliefs. They may be conscious of their abilities, or they may not. They will differ greatly in degree of interest and willingness, and in the opportunities they have to study outside of the class. Their self-concept must be examined carefully. Individuals who have been denied the environmental base of general education usually are unconscious of what it might be like or worth to them and, hence, make little effort to acquire it. Programs leading to future higher education must, therefore, enlarge and broaden pupil objectives and self-awareness, not only with regard to specific subjects, but also with regard to the entire world of knowledge.

Above all, the learner must see benefit, usefulness, and advantage to himself in the subject matter itself and in his ability to achieve in it. If the subject matter is cultural, he must experience immediate satisfaction while in the classroom. He wants the subject matter in action, functioning as part of real life whenever possible. He wants to see things in their natural settings. To meet this requirement, teachers must select methods which permit concrete and practical presentation of subject matter. Demonstrations, illustrations, visual aids, dramatizations, and the extensive use of projects and problem solving would aid in meeting these needs.

For many ghetto children, the great failure of education is its reluctance to let him work out matters for himself, through activity and participation. Most will not want to be helped with verbal stimuli unless they really need such help.

Next to engaging the student's interest in education and giving him ways to learn and perform that suit his unique capacities, the key to a relevant educational-manpower development program is to match the inventory and potential of the individual with any vocational interest goal and provide the means for pursuing it that does not foreclose other goals which may emerge as the student develops.

The educational system itself must be able to obtain the maximum utilization of faculty skills and continually to improve the learning rate of students. This can more readily take place when an opportunity is given for each student to realize his abilities at his optimum individual pace, and this can take place only in an educational system which has continuous control over the content and alternatives in curriculum. Many of the resources for reaching these goals are found outside the mainstream of education. The partial objectives outlined above would be attained if the public schools were not restricted to a single technique--such as the classroom lecture--but were able to use a combination of media and processes. But this would require teaching teams

with multi-discipline backgrounds, technical personnel from the vocational system, teaching machines and sequenced material, video tapes and technical laboratories, community motivation programs, on-the-job training stations, and continuous daily guidance and counseling services. Since the aim of an urban school program is greater productivity *and* higher standards of quality, additional resources, such as computers for rapid data acquisition and analysis, would be required.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 did require that, "all persons will have ready access to vocational training... of high quality... realistic... and suited to their needs, interests and ability to benefit...," but funds and authority to meet this new mission were not provided. As before, funds are available to provide aid at the secondary level--specialized, separate skill centers, area vocational schools, and community college programs leading to employment.

The first logical step toward a relevant system requires additional resources for vocational education by tying in programs supported under PL 88-210 with the Elementary and Secondary Education legislation. This year marks the golden anniversary of our nation's first vocational education act. Beginning with an annual appropriation of \$7.2 million, over the fifty-year period almost two billion dollars has been made available to the state governments for vocational and technical training. Congressional appropriations remain the same this year under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 (\$7.2 million) and the George Barden Act of 1964 (\$50 million). An additional \$38.5 million was provided for 1967 operations under the Vocational Act of 1963, bringing allocations under this section to \$198.2 million. Allotments under this program are as small as \$1,400 and as large as \$14 million, since the states and territories are required to match federal monies, dollar for dollar.

Setting aside the current in-house industrial arts vocational controversy, there are seven divisions of vocational education supported with federal funds: agriculture, distributive education, health, home economics, office, technical, and trades. In addition, there are classes for persons with special needs administered under the federal program for Vocational Rehabilitation. Alongside this system, there are federal programs dealing with manpower training. The Economic Opportunity Act includes the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, College Work-Study Programs, Adult Education and Work Experience. The Manpower Development and Training Act includes research and training programs. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act includes special assistance for schools serving children from low-income ghettos, their library resources, and their textbook supplementary educational centers. The Public Works and Economic Development

Act also provides funds directly related to raising low incomes through improved education and training.

The 89th Congress alone passed 17 new educational programs, 15 new economic development programs, 12 new programs for the cities, and 4 new manpower training programs. The federal government is currently investing great sums of money for improved education, manpower, and training programs. There are now over 150 different federal aid programs financed by over 300 separate appropriations, and administered by 21 federal departments and agencies.

But the educational problems of the ghetto are so complex, the needs so severe, that we no longer dare allow these programs to work alone and unco-ordinated, except for a weak referral system. The dedication that administrators of each program bring to their tasks is not enough to satisfy the need for a coherent system. Of equal importance in meeting the special problems of youth and adults who must rely primarily on the public schools for economic and social escalation is the opportunity, now before us, to modernize the entire national education structure.

Cut of a total school enrollment of approximately 51 million students from kindergarten through college, only about five million are enrolled in some form of vocational education. This low figure can be attributed to many factors, some of which are being partially alleviated by the Vocational Education Act of 1963. Of the five million, about 14 percent are in agriculturally related fields; 30 percent, in home economics; 7.5 percent, in distributive trades, 4 percent, in health programs; 14.5 percent, in office work; 5 percent, in technical education less than college level; and 25% percent, in trades and industry programs. About 44 percent of the programs are in secondary schools; 6 percent, in post-secondary programs less than college level; 41.8 percent, in adult programs; and 7.8 percent, in vocational rehabilitation.

Students being served by the vocational system are being served well. Although only about one-half of them are employed in the trades for which they were trained, the number of *unemployed* graduates of these programs is very small. The failure of vocational education to serve larger numbers is directly related to the fact that the vocational system has no voice in the preparation of students for its programs. Many who could be served are either lost to education before they reach the vocational system, or reach it inadequately prepared because general educators neither understand its processes nor recognize their responsibility to help individuals progress toward vocational competence.

Hundreds of thousands of youngsters should be deliberately prepared in prevocational programs for such post-secondary opportunities as hotel and restaurant management, visual communications, industrial and engineering technologies, landscape architecture and ornamental horticulture, health and medical technologies, police and fire service, and dozens of emerging fields far beyond the current scope of vocational offerings. That vocational education has not been given this mission is obvious from the predominance in secondary level vocational programs of courses in machine shop, carpentry, printing, cabinetmaking, and building trades. Today only 40 percent of our work force is in production jobs, and, thankfully, this drudgery can now be done better by machines than human labor.

Occupational education has been isolated at a specific time and place in the continuum of education while at the same time general education has been isolated from the relevance that vocational education might bring it. To assume that the vocational educator is not concerned with the affective needs of children or the liberating qualities inherent in programs of literature, music, and the fine arts is nonsense. It is probably the vocational educator who understands best the notion that work can no longer be considered merely a contribution of labor to production, but more a psychological basis for the individual's sense of place in our world.

Public education should insist that vocational education become a part of each level of education, either to prepare for further education or to provide a greater number of terminal skills. We can no longer tolerate an educational system, particularly in our urban ghettos, that in large part ignores the work-world, where occupational studies are provided only the rejects of the general system and where vocational students do not receive relevant academic instruction. A nation that is talking seriously about a guaranteed annual income and a negative income tax must also be awakened to the new concepts of education and work. A serious attack against the educational and environmental problems facing ghetto youth will not materialize until public school officials insist on being given the mission to develop manpower, are willing to embrace the vocational system and relate it to general educational programs in elementary, middle school and high school, and to grapple with the real issues of alternative options. Until, in short, the same energies are released as were when the major issue of education was the physical sciences and not the education and training of ghetto youths.

Proposals have been made in recent years to eliminate vocational education in high schools--essentially, to defer vocational education to

post-high school skill centers, junior colleges, and technical institutes. Few would argue that occupational decisions should not be forced on students too early. But this drum is beaten so often, simply because vocational education, as now organized, often does not give a student a good basis for making occupational choices or for pursuing further education.

Comprehensive high schools have been advocated as a way of ending the separation of academic and vocational tracks. But few who advocate comprehensive education for all students recognize that separation is not the cause of inadequate emphasis on the main skills of reading, writing, mathematics, and the physical sciences. The cause is poor preparation in the elementary schools, and poor teaching and curriculum--insufficient alternatives and options--in the secondary schools. The proof of this is that many children who have never seen a vocational school are better prepared for work than some vocational school graduates, and, more importantly, very few union apprentice programs really care about the difference. On the other hand, the tendency of large school systems to transfer problem children to vocational schools means that vocational education gets more than its share of inadequately prepared students and need not apologize to anyone. The real criticism that could be leveled against vocational education is that it has not insisted on more involvement in earlier elementary and secondary preparation. As a matter of fact, one might well argue that students would learn more general education, such as social studies from the processes and programs of vocational education than is now taught in many academic schools.

Comprehensive education, if it is to be truly comprehensive, must be a continuous process from elementary through post-secondary school. The typical American comprehensive high school is best described as three separate high schools under one principal with little, but negative, interaction among the students in the various tracks. Comprehensive should not mean a great *variety* of *different* courses with separate goals. It should provide a greater number of *alternative* ways for children to achieve the same goals. A truly comprehensive school would be one that combines the best learning processes, based on individual programming, of an academic high school and a vocational high school for the entire student body. Nor does merely housing students together guarantee an understanding of human styles and talents, or foster more "democratic" attitudes.

There are questions to be asked in considering a properly comprehensive system. Why must a classroom period last forty-five minutes, or any other standard length of time? Why must schools be open only

A chief complaint of the classroom teacher is that the student lacks motivation. Another way to put this might be that for some students the education program has no purpose. Education without purpose, however good, is a mockery to the community. The economic well-being of the community depends upon the ability of its residents to be effective wage earners, and today this means education. Whatever the cost, it will be less than a lifetime of welfare.

The fact that there are so few good new ideas in vocational education, particularly as it relates to ghetto youth, is partially attributable to the dearth of good institutions or educational centers to serve vocational educators. Educational centers concerned with general education and even the few which focus on the vocational system are often too inbred to be objective, or else they putter away at the fringe of minor problems. Both the federal government and the Ford Foundation have learned over the past few years the difficulty of finding a resource institution to back-stop experiments in the field. It is doubtful that lasting or significant progress can be made from experimental programs unless new institutions are created, or existing institutions take on new responsibilities, to merge the processes in vocational and general education.

But action does not have to stand still while institutions are built or recast. Some of the things we are learning in vocational and industrial arts education can be applied in elementary education, not to serve vocational purposes necessarily, but to serve pupils generally. They include techniques to stimulate learning in science, mathematics, and the language arts which are particularly appropriate for students who are not verbally gifted and who, therefore, tend to fall behind. This fact makes these techniques also potent in dealing with the continuing problem of school integration. One of the major purposes of our nation's drive for school integration is for school children of different cultural backgrounds to interact. Yet, in the current structure of public elementary schools, too few opportunities are afforded for such interaction to take place, and too little attention has been given the positive value of such interaction to parents of the more advantaged pupil.

One proposal, then, which might deal with a number of such problems, is to borrow the idea of the area vocational school and the educational supplementary centers under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and to merge them to establish a technical and science laboratory center to service a number of feeder elementary and middle schools. Such a center could provide a laboratory setting in which students would be given opportunities to undertake experiments and projects in laboratories and shops which would reinforce academic instruction at the feeder school. The center could also pro-

vide a program for teachers with both vocational and general backgrounds to work as a team to provide a number of specialized experiences in which the more abstract content of academic instruction would have greater relevance. The center could also provide enriched elementary school science experiences -- usually not available in a limited neighborhood elementary school. Such a resource center could also provide vocational guidance and occupational information and relate student performance to occupational options each semester.

Another immediate undertaking could be to introduce a wide variety of exploratory occupational education programs in the junior high schools. Such programs might well be developed in lieu of more limited current industrial arts and home economics subjects which are offered to most children in junior high school.

Within existing, separate, area vocational schools we could introduce a core of skills which are related to a cluster of occupations rather than to one specialized occupation. A strong case can be made for this notion, since apprenticeship programs should be available in many trades to provide immediate specific job skills.

Another immediate recommendation--but one fraught with controversy--is to establish a new type of residential urban institution, to be a forerunner of the single educational program implicit in this paper. The notion of residential vocational schools is not new. But an urban center in the inner-city could serve valuable ends, even at the risk of criticism for providing segregated education. The needs of some ghetto children and adults for services beyond the classroom are as great as their need for relevant classroom instruction. Inner-city children need, just as do their counterparts in the suburbs, quiet places for study, recreational activities, opportunities to develop various peer-group relations, places to store personal belongings, to eat, and, in a good number of instances, better housing. With the proper community involvement, parents' co-operation, and Office of Economic Opportunity support it might be possible in the heart of urban centers to enroll children as young as thirteen years of age in a residential school through the fourteenth year of schooling. Also, in keeping with the original theme of this paper, such an institution could provide other educational training and related services for adult residents of the city.

Another immediate possibility would be to place U. S. Employment Service Placement officers in existing comprehensive high schools, vocational schools, technical institutes, and community colleges, so that the public schools take on the serious role of job placement rather

than job referral. A newly trained employment counselor with the proper background in educational processes and employment services might do much to resolve current debate about the notion of extending work experience as part of secondary school programs. This is a good notion if the work being done outside the school is with supervision and classroom correlation. But the only useful work experience is on a "co-operative" or "diversified occupations" basis where both supervision and correlated teaching are present. The employment "co-ordinator" in the school should have the responsibility of interrelating the experiences and encouraging youngsters who take part in the programs to continue the co-operative nature of their work and study beyond the high school.

My plea throughout this paper has been to shift the notion of vocational education from serving industry to serving children. This would mean that all pre-employment or precollege programs be the responsibility of public education. Job escalation programs for continued growth and advancement would then depend on two approaches. On the one hand, cooperative education programs would provide a vehicle for advancement after employment. On the other hand, registered apprenticeship programs for trade union opportunities would become the total responsibility of the Department of Labor rather than public education. But this means to recognize officially that specific trade education is a joint industry-labor responsibility based on apprenticeship, and not on education's misguided notions of trade school education based on hopeful entry into the job market or an excuse not to improve educational processes. Those secondary-school graduates unable to enter the trade unions would then be able, and well prepared, for post-secondary occupation education in technologies and middle-management opportunities for salaried positions in some of the fields I mentioned earlier.

To sum up, this paper has been a plea for public education to be given the responsibility for education and manpower development. Programs in education and manpower training will flourish as long as it is agreed that the distinct purpose of education for some children is economic and social escalation. We need to redefine education and set aside the well-meant, but invalid, cliches about the differences between vocational education and learning. And, probably, the most important ingredient before any school improvement is possible will be a renewal of confidence between the new leaders in civil action and the public schools. Public education is still the greatest hope in this nation, and the vocational educator particularly is eager to accept the mission, along with his academic counterpart in urban education.

DISCUSSION

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These two papers address themselves to areas of concern important to all of us--our right to work and our right to have access to the kinds of education and training which will prepare us for work. After careful reflection, it appears that each paper concludes that we are still very effectively excluding racial minorities from full or even reasonable participation in these two basic rights. I do not think it pays to spend limited time and resources on fixing the blame or on finding the culprits. If fingers have to be pointed, I daresay very few of us would escape some share of the responsibility.

I agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Feldman's position that "The education and training responsibilities lie with our nation's public school system."¹ He stated this position even more strongly in an earlier paper entitled "Making Education Relevant." He said, and slightly more poetically, "Some other culprits might be denounced--failure of the apprenticeship system because of high cost to industry, obsolete content, and restrictive union practices--but the primary responsibility for insuring that young people are prepared to function productively in adult life lies with the educational system, from kindergarten through college."²

We are agreed that education and training are primarily the schools' responsibility. The issue is rather will they accept it? We agree that they have not done so in the past, at least with respect to racial minorities, although many of us could make a case that the failure extends to other significant groups.

I do not regard it as important to reach a consensus as to who is to blame for this failure; the more important issue is how do we go about setting things right. No one can really escape either the responsibility

¹Marvin J. Feldman, "Public Education's Role for Manpower Development" presented at "The Education and Training of Racial Minorities" conference.

²Marvin J. Feldman, "Making Education Relevant," adapted from a paper prepared for the Governor's Conference on Education, State of New Jersey, Rutgers University, April 2, 1966.

for what now exists, neither can any of us, nor our children, escape the "fallout" from the explosive situation now in being throughout our educational system and, as a result, throughout the nation. Melvin Tumin, professor of sociology and anthropology at Princeton University, has assessed the current educational situation as follows:

"... it is crystal clear that Gresham's Laws apply to school systems as well as to money, namely, that bad school systems will drive out good schools and bad citizens will drive out good ones. There is entirely too much interdependence, if not immediately at the level of school systems, then soon enough at the level of national institutions, into which the diverse school systems pour their diverse proportions--to relax in the mistaken belief that the momentary respite from the pressure of urban problems is anything more than momentary respite."³

The respite to which Professor Tumin refers is the comfort some may take in the belief that their particular schools, suburban for the most part, have achieved safety and security from what he terms "the incursion of the urban, barbarian hordes."

In assessing Mr. Feldman's "plea for public education to be given the responsibility for education and manpower development," we have to keep in mind some very startling statistics. In a splendid report, which will no doubt, not be read by many since it is buried in a typically dull and dry appearing government publication, we find the following data: "Sixty-five percent of all first grade Negro pupils surveyed attend schools that have an enrollment of 90 percent or more Negro, while almost 80 percent of all first grade white students surveyed attend schools that are 90 percent or more white. A substantially greater proportion of Negro students attend schools that are 50 percent or more Negro... 87 percent of all Negro first graders... -- 72 percent in the urban North; 97 percent in the urban South."⁴

This report points out that 12 years after the Supreme Court's deci-

³Melvin Tumin, "Teaching in America," paper delivered at Fifth Annual Conference, National Committee for Support of the Public Schools, Washington, D. C., April 3, 1967, p. 2.

⁴"Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," a report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1967. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967) p. 2. Note that the writer limits the adjective "dull" to the report's *appearance only*.

sion concerning the meaning of equality in public education, we find:

"... when measured by that yardstick (segregation), American public education remains largely unequal in most regions of the country, including all those where Negroes form any significant proportion of the population. "

"... the great majority of American children attend schools that are largely segregated--that is, almost all of their fellow students are of the same racial background as they are. "⁵

It seems highly unlikely that more time or more federal funds or even, as Mr. Feldman seems to suggest, a redefinition of who is responsible for education and training of youngsters will materially change this kind of pervasive situation. It is a massive problem and only massive steps will make any changes. I personally tend to favor the kinds of solutions envisioned by Professor Kenneth B. Clark, when he asserts that big city schools have fallen into such a disastrous state that it is time for the federal government to start a competing system of quality, regional schools.

Professor Clark is reported to have declared:

"The present predicament of urban public education can best be described as a sort of educational disaster area, a disaster which was not abrupt or sudden but which reflects a long period of erosion and loss of standards. 'Tinkering' and 'demonstration projects' won't do... what is needed is a total reorganization of school systems. "⁶

I realize that this is pretty strong medicine for just about every vested interest group in the country, but the situation calls for the consideration of some pretty potent remedies.

It is not unlike Walter Lippman's recent article reporting on the current sorry situation in American television. He agrees with Fred Friendly and others when they recommend giving up trying to reform commercial television and recommends, instead, the establishment alongside of it, and in direct competition for public approval, of "at

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶ Gerald Grant, "Educator Says U. S. Should Start Schools to Challenge Local Systems, *The Washington Post*, April 5, 1967.

least one public network which will serve the unhappy and neglected minority who are now ignored by the commercial companies."⁷

In evaluating the total public school situation, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights makes some pretty strong recommendations also. The Commission does not recommend a competing Federal School System, *per se*, but rather the establishment of a uniform standard providing for the elimination of racial isolation in the schools, vesting in each of the 50 states responsibility for meeting the standard, with maximum flexibility to devise appropriate remedies, and with financial and technical assistance to the states in planning such remedies.⁸

Mr. Marshall and Mr. Briggs' paper raises some very disturbing questions. They point out in their concluding remarks, "The actions of Local 3 resulted in more Negroes gaining access to apprenticeship training in one year than the WDL (Workers Defense League)... has achieved in over three and one-half years."⁹

And even more disturbingly they conclude, "Nowhere has any other private group, government agency, civil rights crusade, or equal employment mandate, either individually or in consort, been able to even approach this feat."¹⁰ This is the stuff of which desperation is made. How can we argue "patience and fortitude" to "Black Power" advocates and other activist groups when the history of law, government leadership, and responsible civil rights' crusades is so ineffective in producing results. If opening up jobs must depend on the sensitivity or the social conscience of a particular union's leadership or a company's board of directors, what real immediate hope can we offer those now excluded from meaningful and rewarding work?

If private efforts were accomplishing our goals, we would have the answer to opening job and educational and training opportunities to racial minorities. The facts, however, indicate that the IBEW--Local 3, and individual company efforts are piecemeal, and do not reflect an over-all opening up of doors.

⁷Walter Lippman, "It Looks Like a Way Out of the Wasteland," *The Washington Post*, Sunday May 7, 1967, C-5.

⁸"Racial Isolation in the Public Schools," p. 210.

⁹Marshall and Briggs' paper.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

My present job responsibilities in the vast, federal bureaucracy include serving as custodian for, and from time to time, even reading the final reports of research and development studies funded by the Division of Adult and Vocational Research. It has also been my good fortune to participate in meetings such as this, to hear, first hand, research results.

A recurring major theme seems to be developing. Let me list for you the components of that theme.

- (1) We now have sufficient facts about the extent and nature of our national problem relating to the education and training of the so-called disadvantaged--who are, of course, primarily members of racial minorities--upon which to base large action programs.
- (2) We have, through fragmented diversified research, identified many methods to help alleviate the problem and even to help selected groups break the chain of poverty.
- (3) If we continue to act on a fragmented, piecemeal basis, we will be forever in accomplishing what we all say we want--full participation by racial minorities in life's opportunities.

From all this, I conclude that massive programs are now called for; and I am optimistic. Each of us has personally witnessed changes worthy of the adjective "revolutionary" during our immediate lifetimes. After several false starts, we have achieved unemployment insurance, social security, medicare--national solutions to national problems. We can, and we will, do no less in the field of education and job opportunities--find national solutions to a national problem.

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As an experimental psychologist who is interested in the perceptual problem of figure-ground organization, I have found it impossible to resist the temptation to conceptualize the two papers that we have just heard in a kind of psychological metaphor, with Professor Briggs' paper perceived as delineating the ground--the socio-economic climate--within which the figure, a comprehensive academic-vocational educational system described in Mr. Feldman's paper, must be developed.

Briggs begins by giving us a rather grim picture of the status of minority participation in the apprenticeship training programs of the building trades unions in New York City at the beginning of the present decade. He tells us that in the entire state of New York there were only 300 Negroes out of 15,000 apprentices in the year 1960. Then in the three-year span between 1963 and 1966, 993 nonwhites were admitted to apprenticeship training programs in the building trades unions in New York City. These statistics indicate a hopeful beginning, a turn or orientation in the right direction, but they can hardly provide the basis for unlimited rejoicing, especially in view of the fact that 912 of these were admitted during the period 1963-65, and only 81 in the year 1965-66. What is cause for rejoicing is the action of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who accepted 240 Negroes and 60 Puerto Ricans for regular apprenticeship training. This event does represent a major breakthrough for this particular trade, since as Briggs points out, only 79 Negro electrical apprentices existed in the entire country at the time of the 1960 census. The experience with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers probably represents the ideal type of action that could open up apprenticeship training opportunities to minority applicants. Where this type of voluntary action can be reasonably expected to occur, it should be encouraged. One means of doing this would be to publicize the experience of this union. According to the data presented by Briggs, the Carpenters District Council accounted for 630 of the nonwhites accepted for apprenticeship training during the same period. He does not speak, however, of the events that led up to the action taken by this union. It would be very interesting to know what these were, since this union accepted two-thirds of the entire number of nonwhites accepted during this period.

Briggs next gives us an account of the recruitment and referral efforts of the Rodgers Committee in 1963, culminating in the acceptance of 112 out of 682 referrals, with an unknown fraction of these 112 actually reporting for training. The meager results achieved by this committee in the final employment of minority group applicants serve to highlight some of the major problems confronting a recruitment project of this nature. These are: (1) apathy, indifference, or lack of interest on the part of the minority group applicants; (2) lack of adequate academic preparation; and (3) probably mistrust or suspicion on the whole enterprise by many of the minority group applicants.

While the work of the Rodgers Committee was a laudable attempt to rectify old wrongs, it was, at best, an emergency measure made necessary by the historic recalcitrance of the trade unions with respect to the admission of minority group applicants to apprenticeship

training. One should not have to beat the bushes for qualified minority group applicants. But, in a society where the minority group member has learned that he cannot expect to enter certain areas of industrial activity, it should not be any occasion for surprise to discover in the minority population the deficiencies in preparation and motivation that were revealed by this recruitment effort.

Briggs next reports the legal actions taken against the Sheet Metal Workers and the Plumbers Locals. Both of these cases serve to illustrate the difficulties encountered in using the legal approach to overcome trade union intransigence. The chief advantage gained from this approach is the clarification of the rights of applicants and of the limitations on discriminatory practices by unions.

Finally, Briggs has outlined the commendable work of the Workers Defense League which embraced the following activities: (1) the collection and dissemination of information concerning opportunities and requirements of apprentice training programs; (2) the recruitment and screening of applicants; (3) establishment of liaison with the unions; (4) testing and intensive tutoring of minority-group applicants in preparation for union examination; and (5) research into the background of successful entrants into apprenticeship programs.

The work of this organization, to some extent, has filled the voids in information and preparation that exist primarily because of the failure of our institutions of public education to meet their obligations. These two functions of providing information about occupational opportunities and requirements, and of providing suitable preparation to accept such opportunities, could best be exercised within the context of public education. Until educational systems are reoriented and reorganized in terms of vocational emphases and objectives, a crying need for organizations patterned along the lines of the Workers Defense League will continue to exist.

Briggs has presented an informative, but not altogether encouraging account of how a variety of approaches to opening hitherto closed economic segments of our society to members of minority groups have succeeded in our nation's greatest city. These approaches may be designated as (1) the voluntary, (2) the mass recruitment and referral, (3) the legal, and (4) the educational. To these must be added a fifth, the protest demonstration, which was recognized by Briggs as probably having a significant effect upon all of the other approaches.

I am in agreement with Briggs that the first approach, the voluntary,

is the most promising. It might be well to inquire into the psychodynamics leading to the decision on the part of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and, on the part of the Carpenters District Council, to open their apprenticeship training programs to minority group members. Once the motives and the incentives for the voluntary change from discriminatory policies have been identified, it may be possible to generate these motives and incentives successfully in other trade unions.

Briggs' paper suggests to me that a comprehensive action program in any community, designed to gain freedom of access by minorities to trade union apprenticeship programs, could well be organized into four phases that would occur in the following sequence, but which might also overlap or run concomitantly:

- (1) Fact-finding or information-gathering phase: In this stage the policies and requirements of unions would be ascertained. The actual number of minority group members in training or employment would be determined.
- (2) Persuasion or publicity phase: In this stage the agencies of local government, education, civic improvement, etc., would appeal for nondiscriminatory policies within the trade unions. Unions that have abandoned discriminatory policies would be cited. Appeals to the ideals of fair play, equal opportunity in a democratic society, and so forth, would be made. Direct negotiations of a persuasive nature would be undertaken with unions by influential key figures in the community.
- (3) Phase of recruitment, training, and referral: This stage could run concurrently with the second phase, and would be a continuing operation.
- (4) Phase of legal action: Whenever it can be established that qualified minority group members are denied access to apprentice training programs, legal action against offending unions would be taken.
- (5) Phase of protest demonstrations and economic boycotts: This stage would be reserved for action against unions and industries honoring contracts with those unions who cannot be induced to change their discriminatory practices by either persuasive or legal efforts.

The foregoing suggestions represent a greatly oversimplified blueprint for action programs designed to provide a suitable ground, a favorable socio-economic context, upon which the meaningful figure of a relevant vocational educational program, such as that proposed in Feldman's paper, might be developed.

The two major themes running throughout Feldman's paper are (1) that public education needs to be made relevant to the nature and the demands of the economic system in which our boys and girls are going to have to earn a living, and (2) that a comprehensive educational system, combining vocational and academic subject matter and skills at all levels, from elementary to post-high school, would serve the needs of *all* of our children better than the present dual academic and vocational systems. The validity of the first proposition is supported by findings published only a few weeks ago by Professor Jacob Kaufmann of Penn State and Carl Schaefer of Rutgers in their federally financed report, "The Role of the Secondary Schools in the Preparation of Youth for Employment." This survey of vocational education in nine representative areas, in the states of Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, led its authors to make the following evaluation:

"At present, except for office occupations, vocational programs are having little impact on the occupational needs of their communities. Yet, the majority of students enter the labor market upon leaving high school. It is apparent that present programs have not been able to serve the needs of either the students or the communities."

In regard to Feldman's second proposition favoring comprehensive vocational and academic preparation at all levels, the Kaufmann-Schaefer report takes no definite stand but merely observes that no support was found for the claims that the separate vocational school provides better vocational training or that the comprehensive school provides a broader, better-rounded program. Leonard Buder, commenting in *The New York Times* upon the findings of this report, makes the observation that the New York City Board of Education in 1965 committed the city to a system of comprehensive high schools, but that recent signs indicate that the New York board is now having second thoughts, "if not about the ultimate objective of comprehensive education, then about the way to achieve this goal."

It is this aspect of Feldman's paper that is especially noteworthy: he has specified how we might proceed to develop and maintain a comprehensive program that would remain relevant to both the needs of students and the economic demands of the communities.

One procedural imperative that logically derives from Feldman's plea for relevance and purpose in education is that vocational curriculum construction be based upon a thorough survey and analysis of the economic resources, opportunities, and demands of a not too narrowly circumscribed community. This would include descriptions of

agricultural, industrial, commercial, constructional, sales, managerial, professional, semi-skilled, unskilled, and miscellaneous occupational opportunities in the community. Where apprenticeship training is prerequisite to entry in an occupation, the requirements for acceptance into such programs should be ascertained and set forth in detail, and the vocational curriculum should then be designed to prepare students to meet such requirements. The knowledge and skills, both academic and vocational, necessary for entry into a wide variety of occupations would thus provide the content for the comprehensive curriculum. Such a survey of the economic milieu would have to be established upon a continuing basis and conducted at least biennially in order to monitor the vocational content of the comprehensive curriculum and maintain its relevance to a changing economic scene. School boards could get a great deal of this information from existing state and national information gathering agencies.

Another implication for curriculum development suggested by Feldman's paper concerns the use of vocational content in the comprehensive curriculum to achieve academic objectives. The acquisition of communications skills, of quantitative concepts, and of abstract principles can best be facilitated by providing a wealth of concrete operations or experiences with things, materials, tools, and media from which such skills and concepts can be derived. Piaget has shown us that during the stage of intellectual development between 7 and 11 years of age, designated as the stage of concrete operations, a wide range of opportunities for the manipulation of things is necessary to prepare the child for the next stage of formal conceptual operations. Hence, Feldman's plea for the introduction of vocational content at the elementary levels of training is supported by the experimental findings of the foremost developmental psychologist in the world.

When the operations on things performed by children in school are related to realities in the world of work with which the child has been made acquainted through field trips and other contacts, he begins to talk about these experiences, to verbalize and communicate, and to set tentative goals for himself. Feldman emphasizes the multiple options ranging over a broad spectrum of competences that are made available for all children through the introduction of vocational content at all levels of public education.

Educational psychologists have told us that any subject can be taught successfully at any level of intellectual development provided the appropriate media and methods of instruction are used, and in experimental studies they have demonstrated how two-year-olds can be

taught to read and how first graders can be taught calculus. If we can generalize from these studies, we should be able to conclude that first grade is not too soon for a child to *begin* to become acquainted with the economic nature of the world in which he lives, and to make at least exploratory contacts with some of the tools and materials he will be expected to manipulate as a productive citizen of that world. It is surprising that in a society as economically oriented as ours there has been this lack of vocational emphasis at the elementary levels of public education.

Given a carefully organized academic-vocational curriculum based upon the socio-economic needs and demands of the community, the problem of recruitment and training so gallantly attacked by such private organizations as the Worker's Defense League described in Briggs' paper would cease to exist, at least at its present magnitude. The public educational system would *be* the recruitment and training agency, and would continuously feed its product into all levels of occupational demand. As suggested by Feldman, U. S. Employment Service officers assigned to the comprehensive high school would insure the public school an active role in job placement. Thus, public education would acquire a significant influence in determining who was qualified for a variety of opportunities, including apprenticeship training. In the face of certification by a valid training institution and recommended placement by the Employment Service officer, trade unions could hardly maintain discriminatory practices against minorities upon the basis of their alleged failure to qualify.

In order to maintain its relevance to the economic needs of the community and to the needs of the students, the comprehensive school should establish feedback channels from occupations in which its students are placed. Thereby deficiencies in preparation as well as strengths of the training program would be revealed, and corrective measures could be taken.

The development of such a comprehensive educational system will not be accomplished in any community overnight. Area surveys, curriculum reconstruction, and other operations required to implement such a system will take time. Meanwhile, during a period of transition, Feldman suggests immediate steps that might be taken within the present educational framework, all pointing in the direction of a more comprehensive program. These include the immediate establishment of technical and science laboratory centers that could serve to relate the student each semester to occupational opportunities and options, the immediate introduction of a variety of exploratory occupational

programs at the junior high school level, the introduction of training in core vocational skills, and the establishment of residential vocational centers or institutions. Experience with these suggested innovations will provide useful insights into what will be effective in the ultimate comprehensive system.

In summary, may I return to the metaphor with which I began this discussion. Briggs has provided us with many constructive insights as to how suitable ground may be prepared--a social and economic context in which all of our children will have unhampered access to all levels of occupational opportunity, contingent only upon ability and preparation. Upon the nature of this ground will depend the goodness, the Gestalt quality of the figure--a comprehensive academic-vocational system recommended by Feldman. Neither the reconstruction of the ground nor the reconstruction of the figure can wait upon the other. Both are equally imperative and urgent in our struggle to meet both the needs of our children and the needs of a free, open, and truly democratic society.

Section II

Marshall H. Colston, Chairman

STRATEGIES FOR SELF-DEVELOPMENT

ELI GINZBERG
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In this country, we have had an attitude that the position of the Negro, both during and after slavery, has been determined by the white man. That attitude has been reinforced by our conception of history--which is increasingly materialistic--and sees the social and economic environment as determining. A psychological approach to understanding and development tends to reinforce this view because it holds that, by and large, the environment in which young people grow up determines their adult behavior.

The notion that the white man was overwhelmingly responsible for the Negro's plight was an inevitable position for most liberals, since the counter-point position would be that the Negro, because of inherent inferiority or other personal handicaps, was responsible, and that theory did not attract liberals. However, with the civil rights movement, it became increasingly clear that the Negroes were quite effective in changing their position in the United States, by virtue of what they did organizationally and collectively.

I want to stipulate that what will happen to the Negro in the United States will depend, first, on what happens in the country at large--whether it be war, poverty, prosperity, etc.; second, on the attitudes of the white majority towards the Negro; and finally, on the actions and reactions of the Negroes themselves as individuals and as members of a group. Without any doubt whatsoever what happens to society at large is important; and white attitudes towards Negroes are important, but I am going to center my attention on the actions and reactions of the Negroes themselves. I do not argue that the sole or even the primary determinant of the future position of the Negro lies within the Negro himself; I state only that his actions are important.

The next point by way of introduction is that we cannot think of 21 million Negroes as a cohesive, heterogeneous group. We have to make at least four distinctions as to location--rural South, rural non-farm South, urban South, and the rest of the country; we have to make distinctions based on education, employment, and income in terms of at least three groups--poverty, above-poverty, and middle-class; we

have to make distinctions as to family structure; and, we have to make very important distinctions with regard to aspirations and ideologies.

Since the poverty-stricken population in any society has very little scope for self-determination, I will talk about the above-poverty and middle-class Negro groups. For quantitative purposes, this means approximately one third to two fifths of all Negro families in the United States; and, outside the South, this means between two fifths and one half of all Negro families. Therefore I will be talking about a substantial portion, but by no means all, of the Negro population.

I will discuss areas of decision making where what Negroes do, or do not do, has a considerable impact on their future. Let us take the question of location. We have always relied on internal migration as an important method for mobility in this country--mobility both in occupation and income. Since there is no national policy on migration, the individual still must weigh the alternatives of whether and where to move. Each makes an individual decision. Negroes are making an estimate of the South in deciding whether or not to remain there. We have a new book coming out, called *The Middle Class Negro in the White Man's World*, in which the overwhelming majority of middle-class Southern Negroes studied like the South and are going to remain there. They have decided that, on balance, they will be better off in the South. They may be right. There are seven Negro legislators in Georgia; I defy you to find a Northern or Western state that has so many. I asked a distinguished member of the Law faculty at the University of Wisconsin to check my judgment that, with the new Circuit Court of Appeals decision on desegregation of Southern schools, ten years hence the schools in the South will be more desegregated than in the North. He thought that was a valid judgment.

Admittedly, the South continues to lag in employment and income, but the gap has been narrowing. If Negroes continue to leave the South, they must decide whether to come to the big cities--Chicago, New York, or Los Angeles--or to go to cities with much smaller Negro populations, like Minneapolis or still smaller cities. Again, that is an individual decision. To indicate how complex this locational decision is, let us look at Los Angeles. We think about Los Angeles in terms of Watts. In my judgment, however, Los Angeles remains the most satisfactory, single location for upwardly mobile Negroes. To live in Watts is difficult if you are poverty stricken, or if you do not have a husband, but the middle-class Negro who has some skills will do better in Los Angeles than elsewhere.

Let us now take a look at the ghetto, other urban locations, and suburbs. Increasing numbers of Negroes now living in the ghettos have an option to relocate, either to other parts of the city or out into the suburbs. Five or six years ago, a real estate study of ten major Midwestern cities indicated that the only city which really had the Negro locked in a ghetto was Chicago. In each of the other cities, the Negro was able to move out. This is another decision which Negroes have to make, and this decision depends on how much of their income they want to spend for housing, a problem for all people who are moving up the scale. Of course, many Negroes may remain in the ghetto because they are uneasy about separating themselves from other Negroes. They do not want to force their way into a hostile environment. That is not a unique Negro problem; it has been true of immigrant groups for a long time. One has to weigh such matters as whether the husband has to travel farther to work, and whether the wife can get a job in another location. All of these are individual decisions; they have little to do with public policies. Another question in this connection is whether there are ways of protecting one's children from the disadvantages of ghetto life other than moving out to the suburbs and using more money for housing? Perhaps one decides to stay in the ghetto and use the money for private schools or summer camps. There is a whole gamut of decisions that face upwardly mobile people.

Now let us look at education--at pre-school, elementary, secondary, collegiate, and graduate levels. The first question is, how much money and effort should Negro parents expend to obtain pre-school education for their children? My feeling is that this kind of expense should have a low priority. Next, should Negro parents place more emphasis on expenses for private or parochial schools for their children if the ghetto school is inadequate, as it is likely to be; or should they solve their educational problem by paying more for housing and getting out into the suburbs and into desegregated schools? After the youngsters are in school, how can these parents try to increase the interest of their children in their studies? How do parents inform themselves about the school and curricula alternatives that are open to their children? How do they make some contribution to guiding them towards sound educational and occupational goals? This is a ramified, complicated problem which faces both white and Negro parents. Negro parents have a more severe problem, but again, to a considerable extent, it is an individual problem. If a child is only moderately talented, should his parents try to push him into a poor college or should they suggest certain occupational and, therefore, educational alternatives, such as technical education or apprenticeship? This is the kind of problem that all parents have.

If a Negro youngster is college bound, should his parents send him to a segregated college in the South where he will be socially comfortable, or should they urge him to fight his way into an integrated college and take the consequences of some of the difficulties of social adjustment while getting a better education? What are the emotional risks of pushing certain pre-college and college youngsters from minority groups into an alien environment? A lot of youngsters get broken in that attempt, especially if they have fancy scholarships at private schools where they are lost in the midst of a sea of white youngsters.

How do you get able young Negroes to run an educational risk and train themselves for occupations that are just opening up for Negroes when there is no assurance that, even with proper training, they will find good jobs? This is the kind of risk which the individual himself must decide to take. To what extent do Negroes who have gone to weak colleges, and most of the Negro colleges in the South are weak, compound the difficulty by picking out weak graduate schools, or do they try to remedy their weak education and go into stronger professional schools? How can we get members of the Negro community to take advantage of the adult education and training that is being offered throughout the United States today? Those are some of the educational options.

Looking at employment, we see that in the past Negroes have improved their position by working for the government and by entering a few selected professions. That is how a Negro middle class was established. Now you have this question: How can we shift more of the Negro college youngsters away from the civil service jobs and teaching, and into the more rapidly expanding scientific and engineering occupations? Negroes can always be teachers, but teaching is not a preferred occupation these days, especially with desegregation coming in the South. How can we get more Negro youngsters to train for managerial positions, now that more and more corporations are willing and even eager to hire them? How can we deepen the interest of Negroes in private business so that they will attempt to obtain franchises and agencies--one conventional way in which people move up the economic scale? How can the numbers of small businessmen in the Negro community broaden and deepen their base, both inside and outside the ghetto? In other words, how does a Negro businessman begin to deal with white customers? And then, how can we get considerably more Negroes properly educated so that they can move into the professions in much larger numbers--particularly those professions that they have not entered in large numbers--such as law, architecture,

and a great number of others. Unless these groups can be educated, the new opportunities will remain stillborn. These decisions involve the Negroes themselves; they no longer involve other people.

On the income issue, we have already touched on the problem of alternative uses of income in terms of housing and schooling. This is the constant problem of all people, whether to use income for better living today or for more investment for tomorrow. It is a real issue for many Negroes: do they buy a fancier car or do they buy more tickets for concerts or for books and similar items? Are women and children willing to work to supplement the family's income so that there are more options? This is an old problem. How does the Negro learn enough about the market so that he can hold his own in consumer buying? And most particularly, is the Negro willing to bet on himself and take out loans to increase his education, etc., now that the loan approach to education is becoming increasingly common in many areas? All these questions have to do with income and the decisions Negroes must make.

When we look at family structure, we see the following key problems: the age of marrying; the age when one has children; and the stability of the marriage itself. In our study, *The Middle Class Negro in the White Man's World*, we learned that Negro boys are aware of the conflict between marriage and a career, and they are putting marriage off, as white people did a generation or two ago. They were very sensitive to this. The critical problem is the age at which one begins to have a family, but many people marry because of an unexpected pregnancy. That is true for whites and Negroes in this society. One of the interesting aspects of our study was the answer to the question: How many children do you want to have? The answer, in part, determines whether a youngster will be upwardly mobile. It was interesting to see how many youngsters wanted to have big families. I do not know whether they will finally have them, but I was amazed to see how many wanted to have four or more children, which is a phenomenon that I have not been able to probe. Obviously, if a man has four or more children, the likelihood of his self-improvement is somewhat more limited than a man with only two children.

One of the interesting points about divorce and separation is that a *whole* family makes it easier for the youngsters to be upwardly mobile than if a mother or a father alone has to carry the burden. It would appear that divorce rates among middle-class Negroes are below the rates for white. That is an interesting point. I suspect that most middle-class Negroes have all of the values of whites of a decade or a

generation ago. The Moynihan report has little applicability to the above-forty group. In my study, there were practically no broken Negro families.

Aspiration and ideology are vital because what happens to people depends in no small way on what they want to happen to them. Negroes have long had a deep-seated pessimism about making special efforts, and for very good reason--they have been fooled so often. They ask, "Why bother this time?" America has short-changed them so often that pessimism is carried as a tremendous burden from the past. Certainly Negroes, like white youngsters, are quite disillusioned about this contemporary world, from Viet Nam to corporate morality. They share with white youngsters the attitude: Is it worth it? Why bother? And this is a part of general American culture.

The next point is more specifically a Negro problem, but not exclusively. In a rapidly changing situation it is very hard for Negro parents or their youngsters to have any perception of what will be possible for the Negro a generation from today. They see a few people at the top, but they should see tens of thousands of Negroes in managerial positions and the professions. It is very hard to imagine that in a generation the structure can turn rapidly and substantially for the Negro who is well positioned. I am not talking about the poor Negro. I remind you of my caveat.

Then there are some real troubles in the civil rights movement and its offshoots, in that a large number of Negroes are embittered, and understandably so, about white society. Some youngsters must be really confused about whether they want to join white society or fight it. A lot of them start to fight it. If youngsters do not have clear goals, let us say that they are ambivalent, that also makes for difficulty in self development.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) There are a great number of Negroes, and a growing proportion of all Negroes, who confront an increasing number of options as to how to plan and live their lives. (2) Discrimination will remain with us for a long time, but within that discrimination there will be plenty of room for self-determination. To a large extent what happens to Negroes above the poverty level will depend on how they respond to the options which they confront.

I now have a final list of the options which Negroes face. They have to be willing to move out of the ghetto when they are able, and to seek out opportunities for interracial social contacts. They have to be willing to enter their children in schools where Negro children are a small minority and run the risk of social problems, and to encourage their children to make a major effort to do well in school. They have to be willing to send their children to a strong interracial college, rather than a weak segregated institution. They have to be willing to gamble on a career objective and prepare for occupations in which Negroes are not represented in large numbers today. They have to be willing to accept employment in communities where social adjustment may prove difficult and to place themselves in work situations which may not be free of prejudice. They have to be increasingly willing to assess the outcome of their own experiences in personal rather than in racial terms. And, they have to be willing to do all of these things at the same time that they acknowledge that there will be considerable persistence and varying degrees of discrimination and prejudice. This is the dilemma.

The burden of this presentation is a sentence that I wrote in *The Negro Potential*, eleven years ago, which was the "Equality cannot be bestowed, it must be earned." Fortunately, many more Negroes are now in a position to earn it.

THE OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER. A SUCCESSFUL DEMONSTRATION OF MINORITY SELF-HELP, TRAINING AND EDUCATION

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In January 1964, a unique venture was inaugurated in an old jailhouse in the heart of a major poverty section in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. As far as recent history is concerned, the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) is the first massive self-help training program launched by Negroes.

The OIC was the result of several local civil rights activities designed to overcome discriminatory hiring practices in Philadelphia business concerns. Effective boycotting, picketing, and other pressures lowered the resistance of employers who had previously refused to consider Negroes for jobs. At this point, a civil rights group, led by Reverend Leon Sullivan, found an inadequate pool of skilled Negroes to fill the jobs being opened to them.

The uniqueness of the next step is of major significance. Mr. Sullivan, having looked in vain to the local public vocational education programs for the sort of help his unskilled potential trainees needed, established his own training program.

Now only two and a half years later, the Office of Economic Opportunity, is funding the program at a level of approximately \$2.6 million. In addition, OIC's have been initiated in eight other cities and are planned in many more. But, for any current evaluation, the early days of OIC must be recalled quite clearly. This is so because unless we recall the uniqueness of its initial goals, we may err in judging it *only* as a training program.

To begin, in order to evaluate the OIC one must understand the program as it was conceived by Mr. Sullivan, who is tremendously charismatic. His leadership abilities, drive, and energy are not easily duplicated. With a relatively limited, close-support staff, he has in

*The author's views do not necessarily represent positions of The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

two years build a program which, by December 1966, had enrolled 7,300 students of whom only 3 percent were high school graduates and 10 percent had less than eight years of school. By December 1966, over 2,500 had been trained and employed. In December 1966, there were about 1,300 enrolled with about 800 in the vocational courses and the balance in the pre-vocational, or Feeder program.

Mr. Sullivan's major goal for the OIC was to train people for jobs. But he felt that OIC had to do much more if its significance was to have lasting value and change the nature of the community itself. Sullivan placed as much emphasis on changing the Negro's image of the Negro, as he did on changing the non-Negro's image of the Negro. In his own words, ". . . No amount of money poured into the community to relieve poverty, squalor and want can help but so much, unless the people who live there are inspired and motivated to first help themselves."¹

To achieve this sense of personal commitment from a population that had ample reason for a continuing sense of frustration and suspicion where economic betterment is concerned, Sullivan built a program containing five parts which, in his words, were ". . . educational. . . inspirational. . . housing. . . entrepreneurship training. . . and cultural development."²

How OIC has set out to do this can be shown best in an examination of the program's recruitment techniques, intake and orientation, Feeder Program, vocational training program, adult "Armchair-Education" program, placement, evaluation and follow-up efforts.

RECRUITMENT

From the beginning, the OIC recruitment policy has sought to bring the poorly equipped residents of the poverty areas into the program. However, in lieu of a large recruitment staff, OIC has established

¹Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, "Testimony at Hearing before Senate Committee on Urban Problems" (Processed), December 12, 1966. p. 2.

²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

close relationships with churches, public health centers, social worker groups, labor unions, Neighborhood Youth Corps, the City Civil Service Commission, community action councils, and the State Department of Public Assistance in order to reach those in need. The local employment service office has also been utilized. OIC recruitment is a strenuous effort to develop face-to-face contacts in such centers as barber shops, bars, beauty parlors, pool rooms, and on the street. Under a recently revised recruitment structure, the OIC has now developed a recruiting program through companies themselves. The companies are asked to refer to OIC those individuals with marginal skills whom the personnel officers in the companies have rejected for employment. This has become an increasingly important source for recruiting. Typically, the OIC people were quick to recognize that by establishing this relationship they could also reap the advantage of establishing a closer relationship with a particular firm with the view of placement at a later date. This type of approach has involved approximately 65 companies which have sent over 400 referrals to OIC.

An interesting facet in recruiting has to do with the follow-up effort for those student prospects who have not reported for the orientation program given before entry into the Feeder Program. This follow-up process is a difficult one and, of course, time-consuming--primarily resulting from the high mobility rate found in slum neighborhoods. To give some idea of the magnitude of this activity, between July and December 1966, the recruiting department accomplished approximately 800 follow-ups on potential students who did not show up for orientation procedures.

One major question, of course, is how effective have the recruiting procedures been in bringing the severely disadvantaged and unemployable into the OIC program? A few criteria may be utilized such as: age, level of education, and sex--it being assumed in the latter instance that Negro teen-age males present a more important employment target than the females. In the early phase, April through June of 1965, over 26 percent of the enrollees were under twenty-one years of age. In December of 1966, the proportion was 27.3 percent. During the period of April through June of 1965, approximately 16 percent of the enrollees had eight years or less of educational background; by December 1966, this proportion had shrunk to approximately 9 percent. As can be seen in the Appendix, OIC has been singularly successful in attracting Negro males into the program. Early in the OIC operation, during the period April through June of 1965, 41 percent of the enrollees were males as opposed to 62.7 percent in December, 1966.

INTAKE AND ORIENTATION

After an intake procedure, which includes the intake interview and the referral, the individual is moved into the Feeder program with a minimum of delay. The idea has been to move the recruit as quickly as possible into a situation which he sees as getting him under way in the development of a new career. Prior to the Feeder program itself, there is an orientation process involving four sessions that last from one to three hours, consisting essentially of an attempt to provide the motivational reinforcement of OIC. These sessions are scheduled each month with both day and evening hours. This effort is usually undertaken by Mr. Sullivan or Mr. Ritter, Sullivan's Deputy. This is followed by discussions about the various skill training areas by the appropriate instructors. A description and explanation of the OIC rules and regulations, general behavioral requirements, as well as an outline of what will be taking place in the Feeder Program itself, is made quite clear during the orientation program.

THE FEEDER PROGRAM

Following orientation, the student is enrolled in the Feeder program. Approximately 60 percent of the individuals who are accepted into the Feeder program actually show up for training. This program may last as long as three months for an individual student. It is, however, quite flexible and is adapted to the specific needs of the individual student. For some students, Feeder training may last as little as two weeks prior to their being brought into a specific skill training program. The Feeder approach provides a combination of some formal instruction, individualized counseling and testing, and an appraisal of alternatives available to the student after the Feeder program. Essentially, the formal training is in communication skills, computational skills, minority history, and grooming. Communication skills include English with basic reading and writing. The computational skills include basic arithmetic and some practical algebra. Minority history includes not only history in the usual sense but also an emphasis on contemporary problems. Grooming emphasizes the problems of dressing and appearing in a manner which is consistent with expectations of the average employer. In addition, there is an emphasis on job finding techniques. Here the student is brought into contact with various referral sources, the problem of filling out application forms, and conduct during a job interview. Finally, there

is a weekly contact with each student for the purpose of providing guidance and counseling with regard to any special problems and personal assistance which may be needed.

The Feeder program is an essential, unique part of the whole OIC concept. It is made clear to the student in the program that to obtain a decent job, in addition to acquiring a skill, he must also develop a behavioral and attitudinal pattern which most employers expect from all employees. It is during this period that the first steps are taken to inculcate in the trainee not only a sense of motivation and striving for a job, but also a sense of personal and ethnic-group commitment.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The basic philosophy of the skill training program at OIC has been to design programs with specific employers in mind. In addition, employer involvement has been sought and obtained in the form of equipment donation and representation on the technical-advisory committees.

From the outset there has been a strong emphasis on curriculum development performed in concert with the actual employers themselves. For example, in the teletype class, the machines on which the trainees learn are the specialized equipment used by Western Union. In addition, the course has been designed by Western Union staff people. This degree of specificity varies between the various skill-training programs. In the early stages of OIC development, some of the equipment contributed by various business firms was obsolescent or second-rate in various ways. However, on the basis of successful training programs and an over-all OIC program which impressed the business community, the business community commitment has resulted in more meaningful contributions. Indeed, as will be discussed shortly, the business community in Philadelphia has now become deeply committed in its support of OIC.

ADULT ARMCHAIR-EDUCATION PROGRAM

A new program which has been acclaimed by many members of the OIC staff in Philadelphia and, I believe, has important implications

for digging even deeper into the poverty population in every community, is the Adult "Armchair Education" Program (AAE). AAE seeks to establish a relaxed, convenient, and informal atmosphere for learning in the homes of the people OIC hopes to serve. These are the individuals who, while interested in improving their employability, for various reasons do not show up at the Feeder program or do not move into the formal OIC training courses. AAE has seven basic goals:

- (1) To develop a program of basic adult education which can be given in the home;
- (2) To motivate and encourage the unemployed and under-employed in job training at OIC;
- (3) To assist trainees on a limited scale to find jobs which can relieve immediate financial problems;
- (4) To provide counseling and referral services at the local neighborhood level;
- (5) To channel the leadership potential which is discovered in the AAE program into constructive outlets within the community;
- (6) To provide an opportunity for participation in group discussions in a home environment; and
- (7) To maintain a flexible program which can respond to the expressed needs and desires of the trainees themselves.

To promote this program, OIC has developed a cadre of AAE group leaders. These leaders, operating in small neighborhoods in the community, have been able to locate individuals willing to give the use of a living room or parlor for local neighborhood classes which meet two hours a week for ten weeks. There were, in March 1967, 115 such AAE groups with an average of ten people in each group.

The program was started around the end of 1966 and the first cycle completed in March. Response to the AAE program has been most gratifying, and the problem now is locating a sufficient number of group leaders so that it can be expanded beyond the present size.

It is still too early to evaluate the effectiveness of AAE in moving its participants into the Feeder program. But the reaction of the participants has been such that there is no doubt that they have now begun to look to more formal programs, such as OIC, as a means of escaping their economic and social ghettos.

The substantive areas covered during these AAE sessions are communication skills, math improvement, consumer education, minority history, and community problems and solutions. Minority history,

and community problems and solutions are used as springboards for involvement in social problems and the development of a motivation to confront and defeat problems by becoming better equipped with employable skills. The prime idea is that "in order to help yourself you must be motivated sufficiently to acquire the skills which permit you to become a member of the wage-earning, economic community."

It would be difficult to overestimate the potential importance of the AAE program because here we have a linkage with the indigenous community which most other training programs have lacked. The problem of outreach has most often existed because the training programs have operated at a level which is far above that of the type of client who most needs and can utilize the services of the institutional programs. Here in the AAE program, a link is forged, not just as an outreach technique, but as an articulated part of the community. If you will, it is an interesting form of Halfway House to the educational programs which exist in the formal end of the spectrum. It is a means for those individuals who have most lacked confidence and interest to enter gradually into an educational process without a sense of leaving behind them all that they need for personal security and identification with their own immediate neighborhood and value systems.

PLACEMENT

Placement of OIC graduates is the prime concern of the job development specialists. These job development specialists are under the direct supervision of Central OIC, even though they are assigned on a rotating basis to the five OIC centers. They are responsible not only for the development of job openings for students in the branch to which they are assigned, but they also work in close coordination with the training and counseling people in that branch to ensure proper selection and referral of students. It is these job development specialists who work in tandem with the employers.

A cooperative relationship has also been established between OIC and the Pennsylvania State Employment Service. By special agreement, a representative of the Pennsylvania State Employment Service is stationed in one of the OIC centers for the purpose of referral and placement work. This seems to operate quite well within the Philadelphia metropolitan area. Placements outside of the metropolitan area, however, have been arranged as a result of direct contacts by OIC with employers.

EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP

Any evaluation of OIC must be undertaken in several ways. There is, of course, the obvious evaluation in terms of how much it has cost to train each trainee and the degree of success which has been achieved in placement. In addition, I believe an equally significant evaluation would have to do with the effectiveness of the OIC program in changing institutions within the Philadelphia area, as well as with changing the Negro's image of his ability to develop programs and acquire a skill. With regard to the first two items, actual measurement of cost of training and the efficiency of placement, there is very little information. This is so primarily because of the very limited budget available for follow-up and evaluation by OIC itself.

OIC statistics indicate that the garment industry and restaurant business have been major sources of employment, but placements have been made also in sizeable numbers in the machine tool, sheet metal, electronics, communications, chemical, and electrical industries. OIC itself has become an employer of some of its graduates. Merely counting placements, however, is an inadequate indication of the effectiveness of OIC. Many have been placed directly from the Feeder program, without further skill training. These were, for the most part, people who had previous work experience and skills, but apparently needed their confidence built up in order to overcome a history of frustration, unemployment, and disappointment.

Of all of the enrollees in the OIC program, approximately 5 percent discontinued training during the Feeder program. An additional 5 percent discontinued during vocational training at the branches. A professed lack of interest as a cause of discontinuance counted for about 25 percent of those who terminated their involvement with the program at the branches. To reiterate, because of its present and future importance, a major shortcoming of the OIC program is the lack of funds for costing out the effectiveness of programs in terms of placement, income generated, occupational mobility, and change of employment status from unemployment or part- to full-time employment.

If, however, we look at OIC effectiveness from the point of view of its impact on the community, a meaningful picture can be obtained. To begin with, the OIC has had important impacts on agencies related directly to OIC goals. This paper is too brief to outline all of the effects of OIC on such organizations, but it would be significant to comment on the effects OIC has had on the vocational training program

of the public school system, local business firms, unions, and the employment service.

Until recently, there has been little impact of OIC on the local vocational educational system. Communication has been polite and limited. Adaptation of those OIC features which seemed to be particularly desirable for the public system, have remained unused. However, major changes seem to be stirring. It is rumored that a new superintendent of the Philadelphia school system, is actively interested in bringing OIC into a close, operational relationship with the public vocational system. But this must await his formal assumption of duties. To date then, little has rubbed off, but the prospects seem quite bright.

The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, speaking fairly boardly for business in Philadelphia, has fully endorsed the OIC program and routinely assists in finding openings for OIC graduates, equipment, technical advisors, and financial resources. One of its executives permitted himself to be quoted as follows: "Support from the business community has become so great that failure of the OIC would mean almost as great disillusionment in the business community as in the Negro community. Therefore, the OIC simply cannot be allowed to fail."³ A number of business and industry representatives feel, however, that while OIC has gone further than any previous effort it has only scratched the surface in securing financial and technical assistance from business and that larger companies, those with vocational and training facilities and instructors of their own, could be utilized to a much larger degree than at present. But very much on the asset side is the fact that the business community has changed radically with respect to its image of the potentials for training and employing Negroes coming from the hard-core sections of Philadelphia. OIC has led the field in this move away from the old stereotype.

Among the trade unions there has been mixed support or hostility, as the case may be, with regard to OIC. In the building trades, a certain amount of hostility exists especially with respect to the OIC practice of using trainees and others to assist in rehabilitation of its facilities rather than hiring craftsmen at journeymen rates. In addition,

³Michael Baran, *et.al.*, *OIC-Philadelphia*, Final Report of the SDC Task Force--TM-WD-(L)-228/001/01, under Contract No. MD-745, (Santa Monica, California: Washington Operations Center, February 25, 1966), p. 69.

there is hostility with respect to the OIC practice of attempting to find jobs for trainees before they have even completed a prescribed curriculum, not to mention hostility toward OIC for its practice of not adhering to the time-honored institution of apprenticeship. However, recently the unions have begun to change in their acceptance of OIC in Philadelphia. These changes are reflected in the development of a pre-apprenticeship training program by OIC, the Urban League, the Pennsylvania State Employment Service, and the unions; in the willingness of the Building and Trades Union to accept OIC trainees for entry into occupations under union jurisdiction; in the cooperation of unions in supplying members who serve on OIC technical committees which advise on course development, and in the support provided OIC by the unions in terms of funds and equipment; and, finally, the recent acceptance of Negro contractors by the Building and Trades Council. This latter event, of historical significance in many ways, saw the acceptance of two Negro contractors for certification by the Building and Construction Trades Council, AFL-CIO. This means that all employees of these contractors now become union members, eligible for work with any certified contractor. An OIC staff member, Robert M. McGlotten, led the way in this achievement. Mr. McGlotten has also developed a union leadership training program for OIC trainees. This is a step which will be of critical importance as Negroes not only begin to fill the ranks of unions formerly closed to them, but as they also, quite properly, claim rights to bi-racial leadership alternatives. Interestingly, this program has been developed with cooperation from the Board of Education's School Extension Division. These are no slight gains in Philadelphia! Outside the Philadelphia area an important source of support has come from the headquarters of the AFL-CIO for various OIC programs across the country. Obviously, local controls are still of prime importance in terms of union relationships, but the image of growing cooperation with unions in Philadelphia may begin to have an impact in other OIC communities.

One final impressive change which has taken place with regard to the community is the impact of OIC in what might be called the leadership training area. The decentralization of OIC into the poverty neighborhoods is a distinct factor leading to its success. It remains a neighborhood-oriented organization. The use of indigenous residents as paid and voluntary recruiters is most successful. The dynamism that pervades the entire program is largely a result of a decentralization of responsibilities. There is a remarkable *esprit de corps* of staff members and a sense of personal involvement (with an ability to move programs ahead on a personal series of commitments.). This is of extreme importance with regard to what Sullivan very early in the

development of OIC proclaimed as being one of his major goals. That is, the effect of changing the Negro's image of the Negro. On this issue, there is no doubt that Sullivan is achieving a good deal of success. However, this sort of achievement is also fraught with danger.

The degree to which one can find leadership in other parts of the country, of the type which is sufficiently sophisticated for the complexities of what OIC is attempting to do, leaves grave doubt that where there is not the tremendous motivating power of a Sullivan, there will not be an OIC movement as there was in Philadelphia. Reports from a few of the cities in which the OIC movement has begun to move forward indicate that there is a distinct leadership problem.⁴ What may also be missing in these other cities is a continuation of OIC beyond the development of skills for employment. An example is the housing program in Philadelphia. Mr. Sullivan has indicated that housing and the development of entrepreneurial potential is also an important factor in his concept of OIC. On the basis of a voluntary contribution program in his church, Sullivan was able to obtain support from the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the construction of a hundred units of middle-income housing in Philadelphia. This project, Zion Gardens, was completed and opened in December 1966. Sullivan plans to continue programs which focus on housing problems.

He is also in the process of building a major shopping center; it is at this shopping center that Sullivan plans to begin the training of Negro entrepreneurial leadership that he feels must be developed. Stores and other retail establishments which will be run by graduates from OIC entrepreneurial skill programs will become increasingly evident in these shopping centers. Trainees from the regular vocational programs will provide needed skills for the establishments.

There is no doubt that there are shortcomings in the OIC program. A number of individuals, including businessmen, have commented on the fact that various vocational programs produce trainees whose skills are below what they should be. There are a number of businessmen who contend that they hire trainees only because of the implicit threat of militant power which rests behind Sullivan. There are also those who, probably with some foundation, contend that the training programs themselves vary tremendously in quality. One of the more amusing criticisms of OIC is the one which contends that it

⁴Like some very delicate wines, OIC may not travel well. That is, to carry the analogy further, unless there is a special fortifying treatment.

cannot hope to become the educational system of Philadelphia. Since OIC has never listed this objective as one of its goals, the criticism implies much more about the Philadelphia vocational schools than the OIC.

Those criticisms which relate personally to Sullivan are highly conjectural and usually attend a successful leader. Program criticisms undoubtedly contain elements of validity, but are difficult to evaluate fairly, short of a major sustained effort. Such an effort must even go beyond the OIC evaluation, completed in February 1966, by the System Development Corporation (SDC). This report, which was most friendly to OIC, indicated the "spottiness" of vocational education programs and the real need for follow-up after placement. The SDC report is also properly critical of shortcomings in counseling practices, internal staff-training programs, and the lack of research and analysis activities. In all fairness to OIC, a good part of such failures grow out of the very limited funding by federal agencies for any programs other than operating ones. Federal money for planning, research and evaluation is noticeable by its almost complete absence. There is no doubt in my mind, however, that the major achievements of the Philadelphia OIC far outweigh any of the drawbacks which have attended, and must attend, such an ambitious program. Sullivan has achieved largely what he set out to achieve in the OIC demonstration. OIC has shown that an indigenous, popularly supported movement can indeed reach into the ghetto and train large numbers of Negroes who have been viewed by most institutions as untrainable and unemployable. OIC has been able to prove that motivation exists where many critics in the white community, and some in the Negro community, have contended there is none. OIC has been able to reverse relationships between Negro civil rights leaders and the business community so that the business community is now a major source of support for a training program, conceived and operated by Negroes, which grew out of a civil rights struggle.

To view these achievements as being of slight importance is to misunderstand completely the nature of what we are attempting to do in this country with regard to the development of training programs to move Negroes up the social and economic ladder. OIC in Philadelphia is a singularly highly successful program with faults, of course, but with so many assets that it is difficult to avoid seeing in it a model for many similar programs in other cities. I say "similar" because there is no doubt that without a Sullivan in each one of these communities, to try to replicate and adapt to local conditions what has been done in Philadelphia will undoubtedly be frustrating. The next task which Sullivan may have to turn to is the development of a leadership-training

JOB PLACEMENT BY COURSE^a
MARCH 1964 - DECEMBER 1966

<u>COURSES</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1964</u>
Air conditioning and refrigeration	17	-	-
Brick masonry	15	3	-
Chemistry lab	10	21	5
Clerk typing	53	2	-
Commercial art	4	-	-
Commercial cooking	20	14	2
Drafting	9	14	8
Electricity	24	1	-
Electronics assembly	96	156	10
Feeder	172	98	-
IBM	99	3	-
Job applicant	105	65	16
Machine tool	42	56	4
Marketing and merchandising	83	29	-
OJT (On-the-job training) ^b	182	-	-

Continued

Job Placement by Course (Continued)

<u>COURSES</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1964</u>
Office machine repair	10	-	-
Office practice	66	4	-
Plumbing	5	-	-
Power sewing	185	155	92
Printing	6	-	-
Restuarant practices	42	97	79
Secretarial science	79	11	1
Sheet metal	40	119	16
Small business	1	-	-
Teletype	<u>33</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>7</u>
TOTALS:	1398	875	240

^aOf the above total job placements for 1966, 1965, and 1964, 131 were placed in Non-training Related Jobs.

^bThis figure does not include December 1966, which is not available at this time.

ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO
SEX - OIC : PHILADELPHIA

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
PHASE I - April-June '65			
Number	421	594	1015
Percent	41.44	58.56	
PHASE II - July-Sept. '65			
Number	348	649	997
Percent	34.90	65.10	
PHASE III - Oct.-Dec. '65			
Number	501	622	1123
Percent	44.60	55.40	
PHASE IV - Jan.-Mar. '66			
Number	602	602	1204
Percent	50.00	50.00	
PHASE V - April-June '66			
Number	442	630	1072
Percent	41.20	58.80	
PHASE VI			
JULY			
Number	95	154	249
Percent	37.90	62.10	
AUGUST			
Number	108	95	203
Percent	53.20	46.80	
SEPTEMBER			
Number	115	320	435
Percent	26.40	73.60	
PHASE VII - October			
Number	220	214	434
Percent	50.60	49.40	

Enrollment of Students According to Sex (Continued)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
PHASE VIII - November			
Number	177	244	421
Percent	42.00	58.00	
PHASE IX - December			
Number	94	56	150
Percent	62.70	37.30	
PROJECT CUMULATIVE	3123	4180	7303

ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO
AGE - OIC: PHILADELPHIA

	<u>16-21</u>	<u>22-39</u>	<u>40+</u>	<u>Total</u>
PHASE I - April-June '65				
Number	265	569	181	1015
Percent	26.18	56.00	17.82	
PHASE II - July-Sept. '65				
Number	265	554	178	997
Percent	26.58	55.57	17.85	
PHASE III - Oct. -Dec. '65				
Number	227	621	275	1123
Percent	20.20	55.30	24.50	
PHASE IV - Jan. -Mar. '66				
Number	272	727	205	1204
Percent	22.60	60.38	17.02	
PHASE V - April-June '66				
Number	288	594	190	1072
Percent	26.80	55.40	17.80	
PHASE VI				
JULY				
Number	58	136	55	249
Percent	23.70	54.20	22.10	
AUGUST				
Number	50	91	62	203
Percent	24.60	44.80	30.50	
SEPTEMBER				
Number	90	273	72	435
Percent	20.70	62.80	16.50	
PHASE VII - October				
Number	131	232	71	434
Percent	30.20	53.40	16.40	

Enrollment of Students According to Age (Continued)

	<u>16-21</u>	<u>22-39</u>	<u>40+</u>	<u>Total</u>
PHASE VIII - November				
Number	99	243	79	421
Percent	23.50	57.70	18.80	
PHASE IX - December				
Number	41	83	26	150
Percent	27.30	55.30	17.40	
PROJECT CUMULATIVE	1786	4123	1394	7303

ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND - OIC: PHILADELPHIA

	<u>0-4 Years</u>	<u>5-8 Years</u>	<u>9-12 Years</u>	<u>High School Graduate</u>	<u>Over 12 years of School</u>	<u>Total</u>
PHASE I - April-June '65						
Number	24	139	842	---	10	1015
Percent	2.38	13.73	82.91	---	.98	
PHASE II - July-Sept. '65						
Number	70	136	507	260	24	997
Percent	7.02	13.64	20.85	26.08	2.41	
PHASE III - Oct. -Dec. '65						
Number	34	272	758	---	59	1123
Percent	3.03	24.22	67.50	---	5.25	
PHASE IV - Jan. -Mar. '66						
Number	82	246	769	61	46	1204
Percent	6.81	20.43	63.87	5.07	3.82	
PHASE V - April-June '66						
Number	25	146	488	399	14	1-72
Percent	2.30	13.50	45.30	36.90	2.00	

Enrollment of Students According to Educational Background (Continued)

	<u>0-4 Years</u>	<u>5-8 Years</u>	<u>9-12 Years</u>	<u>High School Graduate</u>	<u>Over 12 years of School</u>	<u>Total</u>
PHASE VI -						
JULY						
Number	29	90	130	---	---	249
Percent	10.80	36.10	53.10	---	---	
AUGUST						
Number	12	46	143	---	2	203
Percent	5.90	22.70	70.40	---	.90	
SEPTEMBER						
Number	3	28	395	8	1	435
Percent	.70	6.40	90.80	1.80	.30	
PHASE VII - October						
Number	2	46	380	2	4	434
Percent	.50	10.60	87.50	.50	.90	
PHASE VIII - November						
Number	7	60	331	22	1	421
Percent	1.70	14.30	78.60	5.20	.20	
PHASE IX - December						
Number	3	10	132	5	---	150
Percent	2.00	6.70	88.00	3.30	---	
PROJECT CUMULATIVE	291	1219	4875	757	161	7303

program for such programs as the OIC. The Institute which he has set up to achieve this purpose does not yet show all the promise many had hoped for. It may be that Sullivan will have to involve himself personally in this effort to the same degree that he did when OIC was first launched in 1964. But that is the subject of a different paper, one which I hope I can write, with the same feeling of an important achievement having been accomplished, in the not-too-distant future.

DISCUSSION

LOUIS A. FERMAN INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Let me first give some general reactions to the papers that I have heard thus far at this conference and then comment specifically on the papers delivered by Drs. Striner and Ginzberg. Several themes are beginning to emerge from this conference, and their importance to the development of manpower programs should be obvious. First, some federal agencies are paying less attention to the traditional network of manpower services of the community and paying more attention to providing alternative structures. We are in the process of building a substantial "shadow empire" of vocational education and its correlative activities. This new empire utilizes the local church, the Y. M. C. A. , and the community center, and exists for the most part outside the traditional professional controls of vocational education. The investment of considerable resources is not to strengthen existing organizations but rather to create and support new organizations. Thus, the Workers' Defense League and the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of Reverend Leon Sullivan are being supported as alternatives for countless disadvantaged who do not fit the existing manpower services of the community.

Second, we have entered a period of search for new intervention strategies; and, more and more, we are reaching out and creating new groups and organizations, that are not bound by the fetishes of tradition, to do the job. As a result, we frequently see trial and error behavior under the direction of vocational educators who were not trained in the arts and subtleties of vocational education. Let us recognize the danger as well as the strength of this practice.

Finally, there is the beginning of an understanding that the disadvantaged can play important roles in their own rehabilitation; they are *not* passive agents. Granted that an infusion of resources from the outside may be necessary, the success of a program demands that the capacities, skills, and achievement potential of the disadvantaged be utilized in self-help activities that break the bonds of structured dependency that frequently characterize the relationships in low-income communities.

The Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) described by Dr. Striner is undoubtedly a noteworthy effort to fulfill manpower service needs of the disadvantaged, but how good is it and how successful has it been? The statistics presented by Dr. Striner, meager as they are, do not give me confidence that the effort has been overwhelmingly successful. Dr. Striner bases his statistical case for success on three variables--age, education, and sex. His argument is that in each case, there has been a progressive involvement in the program of the hard-to-train. In other words, this program has succeeded in reaching the most disadvantaged. The statistics, however, do not back this up. Instead of a steady increase of the disadvantaged in the program, there is considerable fluctuation in each variable, and certainly it is difficult to detect a trend in any direction. Regarding success or failure, we would also need more statistics for judgment (e. g. , retention rates, the kinds of placements); information that was not available in his paper.

There are two main points in the program that make it stand out: high management involvement in training and a well-developed filter system that is based on outreach to the disadvantaged and an intensive diagnosis and prognosis of each individual case. Furthermore, there is a high level of enthusiasm that characterizes the program, from the leadership to the lowest echelons. Granted that there are pluses in the program, what are its drawbacks and necessary qualifications?

First, there is an assumption that the program is exportable to other cities and, indeed, the U. S. Department of Labor has sponsored the program in a number of cities. There is a number of questions that must be asked about exportability. What is exported--philosophy, organization, or techniques? Philosophy has been easy to export, but organization and techniques pose a different problem. Dr. Striner admits that the *organizing* of similar programs in other cities has been difficult because Mr. Sullivan's inspired leadership is not easily duplicated. Furthermore, it is obvious that only a few of the techniques used in the program has been transferred to other cities. The re-training techniques have been the major exportable item, while there has been no attempt to export the selective buying or boycott strategies that were an integral part of Mr. Sullivan's Philadelphia program. A sociologist would argue that it would be difficult to export a program *in toto* because the social environment of a city may be ripe for one part of a program but be hostile to another. We must recognize the limitations of exportability.

Second, considerable effort is being expended to provide a training alternative for the disadvantaged, but maybe this is a misplaced emphasis. Do we really revise the system by providing alternatives, or should a more direct program of institutional change be undertaken? If the goal is to make a basic change in vocational education, should not the approach be through the existing structures instead of creating new ones?

Finally, does the multiplication of new training efforts add new problems to any attempt to coordinate existing programs? Do efforts like this lend themselves to coordination with other services and programs? I have no answers to these questions but they must certainly be noted.

Dr. Ginzberg's paper touches a controversial subject. Should we indeed pay more attention to the manpower and social needs of the emerging Negro middle class, even at the expense of resources for the Negro underclass? I would note two points. First, Dr. Ginzberg gives an inordinate emphasis to self-help strategies. These alone will not do it; such attempts must be coupled with efforts to extend the opportunity structure for this group. One can place too much reliance on self-help strategies and forget the more basic problem of opportunity structure. Second, I can see the need of an investment of resources for the Negro middle class. Social science has well documented the fact that it is the man on the move, the upwardly mobile, who experience the tensions and traumas that result in socially disruptive behavior. The man who has achieved gauges his achievement against the gains of others around him and only when he is not being outdistanced does the move mean something. We must be concerned with the upwardly mobile Negro, although the temper of this meeting leans to more help for the Negro underclass.

JAMES A. ROBINSON OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

As Mr. Striner indicated, a number of community action agencies in cities around the country are attempting to implement the manpower phase of their programs, at least in part, through the delegation of training responsibilities to the OIC. These manpower programs are technically components of local community action agencies once they are funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, or the Department of Labor, even though they are essentially autonomous in the area of program design and operation.

Mr. Striner has provided an excellent analysis of the organization, operation, strengths, and weaknesses of the original program in Philadelphia. I have had the opportunity to look quite closely at the OIC in two other cities-- Washington, D.C., and Little Rock, Arkansas-- and will center my remarks on their programs while commenting on Mr. Striner's paper. However, I will be more concerned about the program as it operates in the latter city because of the interesting contrast it presents of: (1) an OIC operating in a semi-rural economic environment rather than an urbanized setting; (2) an area where industrialization is yet to become an important part of the total economy; and (3) a Southern community--and all that this implies in terms of training and job opportunities for Negroes.

There are more than ten applications from OIC under review for initial funding in Fiscal Year 1968, and much of the concern in OEO centers on the issue which Mr. Striner identified in his paper--is this program concept transferable, *i.e.*, how well does OIC travel? What are the drawbacks in attempting to move this program around the country into an amalgam of communities, and frequently without the heat and light which accompanied the early stages of the Philadelphia movement, and the type of leadership which Reverend Leon Sullivan provided?

Obviously, it is much too soon to attempt to answer all the questions which have been raised regarding this program. OEO has funded OIC's for less than a year, and virtually all of them, with the exception of the Philadelphia program, have been in existence less than 18 months.

However, I would like to discuss some of the problems which have confronted the Little Rock Opportunities Industrialization Center and ask you to accept these, not as final evaluation positions or as the basis on which funding decisions in the future will be made, but rather as problems typical of those encountered as OIC's are exported to different parts of the country.

The Little Rock OIC is in a unique position to provide training for many untrained poor. The Adult Education Program operated by the public school system had a monopoly in the field of vocational training in the community until OIC was established. However, the basic entrance examination and tuition cost effectively excluded from the Adult Education Program the poor persons now being served by OIC.

Furthermore, the State Industrialization Commission, which is making strenuous efforts to bring industry into the area, acknowledges that a critical drawback in these efforts has been the scarcity of a

skilled, technically trained work force. It would seem that enlightened self-interest would urge support of the OIC program from responsible institutions in the community; but such was not the case.

Primary opposition to the establishment of OIC has come from the Adult Education Program operated by the local school system, and jointly funded by the state and local governments. Unlike Philadelphia, where, as Mr. Striner indicates in his paper, "communication has been polite and limited" with the local vocational educational system, the situation in Little Rock has been a heated confrontation which has escalated to the level of the Arkansas congressional delegation.

The Adult Education Program raised such issues as the quality of instruction and the superiority of training facilities in the Adult Vocational Program over those available in OIC, and the percentage are, of OIC's budget which is allocated to administrative costs. This opposition has represented a substantial interference to the operation of OIC.

Despite the fact that ranking union officials in the state are members of the OIC Advisory Board, labor's official support of the program has been nil. Unions have not agreed to accept OIC graduates in jobs whose entry is controlled by them. Relatively little negotiation has taken place on this issue, and, as of the middle of April, prospects were not good for any real success. The lack of union support effectively closes training and job opportunities to the poor who seek entry into the skilled or technical job market in the community.

At this point I would like to identify some problems of an internal nature which I think are worth mentioning.

A fundamental part of the self-help philosophy in OIC is that no stipend or living allowance should be provided to trainees in OIC. The position taken by OIC administrators is that--if the trainee is interested enough in helping himself--he will continue to provide for himself in whatever manner he did previously until he has completed his training. This sounds good in theory, but in practice, I believe the refusal to build a nominal stipend into the program similar to that offered MDTA trainees, means that many who need the program most, especially underemployed male heads-of-households, will not be able to get the training which will enable them to break the poverty income barrier. In other words, I am increasingly persuaded that the lack of a stipend for this population operates as a selecting-out factor.

I believe this is reflected in the fact that most of the enrollees in the Little Rock and Washington programs, as was true for the Philadelphia program through December 31, 1966, were females. In OIC the cumulative distribution by sex was: for Philadelphia--57 percent female, 43 percent male; Washington--61 percent female, 39 percent male; and, Little Rock--72 percent female, 28 percent male. Many poor women need the training even if they are secondary wage earners in poor families, and certainly if they are heads-of-families. But, if the program is to have the desired impact, it must be structured to draw into it a larger percentage of unemployed and underemployed males.

In concluding my comments on OIC, let me make this observation. One facet of its operation which gets a substantial amount of attention from the OEO manpower staff is the success which this program achieves in job development and placement for the poor population. Unfortunately, the placement experience in Little Rock has not been very good. Practically all of the job orders so far have requested people for menial tasks. We believe that this will change in time.

It is frequently easy to forget that one of the most difficult chores for the poor to undertake is the venture into the job market in search of work. Entering the market is really a sizable adventure for the poor, while nonpoor persons would hardly give it a second thought. This is particularly true for the man with a poor work history--an arrest record, poor credit record, or some other such inhibiting characteristics--as so many poor Negro males are likely to have in this society.

Few doubt any longer that there is not an effective mechanism for helping poor people cross the bridge from unemployment into the work force. The traditional employment service is wholly ineffective in serving the needs of the poor. The public school has a limited job placement function, but this serves only the better student and then at a grade level beyond that which most of our poor have obtained. So we are interested in the ability of OIC to put its trainees in touch with the job market and to support them through a useful job experience. If its approach works, this may be the most significant contribution OIC makes to manpower utilization and development as it relates to the poor.

STRATEGIES FOR SELF-DEVELOPMENT

Professor Ginzberg has presented in this abstract what is obviously a well-reasoned set of hypotheses from which flow suggested strategies for self-development and self-improvement for the period immediately ahead of us. The general theme of his presentation, I must confess is one quite dear to my heart and mind. However, I must say that I was unable to progress beyond the introduction of his synopsis before taking strong exception to his focusing only on those who are middle-class or at least above poverty. In a word, I disagree with the proposition that the poor have, as Professor Ginzberg states, "very narrow scope for affecting the quality of their lives." This might have been true in the past, but I think it is not true now and will be less so in the future.

At the very outset, let me state that I accept his stipulation that the fate of the Negro in the United States will depend in the future on: (a) what happens to the country at large (war, prosperity, etc.), (b) attitudes and behavior of the white majority toward Negroes, and (c) the actions and reactions of Negroes themselves, as individuals and as members of a minority group.

However, the caveat that a development strategy is to be focused only on the one-third to two-fifths of the Negroes who are not poor fails to: (1) deal with that segment of the population most in need of a pattern for self-improvement; (2) take into account the fact that nearly half of the Negroes in this country are poor; and (3) direct attention to the really critical issue of whether adequate compensatory and remedial help will be provided to this bottom one-half of the Negro population in the areas of jobs, housing, health, education, etc., before it becomes necessary to complete the para-military occupation of the ghettos--North and South--which has already begun in many sections of this country.

I submit that it is less than an optimum use of energy to concern oneself about job mobility for a Negro earning \$7,000-\$10,000 or \$15,000 per year. Negroes with such incomes become as much the economic man as white Americans. In Professor Ginzberg's proposed areas of decision making, the first of which relates to location, I believe that nonpoor Negroes' decisions to migrate in pursuit of improved economic opportunity or to remain where they are will be made along the same rational, economic lines as is true for all other people in the society.

I think the same is true in education. I would find it difficult to become concerned about parents whose problem is deciding whether their son or daughter should attend a Negro college or a desegregated institution of higher learning; or who face the problem of weighing the emotional risks of sending their offspring to a select private school or college where they will be part of a small minority. It is a good deal more relevant to develop a strategy which will help provide the ghetto youth with the best education this nation has to offer--rather than the worst. This is a sure first step which can offer poor youths a chance of breaking the poverty cycle.

In support of the theme which I am setting forth--that strategies for self-development are needed, but primarily by that one-half of the Negro population which is poor--let me refer to Professor Ginzberg's discussion on *aspirations*. Of course, I agree that "aspirations . . . play a major role in determining the direction of people's efforts and energies," and I further agree that many Negroes face the challenge of overcoming a deep seated pessimism which stems from recognition of the fact that opportunities in the past that appeared to be opening up for them did not materialize. I submit that this is especially true of that portion of the population which has been dealt with most harshly and victimized most severely by this society. They are the disillusioned and alienated. Professor Ginzberg and I agree that strategies for self-development can be an important aspect of the Negro's approach to the future in this society; however, I maintain that it is the poor and the near-poor who need this most urgently. I have faith that those who have moved into middle-class categories, assuming this economy remains healthy, will take care of themselves.

One final comment beyond the scope of Professor Ginzberg's abstract is this--although I have argued preferentially for self-development strategies for the most disadvantaged Negroes, I am not under the illusion that even the most stringent self-help efforts will be enough to bring two-thirds of the poor above the poverty threshold during the next generation. The isolation from what is considered the mainstream of American life and the handicaps and deficiencies which they must overcome are clearly beyond their own resources. Special efforts from every quarter of the society are an absolute necessity. Something far different than what is being done today must be done. I think it is clear to most interested observers that the nation's public school systems are doing nothing to improve the chances and the lot of poor Negroes. It is difficult to argue against the fact that the segment of the Negro population in this country which is well trained is doing reasonably well in the current job market; however, those who are uneducated and

untrained are relatively worse off than they were ten years ago. It has been established that the housing problems facing the poor are as critical now as they were a decade ago.

My personal contact and knowledge indicates that the poor are, in a real sense, overwhelmed by the difficulties of trying to "make it" in this society. They need help and they will need it in quantity for a long period of time.

Section III

Gerald G. Somers, Chairman

PROVIDING MOBILITY FOR AMERICA'S IMMOBILE POPULATION

JAMES FARMER
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

The only thing that really distinguishes me from tens of thousands of other activists in this fight is that I have been pretty lucky--I've had a public relations man. When you have a PR man, lots of things are possible. I understand that Moses once had a PR man. This was not Bob Moses of New York City fame; this was "Moses" Moses.

Moses had an image problem; so he called in the PR man and asked, "Now what can you do for me?"

The PR man said, "Ask not what I can do for you; what will you do to give me something to peg the story on?"

So Moses thought and he said, "Well, now let's see. I'll swing one arm up to the heavens and the waters of the sea will divide, and the children will walk through on dry land. Then, I'll swing the other arm up to the heavens and with an awful roar, the mighty waters of the sea will come together drowning all their pursuers. How's that?"

The PR man said, "Moses, baby, if you can pull that one off, I'll get you four pages in the Bible."

Seriously, the topic which I selected for my discussion was "Providing Mobility for America's Immobile Population." As I reflect upon it, I think that that subject is an atrocity. In the first place, neither you nor I can provide that mobility. All that we can do is to help provide access to the mobility. We can not free the fettered. If we free them, they are not free; they must do it themselves. That is why I believe so firmly in maximum, feasible participation on the part of the poor. And, in order to participate to the maximum extent, the black poor today must have a change in self-image. That, I think, is what we are talking about today. What is gradually being done is only the beginning, not the end.

We have been experiencing the civil rights revolution for thirteen years now. I am becoming reminiscent these days. Back in 1954, at the time of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision, many

persons thought, quite erroneously, that the battle was almost over, and that all that remained was the mopping up operation. This was a wave of optimism which swept the shores of this land. Now that the wave has receded, it has left strewn in its wake the debris of frustration and anger, and, unfortunately for many, a hopelessness which, I must assert, is not justified. We cannot be without hope. Yet, when I meet the hopeless, I know why they are hopeless. We have won many victories in the past few years. I have had the good fortune to be part of the movement that has wrested these victories out of racism and bigotry. But these victories have been rather small.

I have taken the last year to try to disentangle myself from the trees and to step back a few paces to look at the forest. And in so doing, it seems quite apparent that the victories that we have won have not yet become meaningful for the poor black people of our land. For the middle classes, yes, they have been meaningful. Life is a bit better. It is not yet good, but it is better. It is good to be able to drive an automobile down U.S. 1 and stop at Howard Johnson's or the Holiday Inn for a meal or to spend the night; or to sit on the front seat of a bus, etc. That is fine. But those victories in public accommodations have merely made life more tolerable and *essentially* for the middle class.

I am now teaching at Lincoln University. At the end of the school year, the top quarter of the graduating class will be barraged with offers from industry and agencies of the federal government. Now I do not deprecate this; I consider this important. We have fought hard for it. Yet, we must recognize the limitations of it. Each company will be looking for its individual Negro. Sometimes, I suspect that he is a showcase Negro--you know, each one must have one--but even so, that is a foot in the door, and we might be able to spring it open wider. I was talking to a friend of mine the other day, and he told me that he got a big job with industry. It was a lower echelon management job, starting at \$12,000 and he said, "Jim, I don't have to do a thing. All I have to do is sit close to the door and look very Negro." He finally got fired because he wasn't dark enough; they needed greater visibility.

The Negro Ph. D. has it economically made. He can find a job. Universities will be falling over themselves to get to him. This is a new state of affairs and we must applaud it. Sometimes the companies, the universities, and the federal agencies find great difficulty in locating the highly educated, trained, skilled, and personable young Negro that they are looking for. I suppose that that is what Godfrey Cambridge

(or was it Dick Gregory) referred to, when it was suggested that what we ought to do is to start a "Hertz Rent-a-Negro" company. But be that as it may, my point is that as ten of the highly qualified, highly trained and skilled Negroes walk through the front door for the new nontraditional jobs, more than one hundred poor Negroes are running out the back door. That is the serious problem that confronts us.

I would not say that life is as it should be for those highly trained and highly skilled Negroes. They find, even as the black middle class is finding, that even if you have a million dollars, there are \$15,000 houses that you can't buy, or \$8,000 houses in Cicero or West Chicago, etc.; there are places in the country where you can't buy a fifteen-cent hot dog. So life is not perfect for them, but at least they have gained greater mobility. But for the lower classes that is not true. The fact is that the position of the lower economic classes among the Negro population has deteriorated in the 13 years of the civil rights revolution. Relatively speaking, they have slipped back, not advanced. In absolute terms, there has been some advancement, but in relative terms it is not so.

The gap between the average income of Negroes and whites in our country is widening, not narrowing. It would be nonsense for me to tear about the country, as Governor Wallace does, saying that our colored people have a high and rapidly rising standard of living--their standard of living is ten times as high as the standard of living of colored people in Africa (as though there is any basis for comparison). The only realistic basis for comparison must be with non-Negroes in the United States, and there the figures don't lie. In 1950, the average income of Negroes was 53 percent of the average income of whites; in 1961, it was 52 percent of the average income of whites--a widening of the gap--slowly, it is true, but observably. And this is true in spite of the fact that hundreds of thousands of Negroes have migrated from the plantations of the South to the cities, North and South. Normally one would expect that migration would produce a more rapidly rising standard of living. And it is true in spite of the fact that the educational gap, in terms of percentages finishing college and high school, has been somewhat narrowed. Yet, the income gap is widening. Since 1961, there has been some fluctuation in the gap, but essentially the trend is toward a continual widening of it. There is also a widening of the gap between the lower class Negro and the middle-class Negro in terms of income. This poses a real problem for us. Between 1959 and 1961, the total number of Negroes employed in the private sector of the economy declined. Much of that slack was, of course, taken up by federal, state, and local governments, but in the private

sector of the economy there was a decline in the number of jobs. This indicates something of the enormity of the problem that is confronting us.

A recent study, conducted in the so-called "Gray Area" (that is, the area that is largely populated by Negroes) of one of the larger Northern cities, an area in which there were 125,000 people living, revealed that of the youths, sixteen to twenty-one, 70 percent were out of school and out of work. These are tragic figures, and they are figures which will give one some inkling as to why it is that so many of the youngsters are moving into an era of despair and hopelessness. At Lincoln University, I spend much time talking with the brightest of the youngsters there--brightest and most militant--and the despair is rising. They say that there is no hope for us to enter into this thing called the "mainstream" of the nation's economic life. The Italians entered in; the Irish entered in; the Polish entered in; the Jews entered in; but we will not enter in, they say, because we are black. You say, "It's not so." That is what I said, They say, "You have been fighting for integration, Mr. Farmer, but just look at it; there is more segregation now than there was 13 years ago--more residential segregation. You have been battering at barriers; you knock one down and two are erected."

There *is* more residential segregation today. I visited some cities in the Northwest a few weeks ago which I had visited twenty years ago. Twenty years ago there were few residential lines--little segregation--although there were a few Negroes. Those who lived there had been there for generations and lived just about wherever they chose if they had the money to pay for the housing that was available. But now that the Negro population in those cities has increased, the residential ghetto lines have been firmly established, and along with it, *de facto* school segregation. You, of course, are fully aware of the patterns of cities in the East and Midwest where we are getting the "Black Core" and the "White Noose" as the white population flees to the suburbs and the Negro population in the inner city continues to increase. There is more *de facto* school segregation growing there. I am not in agreement with those who think that the South is likely to leap ahead of the North because of this; what is more likely to happen, it seems to me, is a leveling-out process so that the North and the South will be indistinguishable. I observe in a number of localities in the South that cities are using urban renewal to uproot the integrated residential areas and relocation to create the ghettos. In other words, it is an attempt to substitute *de facto* segregation for *de juri* segregation. *De juri* segregation is doomed; *de facto* segregation is growing. Then they

would be able to say in a few years: "You see, we are not defying the 1954 decision; anyone who lives in that school zone is perfectly free to attend this school--it just happens, accidentally, that they are all black or that they are all white."

So many students say that in spite of efforts of the past, segregation is increasing and, relatively speaking, we are slipping back economically--there is no hope. I reject this point of view. I think that there is hope, but I think that the attempt to create an equal achievement to match equal opportunity must be stepped up and this is a burden that rests upon people of good will and those who are professionally involved. There is a terrible burden on your shoulders. If there is anything that keeps me awake these nights, it is the fear that we may, within my lifetime wake up and find that we have won equal opportunity--we haven't won it yet--but we may find that we have won it and that millions of people remain precisely where they were before the battle was won. And if that is true, then we have sown the wind and are bound to reap the whirlwind. I say then, that the task confronting you--to provide equal job training so that people will be able to move through the doors of equal opportunity that are open--is an enormous and a most crucial and urgent one.

How do you do it? One of the problems of the minority poor is also the problem of the majority poor, and that is the problem of basic literacy. As Manpower Development and Training programs throughout the country have discovered that, roughly 70 to 80 percent of youngsters without skill are also functionally illiterate. Our schools are still graduating youngsters from high school who read at a third- or fourth-grade level. The number of functional illiterates in the land is increasing. The figures are somewhere (no one knows precisely) between 11,000,000 and 20,000,000 adults who can not read at a sixth-grade level. Eighty percent of the juvenile delinquents fall into that category.

In Watts, where right after the Watts Rebellion some of us started "Operation Bootstrap" to provide job training for some of the unemployed area youngsters--we got many of them to come in. In two weeks of recruiting using local, indigenous recruiters, who recruited from the bars, the gin-joints, the pool halls, the street corners, the street gangs, and so forth, we recruited more than a thousand youngsters. They came in quite interested. They said, "Hey man, I want to get some training so that I can find myself a job and make something out of myself. I want to be somebody, too. But don't fool me, man." We asked what they meant--"don't fool me."

They said, "Don't train me for no job that ain't going to be there." In other words, they weren't in the least bit interested in a higher skills level of unemployment. Some of them chose to be auto mechanics, and a large number of them chose to be body and fender repairmen--quite shrewdly they had figured that it is going to be a long time before a machine can bang a dent out of a fender. Others are nurses aides, teletype operators, keypunch operators, etc. Some want to be computer programmers. They are getting training for these occupations. But what we discovered after we got the equipment and the instructors was that 80 percent of these youngsters could not read well enough to read the instructional manuals. So, we had to step back.

This is the great shame and crime of what has been done to the poor deprived youngsters in the ghetto communities. I visit high schools quite often and have observed students who cannot read. My sister teaches in a high school in Washington, D. C. She says that she often runs into juniors and seniors who cannot read. She called upon one youngster, who was a junior, to read one paragraph in the textbook. He did not open his mouth, just "swaggered" in his seat. When she assumed that he was being insolent and pursued it, she found that he did not open his mouth because he could not read. There was only one word in the paragraph that he could identify--"a." She said he was not stupid; he was a boy of average intelligence. She worked with him for a few months, and before the end of the school year he was reading at approximately sixth-grade level. His name is "legion"; there are many other all over the country. This is one problem that needs to be tackled, and it cannot be tackled in isolation.

I applaud the way that OIC is dealing with the problem and tying it in with manpower. That is as it should be. The greatest motivation for one to learn to read is that this is the way to get a job, the way to gain some mobility, and the way to make it in society. If it is not tied in, I submit to you that the manpower-training programs will be meaningless for the hard-core poor, because, to start with, they will be excluded from it.

May I re-emphasize the necessity for seeing that the training programs that we use are training people for existing jobs, not for jobs that are obsolete. We need to give them skills for specific jobs not obsolete skills. So far as I know, and I stand to be corrected, there is no nation-wide, comprehensive inventory of jobs for which there is a shortage of manpower, so that we can pin point them and zero-in on them. - In some cities, we have some idea which jobs are available but on a nation-wide level, I do not think that information is accurately available. There are such jobs, we know for example that

there is a shortage of draftsmen. Some companies in some cities in the East are now importing draftsmen from England. Why is there a shortage? It is because many people who used to become draftsmen now become engineers, and those at the bottom have not moved up. They have to go out and find draftsmen. A youngster with two years of high-school education, if he can read, can with one year of training become a draftsman. Draftsmen in New York, I understand, get up to \$7.00 an hour. That is quite good pay. So a youngster who heretofore was a dead-ender--his future was a broom and a mop--now, with one year of training, becomes a professional with a tie and a shirt and sits at a table with a light over it, gets coffee breaks and everything else. He has gained some mobility. There are other jobs like that, too. I need not mention the nonprofessional jobs of which Arthur Perlman and Frank Reisman spoke in their book, *New Careers for the Poor*--teachers aides, nurses' aides, recreation aides, social-worker aides, etc. Their estimate is that there are some 5,000,000 jobs that can be created. The Shoyer Amendment is an attempt to do that, and I sincerely trust that it will be implemented fully.

When we zero-in on these jobs, another question arises--what type of training are we giving? I observed in many manpower training programs the use of techniques which, very frankly, I think are outmoded. Quite often we are using the apprenticeship techniques of training. The idea is to take a person without skill, put him in proximity to a skilled person and then through a kind of osmosis, as the apprentice hands the craftsman a tool now and then, he develops minimal skills. Then, if he works beside the person with skill for a number of years and observes him, he will develop expertise. It is through such reasoning, we are told by some of the building trades, for example, that it takes four, five, or six years to make a skilled craftsman. I suggest that this is nonsense; that this is "horse and buggyism" in the jet age. We ought now to begin programming the instruction. We can do it quickly, but it has a danger. If we program instruction and start turning out skills rapidly, we had better be sure that we have jobs for those persons who will have the skills. We had better be sure that the jobs have been produced and that the economy is prepared to absorb a rapidly rising lower class.

I have seen programmed methods work in Job Corps centers. In Lincoln, Nebraska, they are doing it. Normally, they tell us it takes about nine months to make a meat-cutter. At the Lincoln Job Center, they are making meat-cutters in 18 days, and, believe me, they are superior to the nine-month men. After the first group finished their series of tool stations in 18 days, they went downtown for on-the-job training in retail stores, and without exception their bosses said

they were superior to the regular meat-cutters and they would like to hire them if they could. But they could not for many reasons. They already had people who had seniority and everything else. But we can do it; it can be done with the other skills. The kind of programmed instructional methods that are now becoming a by-word in literacy training should be used on a large scale in manpower training, too. We can, with sufficient inspiration and motivation provide the skills, if society has the ingenuity and the will to provide the jobs. Jobs can be provided, perhaps not in the manufacturing industries, but in the rebuilding of the cities, public works and transportation facilities, schools, hospitals, recreation facilities, etc. But here again, we will have to continue pressuring the building trades unions. Rebuilding will be a construction pattern for a long time to come. More jobs will be available, too, through manning these new facilities when they are built.

But, I think that when we have done all this, we should not delude ourselves into thinking that we have solved the problem, for we have not. The problems confronted by the poor, and most especially the poor whose poverty is compounded by prejudice, are all interrelated and tied together. I do not think that we will find the bottom layer of the black population becoming really upwardly mobile in American society until we have done something about the housing and the school problems, and until we have done something about providing a sense of belonging for those who have been outside of the scheme of things. As Richard Wright put these words in the mouth of Bitter Thomas in *Native Son*, "Sometimes I feel that I am on the outside of the world looking in through a knothole in the fence." I think that he put his finger on the feeling which so many youngsters--especially youngsters--have in the ghetto community. They feel that they have been by-passed by government, by society, by civil rights organizations, by everything--that their *status* is *quo*. Somehow we must bring them in. I started to say "back" in, but I cannot say "back" in, because they have never really been in. It is our task to bring them into society; to bring them in by helping them to find the path of upward mobility.

In addition to jobs, I believe that mobility lies in economic development of the ghetto community. First of all, the ghetto community of every city in our country where there is a ghetto--and that is every city that has a substantial number of minority people--is in much the same economic condition as an underdeveloped nation. We have what the economists call "a bad balance-of-payments position." We spend a lot of money, but it does not stay with the community; it goes out. We are consumers, but not producers. The Negro population now spends approximately \$20 billion a year; that is quite a lot of

money. It is more than the GNP in most countries in Asia, Africa and Europe; it is more than Canada's. But almost none of it remains anywhere near the ghetto community. Harlem spends a half billion dollars a year; and maybe one tenth of one percent of that remains there. Columbia University is in Harlem and spends many millions of dollars a year. It does not spend any in Harlem; it is not Columbia's fault. It is Harlem's fault because Harlem has not organized to produce the goods and services that Columbia needs. The same is true in Philadelphia. Temple University is in North Philadelphia--right in the heart of it--but none of the goods and services that Temple buys comes from the community. Therefore we urge the establishment of economic development corporations in ghetto communities throughout the country, and we urge that they make use of the talents and the skills that exist within the ghetto. The skills are there. One corporation has been started in Harlem. They are calling in economists from Columbia University and New York University, especially those who have had some experience in underdeveloped nations of the world, saying, "What can you tell us? We need your expertise. How can we improve this balance-of-payments position? What can we export to the rest of the city and to the rest of the country, and how?"

Some are doing it on a small scale themselves by starting cooperatives. Out in Watts, there are cooperatives being started now. One factory they are planning to start is a sweet-potato pie factory--which I think is very good, because this is marketing "soul" food. I think that the Negro community should not wait for the rest of the national community to begin marketing "soul" culture. I was in a restaurant in midtown Manhattan recently and noticed that they were selling "soul" food--they had not gotten up to chitterlings, but they were coming along. They had barbecued spareribs, fried chicken, black-eyed peas and collard greens, corn bread, etc. I looked around to see if anybody was ordering it, and surely enough, there were well-dressed tourists ordering "soul" food; I looked around to see what my few black brothers were ordering--filet mignon. I say that we had better start trying to corner some of these markets. We have much to sell, so let's sell it to the national community as others have done.

If there is any training that we especially need--this also includes the middle class--it is training in management skills. If you can provide that, you are performing a real service, and a service that would be welcomed by the burgeoning indigenous development groups in the ghetto communities. They will be calling on the universities--where else will they get the expertise? They will be calling on you as community organizers. When you help, remember this--you cannot do it for them. If you try to do it for them, it is a failure; all that you

can do is to help them do it for themselves. There must be no paternalism, because if there is anything that poor people develop--any poor people--it is sensitive antennas. They have had to in order to survive. When you live in the streets of Harlem, if you are going to live more than a few years, you are going to become sensitive to what other people think of you and plan for you. So they develop sensitive antennas, and if you are patronizing, they will know it; this is probably one of the reasons that so many youngsters whom the schools assume to teach in the ghetto are not learning. Teachers stand before classes of kids and believe that those kids cannot learn as well as any other kids. They will not learn, because the teacher is merely confirming all of the hostile things that society has said to them all along--that they are nothing and of no importance. So the attitude will rub off, and will communicate itself rather quickly.

Finally, I think that we must expect the ghetto community to become increasingly interested in politics. As I see it, this is going to mean that the Negro vote is going to be tied less and less to any one political party and become more and more of a swing vote. Every time that one speaks of political power, people say, "Uh, Uh, the Negroes want to run the country." Which is, of course, bad arithmetic. All that Negroes are saying is that we are tired of being the powerless among the powerful. We would like to have our share of the power, and we intend to develop our share of the power to get a slice of the pie, and in labor terms to be able to sit at the negotiations table and bargain from a position of strength, not from a position of weakness. I merely trust that we shall learn better than others to use whatever power we shall develop with humanity and with compassion which is how power, at its finest, should be used.

Ultimately, it is not only a black problem, but it is the problem of all America. The black man is American, and so is the white man, and I think that it is in the self-interest of both to deal with the problem in fundamental terms, not the patch-quilt, bandaid type of treatment that we have been giving it in the past, but in an over-all approach, not saying that we must deal with one thing first and then the others will follow. I think that there is no such scale of priority. We have to work on a million different fronts simultaneously, otherwise we will be slipping back two paces when we advance one pace on another front. The white man and the black man are both Americans and somehow, together, they must explore the meaning of that fact. I think that perhaps at this stage of the game, it can best be done by maintaining a sense of community, developing communications more than we have in the past, and thus helping the people who have been at the bottom of

the ladder--the invisible who are now demanding to be seen, who are now bursting with existence, and the silent of the past who have now become extraordinarily vocal and articulate--by helping them to wield with unfettered hands the forces which turn the wheels of this land.

Section IV

Harold Watts, Chairman

EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF MEXICAN AMERICANS: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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The theme of this conference suggests that the appropriate vehicle for improving the utilization of human resources will be found in programs of "education and training." When studying the Mexican-American minority, the term "change" seems more appropriate than does education and training. Dorwin Cartwright wrote some years ago that we often feel less guilty in using terms such as education and training rather than change.¹ Apparently, this feeling originates from the thought that while education and training do produce change, implicitly they produce good changes within an accepted value structure. Frank use of the term change, on the contrary, implies no respect for value structures, and it even indicates that some values should be tinkered with to try to adjust them to another standard. By using change instead of education and training, we are more likely to approach realistically some of the basic problems of the Mexican Americans. Moreover, use of the term change does not confine our approach to a limited matrix which is only a small part of a much deeper problem of valuation. Therefore, the cumulative thrust of this paper is not directed toward the limited aspects of education and training *per se*; rather, it is an attempt to isolate conditions in Mexican-American life which have strongly limited change, and which continue to raise barriers to conventional education and training mechanisms designed to socialize the majority.

A brief description of the characteristics of the Mexican-American community in the Southwest is necessary to provide perspective on its aggregate position in America. Of the estimated 3,842,000 Mexican Americans in the Nation, almost 90 percent lived in five Southwestern states in 1960. California, with 1,426,538, and Texas, with 1,417,810 Mexican Americans, hold the vast majority of this minority. Generally speaking, California sets the upper boundaries of statistical indices measuring socio-economic welfare and Texas sets the lower limits. Basically, the indices show that Mexican Americans are far less

¹Dorwin Carwright, "Achieving Change in People," *Human Relations*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1951), pp. 381-392.

educated than Anglo and Negro Americans, and that they are better paid than Negroes. This latter finding is often accepted as *prima facie* proof of less racial discrimination against persons of Mexican descent than Negro Americans experience. Table 1 presents numerical support for this contention and compares the position of Anglo, Negro, and Mexican Americans in California and Texas in terms of income and educational attainment.

The data in Table 1 indicate that the greatest problem in the Mexican-American community is education, not racial discrimination. The sheer wall of racial feeling between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans has substantially melted, though discrimination still has deep roots in some areas. For many Mexican Americans, what has not melted as fast as racial discrimination is a cultural difference which impedes education and economic advances. It is in this cultural difference, not in racism, that we are most likely to find the prime barriers to the achievement of equal participation of Mexican Americans in the industrial economy.

Appropriate questions at this juncture concern the forces maintaining the cultural difference. Why have Mexican American not assimilated with the rapidity of the Italian, Irish, Polish, etc.? Why has contact with the higher levels of productivity of the industrial economy not produced the attitudes necessary to participate in it? Why have conventional methods of education and training not produced the results we normally expect?

Much of the resistance to change in the Mexican-American community is imposed upon the minority by immigration policy. Mexicans have never stopped entering the United States in large numbers. The contiguous border, with its rather casual controls, has posed little barrier to entry. Furthermore, in contrast to the overseas immigrant, the Mexican immigrant merely moves north through familiar terrain and is absorbed into a Spanish-speaking community with a value structure similar to that of his native surroundings.

Depending upon the quality and skill mix of immigrants, a receiving nation may be aided by a liberal immigration policy. The Senior Research Officer for the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, Mr. Gregory Henderson, maintains that the United States is the world's largest debtor to many developed and developing nations for an important and growing proportion of the brain and education which keeps us ahead of mankind. From 1949 to 1964, for example, a total of 84,919 engineers, scientists, and physicians immigrated to the United States. This influx of human talent is calculated by Henderson

TABLE 1

MEDIAN INCOME AND MEDIAN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF SPANISH-
SURNAME, NEGRO, AND ANGLO MALES, FOR CALIFORNIA AND TEXAS
1960

Ethnic group	California		Texas	
	Income ^a	Education ^b	Income	Education
Anglo	\$5,242	12.1 yrs	\$4,137	10.8 yrs
Spanish-surname	\$3,849	8.5 yrs	\$2,029	6.1 yrs
Spanish-surname income as a percent of Anglo income	73%		49%	
Negro	\$3,553	9.8 yrs	\$1,916	7.5 yrs
Negro income as a per- cent of Anglo income	68%		46%	

^aIncome is for employed males 14 years of age and over.

^bEducational attainment applicable to age 25 and over.

Source: *Persons of Spanish Surname*, U.S. Census of Population 1960, PC(2)-1B. *Detailed Characteristics*, U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Parts 7 and 45.

to have saved this nation approximately \$4 billion in training costs, and he further speculates that this input of talent surpasses the total value of our foreign aid since 1949.²

Unfortunately, not all immigrants are as talented and initially productive as those described by Henderson. In the period 1950-64, the United States absorbed 511,296 Mexican immigrants, 71 percent of them in unskilled and semiskilled occupational categories. A crude measure of the educational qualities of these immigrants may be gained from the census, which finds that the median years of school completed by foreign-born Spanish-surname males in the Southwest in 1960 was 3.8 years for urban residents, 1.5 years for rural nonfarm residents, and 2.4 years for rural farm residents. Table 2 displays the skill mix of Mexican immigrants for the year 1965.

TABLE 2
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS TO
THE UNITED STATES, 1965

Occupational category ^a	Number of Immigrants	Percent of total
Professional, technical, kindred	569	1.5
Farmers and farm managers	60	0.1
Managers, officials, proprietors	244	0.6
Clerical and kindred workers	428	1.1
Sales	138	0.7
Craftsmen and foremen	673	1.8
Operatives and kindred workers	358	0.9
Private household workers	2,418	6.4
Service workers	288	0.7
Farm laboreres	882	2.3
Laborers other than farm	2,431	6.4
Housewives, children, and others with no reported occupation	<u>29,480</u>	<u>77.6</u>
Total	37,969	100.1

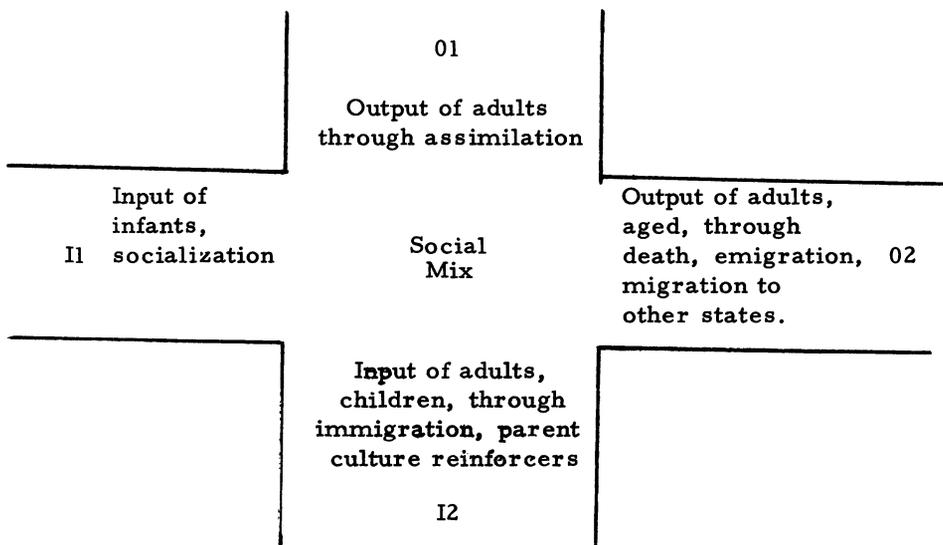
^aOccupational category is determined by the immigrant and requires no certification.

Source: *Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1965.

²*The New York Times*, November 6, 1966.

To absorb the unskilled immigrants into the mainstream of the economy is a difficult, costly task. When the Mexican immigrant arrives in the United States, he competes for unskilled jobs, reinforces the cultural and social factors of the old country, and, in general, adds to the woes of labor markets already saturated with unskilled workers. Because immigrant acts as a carrier of the parent culture, it is a powerful force preventing change in the Mexican-American community. Not only does immigration act against the erosion of group-binding influences, but the inputs of human resources from a poverty culture also continually offset the injection of educated Mexican Americans into the mainstream of the economy. As a consequence, the Mexican-American community remains internally integrated and is not subjected to adequate strains for change.

Elaboration of this view is facilitated by use of a diagram which suggests that the rate of social change for Mexican Americans is a function of the degree to which their social mix is altered by fluctuating rates in input and output variables.³



The essence of the diagram is that cultural and social change have two key sources. The input-output balance may be altered when

³This diagram and the explanation are adapted from a similar diagram and the explanation in Everett K. Wilson, *Sociology* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1966), p. 612.

different attributes are brought into the system by birth and subsequent socialization. And, the balance can shift as a result of different attributes entering the system bodily or via communication media. The crucial variable for inducing social change among Mexican Americans is O1, and to increase O1 requires reduction in I1 and I2.

Data limitations prevent precise quantification of the variables in the diagram, but a crude example, applicable to Texas alone, yields the following results for the period 1950-60: I1 is 308,236; I2 is 146,376; total inputs are 454,612. If we assume a high school diploma or college degree to be an assimilation ticket, and often it is not, variable O1 increased by 65,000 between 1950 and 1960 for those twenty-five years of age and over in 1960. It is difficult to compute O2 because mortality records are not kept separately for Spanish-surname deaths. If we assume a death rate of 12 per thousand, which is the rate in Mexico, then this portion of O2 is 170,000. Emigration to Mexico from Texas is 8,500 and migration to other states is 49,000. Total outputs are 292,500. Inputs exceed outputs by 55 percent.⁴ Moreover, the bulk of the inputs are children and untrained immigrants who pose heavy burdens on education and training facilities.⁵

Although immigration is an externally formed barrier to change, it is promotive of constancy among certain internal variables which reinforce nonchange attitudes among Mexican Americans. Two focal values emerge as dominant in explaining nonchange attitudes. One is the concept of *La Raza*, the race, and the other is an accompanying institution, the joint family, which is the psychic nexus of most Mexican Americans. Each of these values is reinforced by heavy reliance on Spanish as an essential tongue for social life.

⁴Calculations in this paragraph are derived from data in Harley L. Browning and S. Dale McLemore, *A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas* (Austin, Texas: Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas, 1964).

⁵The Spanish-surname birth rate is not officially separated from other "White" birth records. However, it is quite high and probably matches the rate of 45 per 1,000 in Mexico. The size of Mexican-American families greatly exceeds the size of "White" families. In 1960, 32.9 percent of Mexican-American families in the Southwest had four or more children. The "White" families in the U.S.A. with four or more children numbered only 15.5 percent. Celia S. Heller suggests that "an important factor in the slow upward mobility of Mexican Americans, which has not been sufficiently explored, is their high birth rate." *Mexican American Youth* (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 32.

Essentially, *La Raza* is a cultural and spiritual bond uniting all Spanish speaking peoples. In effect, *La Raza* and the joint family concept are products of a traditional peasant society, and many of their components reflect the peasant's inability to control his environment. The tendency to accept the phenomena of the social and physical world as data, not amenable to change, a time perspective oriented toward the immediate period, and a noncompetitive attitude are components of *La Raza*. The age and sex based hierarchy of the Mexican-American family simply reflects the typical peasant view that, in coping with the unknown, experience is the best guide. Therefore, the young obey, male superiority over females is emphasized, and decisions and advice are products of the group, not individuals.

Neither *La Raza* nor the joint family are attuned to the requisites of industrial society, where the success criteria are oriented toward competitive behavior, social equality, individualism, and community unity. Consequently, when Mexican Americans are compelled to deal with extrafamilial relations, school teachers, employment agencies, and governmental officials, anxiety, disaffection, and withdrawal are common.

Inextricably, Spanish is part of the focal value of *La Raza*. Spanish, often with a limited vocabulary, is the language of the home for most Mexican Americans. Consequently, English, the basic tool for success in our economy, is not developed in the important preschool years. School systems in the Southwest have reacted to this problem by trying to suppress use of Spanish and to force children to use English. The approach has failed. The alienation toward school on the part of so many Mexican-American children is a direct product of the failure of the "all or nothing" approach in teaching English. The school authorities are correct in knowing that English is mandatory if the Mexican-American child is later to avoid the vicissitudes of unstable employment patterns. Nevertheless, school for many Mexican-American children is a hostile environment, uncomfortable and often embarrassing. Competition for grades is alien to the noncompetitive values of *La Raza*, mistakes in English may be ridiculed, and often the values of the home are contradicted. Under these conditions, continued use of Spanish not only symbolizes allegiance to *La Raza*, but also is a symbol of loyalty to the family against challenges to certain components of that institution. Moreover, the easy availability of Spanish-language media in the Southwest blunts the need to acquire English. In fact, there is an underworld of Spanish culture in the Southwest in all media forms. These media often serve as escape devices from the pressures of Anglo-American culture, and they reinforce the barriers which weaken assimilation. Certainly, for whatever reason Spanish is retained, it retards economic progress for Mexican Americans.

Because the values of *La Raza*, the joint family structure, and use of Spanish are contradictory to the requisities of the industrial economy in which Mexican Americans wish to participate, does not mean that these elements will easily be cast aside by their holders. The struggle to have the best of both worlds is typified in the statement of a Texas Mexican-American leader who, when asked what he wanted for his people, replied:

We want equal opportunities for jobs and equal pay for equal work. We want to share the material benefits of American technology. We also want the right to be different from the Anglos. We want to maintain the Mexican family, the dignity of the individual, and the beauty of the Spanish language. I would never trade Latin dignity for Anglo boistrousness. I don't want to be like my Anglo neighbors. I want to be John Salazar, a Mexican American. This country should be big enough to allow us the freedom to be different without being oppressed.⁶

The conflict of values is evident. Change and compromise are necessary. The material benefits of American technology will not be gained from adherence to values incompatible with that technology and its rationality. Certain values in the lives of many Mexican Americans must yield to the values of the majority if sequestration is to be avoided. Value transition is, however, often a disrupting process. Some Mexican Americans do break out of the traditional society and voluntarily adapt their lives to the value structure of the majority, but the number who effectively make the transition is small. Further, the attempted transition to other values is often accompanied by severe anxiety about individual identity and community affiliation. The acculturation process, once started, is not irreversible. Retreat back into folk society is a common occurrence.

Given the unsettling influences of the acculturation process, is it worthwhile? Christopher Rand's recent *New Yorker* article on minorities in Los Angeles notes that, "All things considered, the Mexicans and the Anglos seem destined to live apart, somewhat like the English and the French in Canada."⁷ This is hardly a sensible alternative if dual

⁶ William Madsen, *The Mexican-American of South Texas* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 110.

⁷ *The New Yorker*, October 15, 1966, p. 72.

cultures means that Mexican Americans will be compelled to accept inferior economic and social status. Frankly, the only plausible course to follow is one which strives to make the term Mexican American meaningless by achieving acculturation. Granted that this is a difficult task, nevertheless, diffusion of the Mexican-American population into the mainstream of American life ought to be a goal of public policy. There are steps that can be taken to facilitate this transition.

The first step to take in hastening the encounter of ideas promotive of cultural assimilation is to diminish the adverse effects of current immigration policy. To be rational, immigration policy should assess the employment prospects for unskilled entrants whose background is usually one of deep poverty. Secondly, immigration policy should not burden a particular group of workers, especially the unskilled, with excessive competition for jobs, as is now the situation in many areas of Mexican-American concentration.

Insofar as Mexican immigrants do not add to domestic manpower problems, freedom of entry should be allowed, but the present pattern of entry prevents achievement of even minimum standards of economic progress from which many Mexican Americans could establish a base for attainment of the education and training they need. Although the Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration is contemplating changes in immigration policy with the other Americas, it is unlikely that the present trend of about 45,000 annual entrants from Mexico will change.

Permanent immigration is, however, only one part of the total immigration problem. In Texas, and to a lesser extent in the other states bordering Mexico, there is the problem of the alien "commuter." A commuter is a border crosser who daily enters the United States to work. Precise quantification of the employment impact of commuter labor is impossible due to an absence of appropriate data gathering procedures. As a first approximation, it is likely that about 70,000 commuters work in the United States and maintain residence in Mexico. The commuter issue forms an international problem which has defied equitable solution. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to note that commuters constitute inputs which serve as impediments to improvement and change in the established Mexican-American communities near the border.⁸

⁸For verification of the commuter problem see Leo Grebler, "Mexican Immigration to the United States," *Advance Report 2, Mexican-American Study Project* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1965), pp. 37-78. And, Lamar B. Jones, "Mexican-American Labor Problems in Texas," unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1965. Also see, *Business Week*, October 15, 1966, p. 168.

If immigration from Mexico, in all forms, is not to impinge on the ability of Mexican Americans to progress, we must ensure that entrants do not take citizens' jobs or through excessive competition unduly lower the rewards of employment. Paradoxically, we have statutes permitting retraining and relocation allowances for workers who experience employment loss from import increases caused by tariff reductions. The Mexican American who loses his job or has his wages held to low levels by direct competition of foreign labor working in the United States receives no corresponding degree of protection.

If the harmful effects of forcing an educationally underdeveloped minority to absorb and compete with the human inputs from a far less developed nation than the United States are lessened by improvements in immigration policy, then the job of providing Mexican Americans with a systematic alteration in their relationship with two cultures can be accomplished. From the standpoint of induced change, we need to inject a common medium--English--upon a noncommon base in such a way as to generate a favorable propensity toward change. In short, the child must live in a different world from that of his parents and he must seek identity with the new world.

To date, the educational system in which most Mexican Americans have been involved, has not operated adequately to alter child-parent relationships in such a way as to transform the value orientation between successive generations. The child has received only limited exposure to Anglo values at school, and his language and social skills poorly equip him to respond and interpret the school situation. As a consequence, he has been continually beset by value conflicts and failure. Since success in forcing use of English has often served only to establish psychological barriers against school, educators in the Southwest have recently begun to urge a basic change in educational policy toward Spanish-speaking children. The new technique is bilingualism, the teaching of all subjects in both Spanish and English to Spanish-speaking children.

The development of Spanish-language skills avoids the deprecation of Spanish culture and thereby removes the antagonism of pupils toward English and the culture it represents. Bilingual instruction also increases the receptivity of adults to education for their children, for it meets a basic need that the parent culture be understood. This latter point is highly significant, for one of the causes delaying assimilation has been the lack of parental interest in practices that support academic achievement. Pilot projects in bilingual instruction are currently underway in the Southwest and the preliminary reports are

highly encouraging. School dropout rates have been reduced, participation in school activities by children and parents has increased, and motivation for learning is noticeably improved. The validity of the bilingual approach is supported by the National Education Association's finding that children born and receiving early schooling in Mexico, or some other Spanish-speaking nation, generally do better in our schools than do native born Americans of Mexican descent who often are negatively bilingual; that is, they lack proficiency in both Spanish and English.⁹

Bilingual training must, however, have as its prime goal the creation of fluency in English. The concession to Spanish instruction should be viewed as an instrumental technique for achieving acculturation and as an expedient device for developing human resources. Tentatively--only because the number of bilingual programs is small--the new teaching technique seems to provide a promising break-through for solving the pressing manpower problem of motivating Mexican Americans toward the education and training requirements necessary for skilled employment.

In a sense, bilingual training is analogous to the problem of developing acceptance of education and training programs in underdeveloped nations. Through this technique, we are attempting to operate within the confines of an indigenous society and culture by applying tradition as a vehicle of change in order to better equip people for the task of economic development. And, as in an underdeveloped country, the effectiveness of the new technique will be determined by the disruptiveness it causes. If more knowledgeable inputs are injected into the social mix of Mexican-American life, then the inevitable strains of articulated demands for change will result in an acceleration of social, economic, and intellectual progress for this minority.

The *obiter dictum* that "A way of seeing is always a way of not seeing" is certainly applicable to the previous pages. Perhaps too much space has been devoted to making a rather obvious point--namely, that if Mexican Americans are going to "make it" in this country, they must assimilate, accept technological values, and generally play the game by the rule book of the majority. And to close the circle, it follows that if Mexican Americans are to assimilate, they have to learn

⁹"The Invisible Minority," Report of the NEA-Tucson Survey on the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking (Washington: Department of Rural Education, National Education Association, 1966).

English and achieve higher levels of education and training. Unfortunately, the obviousness of a problem does not necessarily produce a correspondingly obvious solution. The task still remains of finding effective ways to induce the needed changes. As a start, a thorough study of the immigration situation is needed, not to justify exclusion, but to appraise quantitatively the economic opportunities for unskilled entrants. If political demands limit changes in basic entry policy, then there is all the more reason for substantial acceleration and deepening of federal and state programs of education and training in areas where Mexican Americans are concentrated.

Secondly, we need to study the elements in the lives of Mexican Americans which reinforce nonchange attitudes with a view toward converting them into feedback mechanisms which will generate assimilationist impulses. Further exploration of using the public school as a lever of change is needed, for the bilingual instructional program is only one of many possible improvements. Effective employment counseling should be rapidly expanded, not only to broaden the occupational perceptiveness of Mexican Americans, but also to find where they are excluded from employment opportunities, and why.

As a final suggestion, we should study the feasibility of applying the techniques social scientists have developed in aiding peoples in underdeveloped nations to the problems of minorities in America. This is especially true where acceptance of education, training, and mobility consciousness require intensification if poverty is to be escaped.

THE EFFECTS OF LOW EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND DISCRIMINATION ON THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MINORITIES

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In my investigation of the job problems of disadvantaged ethnic minorities in the United States, I have found it useful to distinguish between two general causes for these problems: one is low educational attainment by which I refer to *quantity* of formal schooling, and the other is the influence of nonschooling factors. Under the latter, I include such things as discrimination, aspirations, and, anomalously for the sake of classification convenience, quality of educational attainment. In this paper, I will present the results of my research on the connections between these two general influences and the inferior occupational structures of disadvantaged minorities.

One of the most widely accepted facts of our day is that workers with high levels of educational attainment are able to get better jobs, in terms of income and status, than workers who possess only small amounts of schooling. Thus, it is logical that much of the effort to improve minority welfare should be directed to raising the educational attainment of the disadvantaged minorities. At the same time, we must be well aware of the limitations which exist on what schooling can do for minority persons. The fact of the matter is that at each level of schooling white workers hold much better jobs than minority workers. Perhaps even more important, *increments* to schooling have much poorer occupational consequences for minority persons than they do for members of the majority society.

These facts are set forth in Figures 1-8 in which we have plotted the proportions of white and nonwhite employment contained in each major occupation for several different levels of schooling.

The greatest differences between nonwhites and whites are in the managerial and sales occupations (Figures 2 and 3). At very low levels of schooling, two to three times larger proportions of whites than nonwhites are managers and sales workers. In relative terms the white-nonwhite differences increase after eight years of schooling until, at the level of one to three years of college, the proportions of whites in managerial and sales occupations are almost four times those of

Figures 1-8, The Proportions of White and Nonwhite Employment in the Major Occupations by School Years Completed, Males, Ages 35-44 in the U. S. , 1960

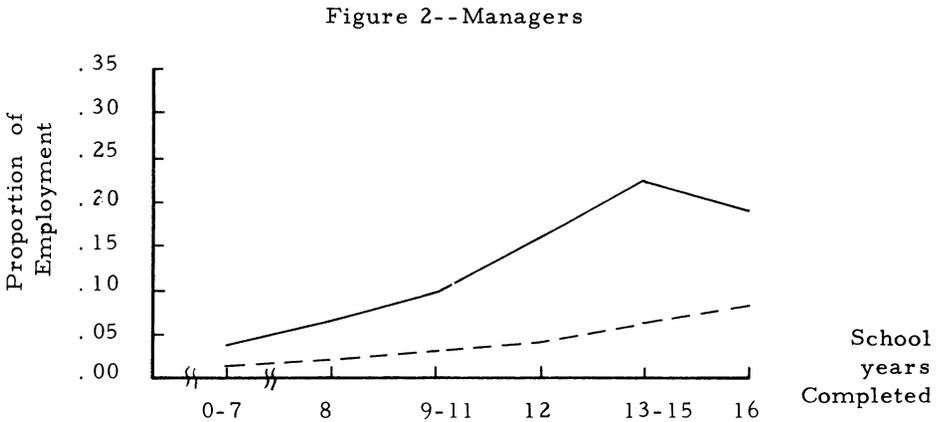
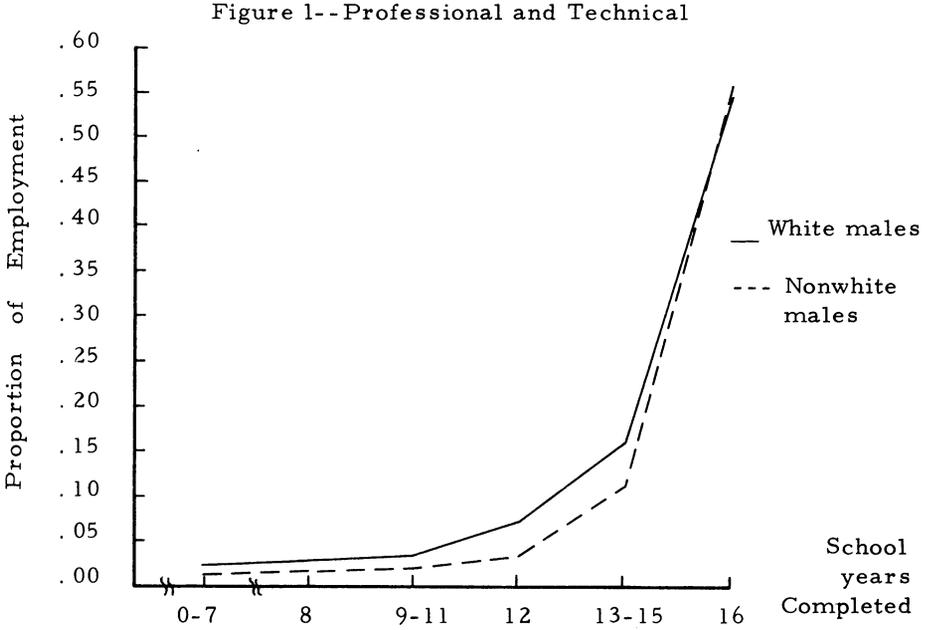


Figure 3--Sales

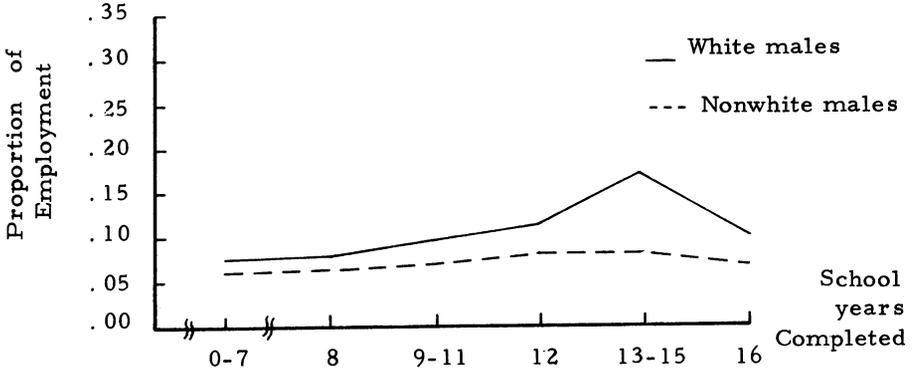


Figure 4--Clerical

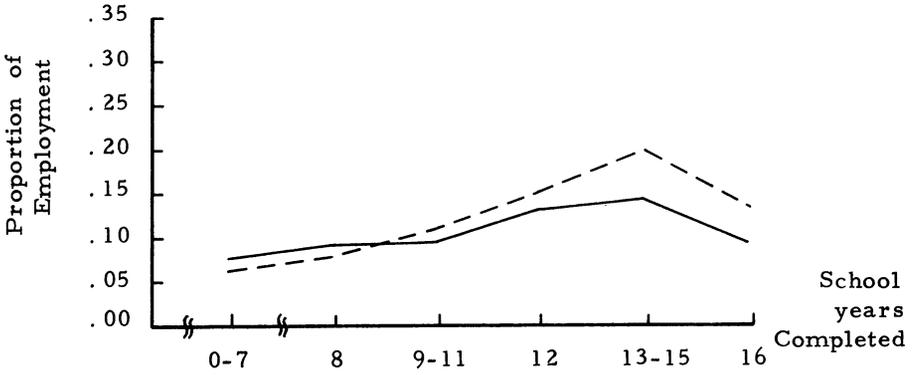


Figure 5--Craft

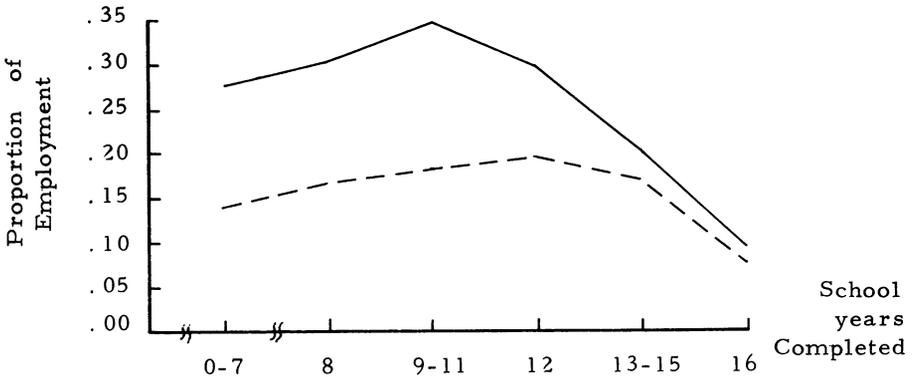


Figure 6--Operatives

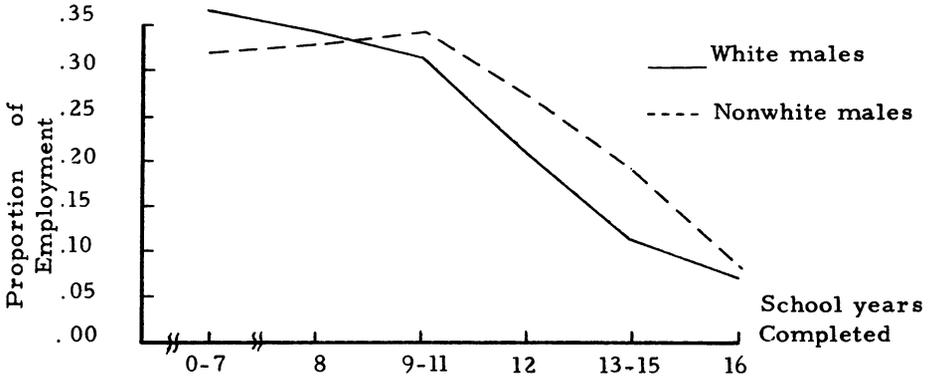


Figure 7--Service

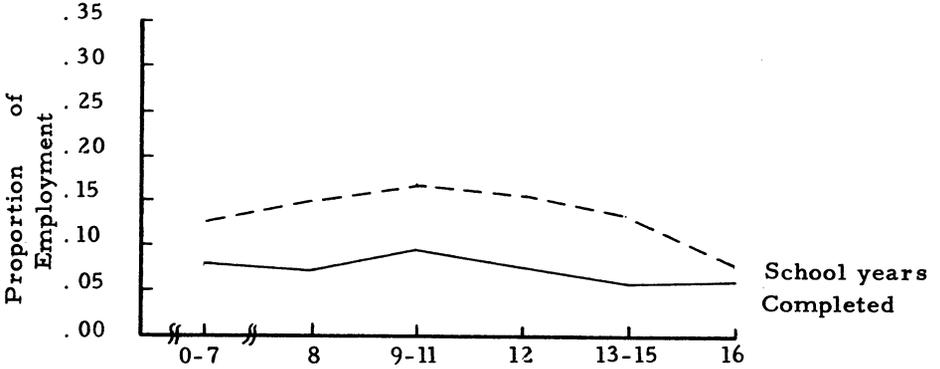
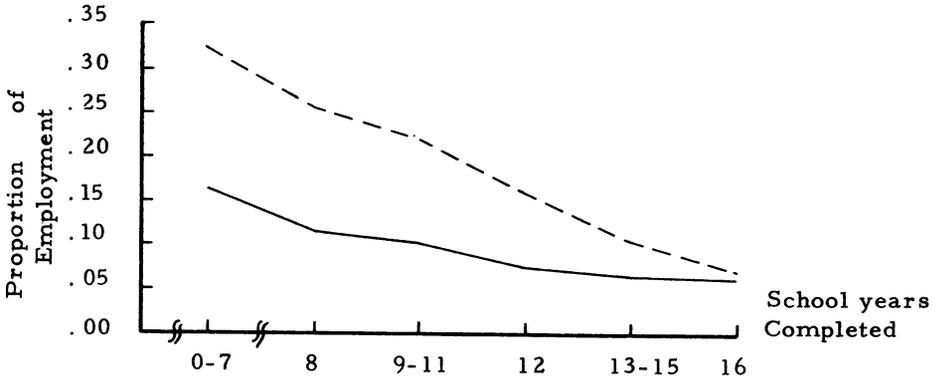


Figure 8--Laborers



nonwhites. Only with the completion of college do the differential advantages of whites narrow, and this narrowing occurs because the proportions of whites in managerial and sales jobs drop sharply with graduation from college.

Large differences also exist at most schooling levels between white and nonwhite chances of being employed as craftsmen (Figure 5). Craft employment among whites is about twice as great as among nonwhites until high school is completed. At that point, a shift of whites out of craft work into nonmanual employment occurs. The shift away from crafts does not take place among nonwhites until they have completed one to three years of college, and even then is very slight.

Returning to the nonmanual or white-collar sector, we notice that whites with high school and some college are much more likely to be employed in professional and technical jobs than are similarly educated nonwhites (Figure 1). At the level of college graduation, however this is no longer true--the two groups have about the same proportion of their college graduates in the professional-technical occupations.

This is an appropriate point at which to note the inherent limitations in the use of major occupational categories to compare minority and majority workers.¹ The job compositions of these categories are not very homogeneous with respect to earnings provided and kind of work performed. In almost all categories, but especially those in the white-collar sector, nonwhite workers hold jobs which are markedly inferior to those held by white workers.² For example, 20 percent of the nonwhite male college graduates who are employed in the professional category are in secondary and elementary teaching, a relatively low-wage job classification. The comparable percentage for whites is only 9 percent. Thus, the experience of nonwhite college graduates in obtaining representation in professional and technical jobs is not as equitable as it seems from Figure 1.

¹These limitations have been pointed out by many investigators. See, for example, James Scoville, "The Development and Relevance of U. S. Occupational Data," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* (October 1965), pp. 70-79.

²See, Walter Fogel, *Mexican-Americans in Labor Markets*, *Advance Report* (Los Angeles: University of California, Mexican-American Study Project, in press), Chapter Six.

From Figure 4, we see that schooling has approximately the same implications for clerical employment for both groups until the level of one to three years of college is reached. As we have seen, at that level of schooling a much larger proportion of whites than nonwhites can obtain managerial and sales jobs; these jobs usually pay more than clerical positions. The strong representation in clerical employment of nonwhites with one to three years of college reflects that fact--that is, reflects the lack of alternative opportunities for nonmanual employment which are open to these nonwhites.

The differential effects of education on the two groups show up clearly among operatives (semiskilled workers), a relatively low wage occupation. In the lowest schooling classification, 0-7 years, a larger fraction of whites than nonwhites is in operative employment (Figure 6). At each succeeding schooling level, the importance of operative work to whites declines, while the semiskilled proportion of nonwhite employment increases until high school is completed. Thus, for workers with eight years of schooling, the operative proportions of employment are similar for the two groups, but for workers with one to three years of college the semiskilled proportion is over twice as large for nonwhites as for whites. It is clear that schooling has a much greater impact on the ability of whites to move out of operative work into better paying occupations.

Both the service and labor occupations absorb much more nonwhite than white employment at all schooling levels, with the differences larger at high levels of schooling than at low ones.

In sum, these results show clearly that at *each* level of schooling nonwhites have an occupational structure which is markedly inferior to that of whites. They also suggest that the nonwhite disadvantage increases as schooling increases.

We can more precisely illustrate the latter point--the comparative occupational gains which follow increments to schooling--by computing, from the data underlying Figures 1-8, the changes which take place in the occupational proportions of white and nonwhite employment between successive levels of schooling. The results are given in Table 1. In order to emphasize the practical meaning of these results we shall treat the occupational proportions of employment as probabilities of being employed in these occupations.

Perhaps the most significant fact disclosed by these data is the small increase in the probabilities of managerial and sales employment obtained by nonwhites who complete high school or high school plus

TABLE 1
 CHANGES IN THE PROPORTIONS OF WHITE AND NONWHITE
 EMPLOYMENT IN THE MAJOR OCCUPATIONS WITH
 INCREMENTS TO SCHOOLING, MALES, AGED 35-44
 IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960

<u>Major occupation</u>	Increments to school years completed					
	<u>From 9-11 to 12</u>		<u>From 12 to 13-15</u>		<u>From 13-15 to 16 or more</u>	
	<u>W</u>	<u>NW</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>NW</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>NW</u>
Professionals, technical	.04	.02	.12	.08	.40	.50
Managerial	.06	.02	.09	.03	-.05	.01
Sales	.03	.01	.05	.01	-.06	-.01
Clerical	.04	.06	.01	.05	-.06	-.07
Craft	-.04	.02	-.12	-.02	-.11	-.10
Operative	-.11	-.07	-.10	-.07	-.06	-.13
Service	-.01	.00	-.01	.00	-.02	-.09
Labor	-.03	-.06	-.02	-.04	-.01	-.05
All nonmanual	.17	.11	.27	.17	.23	.43

Source: Computed from occupational distributions by school years completed (the data underlying Figures 1-8) in the *Census of Population, 1960, Subject Reports, Educational Attainment*.

some college. The probability that nonwhite males with one to three years of college will be employed as managers or sales workers is .07, or seven chances out of a hundred, larger than the probability of such employment for nonwhite males with 9-11 years of schooling. The comparable probability increase for whites is .23. For nonwhites, the major effect of not dropping out of high school is an increase in the chances for clerical employment--not the most attractive prize imaginable.

In terms of earnings and status nonmanual employment in the U.S. is clearly more desirable than manual. A useful way of summarizing the differential occupational consequences of increments to schooling is to look at what happens to the probability of nonmanual employment. Among white males, graduation from high school raises the probability of getting nonmanual employment by .17 over that which exists for 9-11 years of schooling; the comparable nonwhite increase is .11. For whites, one to three years of college brings an additional increase of .27 in the probability of nonmanual employment; for nonwhites the increase is .17. College graduation, on the other hand, does bring a greater increase in nonmanual employment for nonwhites than for whites. But this results from the fact that a very high proportion (66 percent) of whites are already in nonmanual occupations at the one to three years of college level.

From these data, it is evident that nonschooling factors--influences other than low educational attainment--are important in bringing about the disadvantaged occupational patterns of nonwhites, because even when schooling is controlled, the occupational structure of nonwhites is markedly inferior to that of whites. Going beyond exposition of this fact, it is possible to estimate the relative contributions made by inferior educational attainment and by nonschooling influences to the inferior occupational structure of minorities.

STANDARDIZING THE OCCUPATIONAL EFFECTS OF SCHOOLING

The procedure which I have employed for this purpose is fully explained under Table 2. Briefly, the procedure standardizes or controls the effects of educational attainment on occupational structure. Using census data, I applied the occupational percentage distribution of white U.S. males at each level of school years completed to minority males who had completed the same amounts of schooling. After summing the occupational data which were generated in this way for the eight

school year classes, this procedure produced an occupational distribution for minority males which was based upon standard (for whites) occupational effects of schooling. The next step was to compute indexes of occupational position from the standardized occupational distributions. These standardized indexes, which are nothing more than measures of the average money value of the occupations in which the minority and white populations are employed, were then compared with similar indexes computed from actual occupational distributions. This standardization procedure in effect removes the influence on occupational structure of all factors except that of school years completed. Therefore, it enables us to assess the comparative importance of schooling and of nonschooling factors on the occupational structures of minorities.

The results are summarized in Table 2. The source for all of the underlying data was the *1960 Census of Population*. By working with the North and South separately, we were able to obtain results for several nonwhite populations and also for Puerto Ricans and "Spanish-surname" persons. Most Spanish-surname persons enumerated by the census are Mexican Americans.

A discussion of all of the data in Table 2 would be redundant, but an illustrative interpretation may be helpful. Negro urban males in the North, ages 35-44, have an index of actual occupational position which is 85 percent of the index for their white counterparts. When occupational distributions by schooling class are standardized, the Negro index rises to 94 percent of the white figure. The remaining difference between the two groups is due to the lesser amounts of schooling possessed by Negroes. Thus, it is evident that the larger part of the occupational difference which exists between Negroes and whites is a result of factors other than amount of schooling completed. In Table 3, the fractions of the white-ethnic group occupational differences which are removed by eliminating the nonschooling influences through the standardization technique are given. To repeat, the fractions not removed by the standardization are associated with low educational attainments of the ethnic groups.

It can be seen from Tables 2 and 3 that in both the North and South, and in both age classes, low amounts of schooling are less contributory than other influences to the low occupational position of Negroes. More schooling would improve the occupational positions of Negroes, but elimination of other influences on occupational distribution--those not associated with amount of schooling--would be of greater help.

The contrary tends to be true for the Spanish-surname populations. Low amount of schooling is the most important influence on their inferior

TABLE 2

INDICES OF OCCUPATIONAL POSITION, ACTUAL AND WITH
STANDARDIZED OCCUPATIONAL EFFECTS OF SCHOOLING,
URBAN MALES, 1960

		<u>North, ^a Ages 35-44</u>					
		<u>Negro</u>	<u>Spanish surname ^b</u>	<u>Puerto Rican ^c</u>	<u>Japanese</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>White</u>
	Actual	52.7	56.2	53.5	62.8	65.5	61.9
	Standardized	58.0	57.8	56.0	62.5	61.7	61.7
Proportion of white index	Actual	.85	.91	.86	1.01	1.06	
	Standardized	.94	.94	.91	1.01	.99	
		<u>South, Ages 35-44</u>					
		<u>Negro</u>	<u>Spanish surname ^d</u>	<u>White</u>			
	Actual	37.9	43.2	52.6			
	Standardized	46.3	44.6	52.1			
Proportion of white index	Actual	.73	.82				
	Standardized	.89	.86				
		<u>North, ^a Ages 25-34</u>					
		<u>Negro</u>	<u>Spanish surname ^b</u>	<u>Puerto Rican ^c</u>	<u>Japanese</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>White</u>
	Actual	48.3	50.1	48.6	54.9	54.1	54.9
	Standardized	51.7	51.3	50.3	55.3	54.5	53.5
Proportion of white index	Actual	.88	.91	.89	1.01	.99	
	Standardized	.97	.96	.94	1.03	1.02	
		<u>South, Ages 25-34</u>					
		<u>Negro</u>	<u>Spanish surname ^d</u>	<u>White</u>			
	Actual	35.1	38.7	45.3			
	Standardized	41.4	40.0	44.6			
Proportion of white index	Actual	.78	.86				
	Standardized	.93	.90				

a. Includes all of U. S. except the Southern region.

b. Enumerated by the census only for the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, and New Mexico. Also included in white population.

- c. For the United States. Approximately 5 percent of Puerto Ricans in the U. S. live in the South. Includes only persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage. Approximately 95 percent of all Puerto Ricans are classified as "white" by the Census.
- d. Enumerated by the census only for the state of Texas.

Source: All data used for the calculations were from the *Census of Population, 1960*.

Actual indices. Computed for each ethnic group from the form $\frac{E_i X_i Y_i}{EX_i}$ where X_i is the number of employed urban males in the i^{th} major occupation (occupations were professional and technical, managerial, clerical, sales, craft, operative, service, laborer, and occupation not reported). For whites, data available necessitated use of urban *experienced workers* in the labor force instead of employed. Urban white experienced workers for the indicated age classes were obtained by adjusting occupational data for urban and rural areas combined. Adjustments were made with ratios of white urban to white urban and rural combined experienced workers of all ages. Y_i is the 1959 earnings of experienced males in the labor force in the i^{th} major occupation for the indicated age class and region.

Standardized indices. The computation form was the same as that used for the actual indices. The X_i 's for the standardized indices were derived as follows: The occupational percentage distribution of experienced white males in the labor force (for the indicated age class and region) was computed for each school years completed class (the classes were 0, 1-4, 5-7, 8, 9-11, 12, 13-15, 16+). These percentages were applied to the numbers of urban males of each ethnic group who were in the school years completed classes (e. g., the percentage of white males with 0 school years completed which was employed in each occupation in 1960 was multiplied by the number of Negro males with 0 school years completed; the same computations were made for all of the other school years completed classes), thus generating an occupation-schooling matrix. By summing across the schooling classes an occupational distribution (the X_i 's) was obtained for each ethnic group. These occupational distributions are standardized, i. e., they are based upon a standard (white) occupational distribution for each schooling class. The only white data available combined *urban and rural* experienced workers. Large percentages of rural whites with low amounts of schooling are employed in the farm occupations (especially in the South); therefore applying these percentages to the ethnic groups generates employment in the farm occupations which is unrealistically high for urban populations. For this reason, the farm occupations were excluded from both the actual and standardized indices. The actual and standardized indices for whites would be exactly the same if we had been able to obtain occupation-by-schooling data for *urban* experienced workers. Since this was not possible, the standardization process changes the white indices by small amounts (i. e., the occupation-by-schooling distributions of *urban and rural* whites are slightly different from those for *urban* whites). The Y_i 's were those used for computing the actual indices.

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF WHITE-ETHNIC GROUP DIFFERENCE IN
 OCCUPATIONAL POSITION REMOVED BY STANDARDIZATION
 OF THE OCCUPATIONAL EFFECTS OF SCHOOLING,
 URBAN MALES, 1960

<u>Region and age class</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Spanish surname</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>
North, ages 35-44	58	31	32
South, ages 35-44	59	19	
North, ages 25-34	72	53	48
South, ages 25-34	68	28	

Source: Computed from Table 2 before rounding.

occupational position, especially in the South. The Oriental populations (with the exception of the Chinese, aged 35-44 in the North, whom we shall ignore for the moment) have actual occupational positions which are quite similar to those of whites. These positions are not changed significantly by standardization because the educational attainments of the Chinese and Japanese are also very similar to those of whites. This implies that the Oriental groups are free from occupational discrimination, although we cannot be certain about this because many diverse kinds of jobs are included in each major occupational category, and Orientals may have more difficulty than whites in obtaining the good ones.³

The tables also show that, although the occupational position of Negroes compared to whites is much better in the North than in the South, the relative contribution of nonschooling factors to the Negro-white differences is approximately the same in both areas. For both

³Evidence which inferentially suggests that Orientals do face some job discrimination is given in, Walter Fogel, "The Effect of Low Educational Attainment on Incomes: A Comparative Study of Selected Ethnic Groups, *The Journal of Human Resources* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, Fall 1966), pp. 22-40.

Negro and Spanish-speaking populations the relative role of nonschooling factors is greater at the 25-34 age level than at the older ages. I interpret this to mean that the better occupational positions of disadvantaged ethnic males in the younger age class (shown in Table 2) result from their comparatively better educational attainments, rather than from any decline in the influence of nonschooling factors in the two age classes.

A measure of the extent to which removal of nonschooling barriers would affect minority employment in *each* occupation can be obtained by comparing the employment of a minority group in each occupation before and after standardization. The results of such comparisons are given in Table 4. For example, standardized occupational effects of schooling would raise the proportion of Northern Negroes employed in the professional and technical category by a factor of 1.55. By far the greatest changes in Negro employment would occur in the managerial and sales categories--the number of Negroes in these two occupations would increase approximately four to six times over the number presently employed in them. It is evident that the managerial and sales occupations pose the most formidable barriers to Negroes. The only other category where Negro employment would be greatly enlarged by removal of nonschooling influences is in the craft occupation, where it would double.

In summary, the evidence presented in Tables 2, 3, and 4 shows that for Negroes, the ethnic population with the lowest occupational attainments, influences other than amount of schooling are more important than amount of schooling itself in bringing about their inferior occupational patterns. Specifically, Negroes are employed in the managerial, sales, and craft occupations much less frequently than can be accounted for by their educational attainment. Nonschooling influences are also important to the occupational patterns of the Spanish-surname groups, though not as important as low educational attainment.

It is now necessary to have a closer look at the nature of these nonschooling influences. In particular, an attempt will be made to say something about the relative importance of discrimination.

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONAL PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF EMPLOYMENT,
ACTUAL AND STANDARDIZED, URBAN MALES, AGES 35-44, 1960

Major occupation ^a	NORTH									
	Negro		Spanish surname		Puerto Rican					
	A	S	R	A	S	R				
Professional & technical	3.8%	5.9%	1.55	6.4%	6.3%	.98	3.3%	3.7%	1.12	
Managerial	2.3	9.5	4.13	6.3	9.3	1.48	4.1	7.1	1.73	
Clerical	7.9	5.7	.72	5.4	5.4	1.00	6.0	4.3	.72	
Sales	1.4	5.2	3.64	3.6	5.1	1.42	2.4	3.9	1.63	
Craft	13.3	26.6	2.00	23.7	25.5	1.08	13.0	25.3	1.95	
Operative	30.2	28.5	.94	28.5	28.4	1.00	38.4	32.0	.83	
Service	13.2	5.6	.42	7.4	5.8	.78	18.7	6.3	.34	
Laborer	16.8	8.5	.50	13.9	9.2	.66	8.9	11.7	1.31	
				Japanese		Chinese				
	A	S	R	A	S	R	A	S	R	
Professional & technical	17.7%	14.7%	.83	36.2%	16.5%	.46				
Managerial	12.0	14.6	1.22	10.9	12.6	1.16				
Clerical	10.1	7.6	.75	6.4	5.8	.91				
Sales	7.3	7.7	1.05	4.7	6.2	1.32				
Craft	27.5	24.0	.87	7.8	20.8	2.67				
Operative	11.8	19.0	1.61	11.3	21.0	1.86				
Service	4.9	4.5	.92	16.9	4.9	.29				
Laborer	5.2	4.2	.81	1.4	7.0	5.10				

(TABLE 4, Continued)

SOUTH

Major Occupation	Negro		Spanish surname	
	A	S	A	S
Professional & technical	4.0%	5.0%	4.7%	4.0%
Managerial	1.9	10.5	6.4	8.8
Clerical	5.0	4.3	5.6	3.6
Sales	.8	5.3	4.1	4.5
Craft	12.5	29.2	24.9	27.4
Operative	27.3	29.4	26.1	31.7
Service	15.4	3.9	7.5	4.0
Laborer	25.5	8.4	16.8	11.8

Symbols: A = actual; S = standardized; R = ratio, S ÷ A, computed before rounding.

^a Column percentages do not total 100 because "occupation not reported" is omitted.

Source: Actual data from *U.S. Census of Population, 1960*; standardized from method described in Table 2.

NONSCHOOLING INFLUENCES OF OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Educational attainment aside, the contributor to minority job problems which first comes to mind is that of discrimination. However, it cannot be held that all of the nonschooling effects on occupational structure which have just been isolated are effects of discrimination. There are at least two variables, other than discrimination, which must be considered under the rubric of nonschooling influences on minority occupational structure. They are (1) quality of educational attainments and (2) occupational interests and aspirations.⁴

Quality of educational attainment in turn can be divided into two distinct variables: first, inputs into the school system and, second, ability to receive and assimilate schooling. By inputs into the school system, I refer to physical facilities, courses and curricula, special intellectual and cultural programs, the competence of instructors, and the group cultural and intellectual environments provided by the students themselves.⁵ There can be little doubt that the inputs to majority schooling are of a better quality than those going to minority schooling. In this regard, minority persons are probably better off in the North than the South, but even in cities of the North where there is a strong commitment to providing high quality schools for disadvantaged minority children, the *de facto* segregation which exists necessarily brings about more stimulating peer environments in the largely white schools than in those attended chiefly by minority students.

It is beyond my competence to say much about the comparative ability of minority and majority children to receive and assimilate schooling. Still, some things are well known to all of us. Disadvantaged minority populations have low incomes and high incidences of broken families. It is my understanding that the anti-poverty pre-school programs, which enroll high proportions of nonwhite and Spanish-

⁴ Many informed persons would include training as an important nonschooling influence on minority occupational structure. My own view is that most training occurs on the job and that, therefore, the amount and kind of training which workers possess depend upon the kind of jobs they are able to obtain. In short, training is not an independent influence.

⁵ For a detailed list of factors which determine the quality of inputs to schools and for information about the comparative quality of these inputs in minority schools, see, U.S. Office of Education, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966).

surname children, are predicated on the belief that low incomes and broken families provide home environments which handicap the ability of children who live in them to benefit from schooling. More direct evidence is available from the recent Office of Education study which discloses that nonwhite scholastic achievement is well behind that of whites at each level of elementary and secondary schooling.⁶ It is not possible to break down this low achievement into that which is caused by low quality educational inputs and that which is brought about by low ability to absorb schooling, but we can be confident that both play a part.

As a result of the two influences which I have discussed, on the average minority persons in the labor force who have completed a given number of years of schooling actually possess lower quality educational attainments than whites at that schooling level. But the pertinent question is whether this fact is important in bringing about the inferior occupational structure of nonwhites. One cannot assume this importance; there is too much evidence which shows that educational *achievement*, in contrast to *amount* of schooling, is only loosely associated with success in the world of work.⁷

As we have seen, with schooling controlled, most of the occupational disadvantages of minorities, or at least of Negroes, arise from low representation in the managerial, sales, and craft occupations. I submit that low quality educational attainment cannot explain why employment of Negroes in these occupations is so much lower than in the professional, clerical, and operative groups. Nor is it likely to explain fully why Negroes are employed so much less frequently than Spanish-surname persons in the managerial, sales, and craft groups. Therefore, it is appropriate, I believe, to be skeptical about the importance of the quality of educational attainment to the inferior occupational structure of minorities.

What about occupational preferences and aspirations? The data in Table 4 for the Chinese population suggest that this can be an important variable. Chinese males in the U. S. are employed much more frequently in the craft, operative, and laborer occupations than could be expected

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 14-21.

⁷It is true that disproportionate employment of nonwhites as teachers in the professional occupation and as post office workers in the clerical category hides some low representation in other jobs within these two occupations, but does this disproportionate employment occur because quality of educational attainment is less important for teaching and post office work than in other jobs?

from standardized education-schooling relationships. I cannot explain this finding with any degree of precision, but it is a safe guess that it has something to do with the personal preferences formed by the Chinese cultural milieu as it interacts with the majority society in the United States. My point is that preferences, especially as formed by traditions, do have some influence on occupational patterns. At the same time, preferences freely formed should not be confused with preferences which result from a disadvantaged status in the society. It seems likely that the latter has been more influential on the occupational aspirations of Negroes, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in the United States. These groups, for the most part, do not have educational or occupational traditions which encourage other than semi-skilled manual employment. In the case of Negroes, a developing tradition of craft work was halted by the discriminatory labor market practices in the South after the Civil War.⁸ It may be that the low representation of Negroes and the Spanish-surname groups among self-employed managers is partially due to lack of aspirations or traditions of "know how" for this kind of activity, but inability to obtain financing and majority group patronage are probably more fundamental factors. Thus, the present underemployment of these large minorities, especially Negroes, in the managerial, sales, and craft occupations probably has little to do with freely formed occupational preferences of their members.

The foregoing discussion is neither all-inclusive nor definitive. Nevertheless, lacking additional relevant evidence on the matters discussed, it is my view that among nonschooling factors, discrimination is, by a large margin, the most important influence on the inferior occupational structure of disadvantaged minorities, especially the Negro minority. Thus, the low representation of Negroes in the managerial and sales groups results, I believe, from prejudice on the part of majority persons against being supervised or "sold" to by Negroes--a prejudice which is much more enduring than a prejudice against merely working with a Negro. And, the low representation of minorities in craft employment results chiefly from discriminatory admission policies on the part of craft unions.

If these views are correct, substantial efforts will have to be devoted to the removal of discriminatory barriers which block Negro entry to these three occupations. Neither improvement in amount nor quality of educational attainment will be sufficient to provide Negroes with equitable representation in these occupations.

⁸ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 280-84.

FORMAL SCHOOLING AND DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

I would now like to change my focus. Though it has been shown that lack of education is only one of several contributors to the low occupational status of minorities, and in the case of Negroes is not the major one, it is clearly an important barrier to minority occupational progress. Therefore, the education-job nexus ought to be examined in order to determine what can and should be done to lessen its impact on minorities. In the remainder of this paper, I will offer some observations relevant to that task.

Simply put, schooling is an important determinant of the jobs which people get, because some of the traits which are necessary for satisfactory performance of many jobs are learned in school. Jobs requiring verbal and numerical abilities are prime examples. On the other hand, it is certainly true that many traits utilized in work are not learned in school. This is especially true in manual occupations. Nevertheless, even in the manual occupations, it is common for employers to screen applicants on the basis of the amount of schooling they have had--high school graduation is a frequently encountered requirement. Why is this so?

It is so because schooling requirements are now seen by employers as efficient for screening out the "unfit" among their job applicants. Now that a high proportion of young people are completing high school,⁹ it is becoming common to label the high school dropout as unfit on the assumption that persons who cannot or do not finish high school are poor employment risks.

Using schooling requirements in this way is a relatively new phenomenon, at least in the manual occupations. It has become possible because for some time now increases in the educational attainment of the labor supply (or, if you prefer, labor force) have been greater than the increases in educational attainment which have been required by our expanding job structure. A recent study found that the average schooling required by all jobs in the U. S. increased by half a school year between 1940 and 1960.¹⁰ By contrast the increase in the median educational

⁹See, U.S. Office of Education, *Projections of Educational Statistics to 1974-75* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965).

¹⁰James Scoville, "Education and Training Requirements for Occupations," *Review of Economics and Statistics* (May 1966), pp. 387-94.

TABLE 5

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY MAJOR OCCUPATION,
1940-1960, MALES, ^a AGED 14 AND OVER IN THE UNITED STATES

<u>Major occupation</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>
Professional & technical	16+	16+	16.3
Managerial	10.9	12.2	12.5
Clerical		12.2	12.3
Sales	12.1	12.2	12.3
Craft	8.6	9.5	10.5
Operative	8.5	8.9	9.6
Service, exc. priv. hshld.	8.3 ^b	8.8	9.7
Laborer	7.7	8.2	8.7

a. For 1940, employed except "emergency" employed; for 1950 and 1960, experienced workers in the labor force.

b. Excludes public protective service workers.

Source: *U.S. Census of Population, respective years.*

TABLE 6

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED, EXPERIENCED MALES
IN THE UNITED STATES LABOR FORCE, BY MAJOR
OCCUPATION AND AGE CLASS, 1960

<u>Major occupation</u>	<u>Age class</u>			
	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55-64</u>
Professional & technical	16.4	16.5	16.3	16.1
Managerial	12.8	12.7	12.4	11.4
Clerical	12.6	12.4	12.1	10.6
Sales	12.8	12.6	12.3	11.0
Craft	12.0	11.2	9.4	8.6
Operative	10.5	9.8	8.7	8.2
Service	11.8	10.8	8.8	8.3
Laborer	9.3	8.5	8.0	7.0

Source: *U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Subject Reports, Educational Attainment.*

attainment of the 25 and over population in the same period was two full school years.¹¹ As another illustration of what has been happening, between 1940 and 1950 there was a 14 percent increase in the proportion of all employed persons who needed at least a high school education to perform their jobs, while the increase in the proportion of all workers who actually had at least a high school education was 25 percent.¹² Though the studies cited were able to take into account only structural shifts among occupations and were not able to measure upgrading of schooling requirements for *each* occupation, it does not seem likely, intuitively, that the average increase in school requirements for each occupation would be very large.

With increases in the supply of high school graduates outreaching increases in the demand for them, the educational attainment of workers in each occupation has been rising over time. This is shown by Tables 5 and 6 for the major occupational categories.¹³ It can be seen from these tables, moreover, that educational attainment has risen much more in some occupations than in others. In general, the increases have been substantially greater in the manual occupations. The reason for this is that although the white-collar sector has absorbed large numbers of the high school educated additions to the labor force since World War II, it has not been able to absorb all of them. Many high school graduates, because of lack of better alternatives and also by choice, have gone into manual jobs. The fact that employment of high school graduates among manual workers is much more common today than it was 20 years ago can be inferred from the data in the tables.

What has happened, then, is that employers of manual workers have been increasingly able to select from a labor supply which has been characterized by greater educational attainment than has been necessary for satisfactory job performance. With increases in educational attainment taking place and with excess labor supply conditions prevailing during much of the 1950's, it was logical for employers of

¹¹*Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1963, p. 120.

¹²R.S.Eckhaus, "Economic Criteria for Education and Training," *Review of Economics and Statistics* (May 1964), p. 186.

¹³In Table 6 worker shifts in occupations, for example from craft to managerial, rather than time trends account for small proportions of the declines in median school years completed which take place across the age classes.

manual workers to raise their schooling requirements. The higher schooling requirements were efficient for initial screening and reduction of job applicants to manageable numbers.¹⁴

Whether or not excluding persons with small amounts of schooling from all but low skilled jobs has served the purpose of efficient allocation in the labor market will never be known with certainty. Probably, efficient allocation has been served because, in America, in 1960, satisfactory job performance on semi-skilled and skilled jobs seems more likely to be achieved by the high school graduate than by the dropout, not because of the formal subject matter learned in high school, but because the high school graduate is likely to have greater motivation, perseverance, and stability. On the other hand, the assumption implicit in this view--that work is like school, to put it in an oversimplified fashion--is not obviously correct. The fact that economic hardship brings many young people to dropout of school raises another reservation.

It is possible to be definitive about at least one thing: rejection of applicants for semi-skilled and skilled jobs because of their lack of schooling does exclude *some* people who could perform these jobs capably; and therefore, does affect their personal equity, whether or not it also has a noticeable adverse impact on labor market allocation. From the data in Table 6, it can be seen that most manual and many nonmanual workers in the upper age groups have less than a high school education and that some of these workers have not completed eight years of schooling. Though much similar evidence could be adduced, this is sufficient to remind us that low educational attainment *per se* does not prevent the satisfactory performance of a great many jobs in the United States economy.

Having been reminded of that fact, there is an important question which needs to be faced. Are persons who are excluded from manual (and some nonmanual) jobs because of low schooling being discriminated against? Discrimination, in the pejorative sense, occurs in the hiring process when a preference for not employing members of a recognizable group influences hiring decisions, regardless of the comparative economic productivity of these persons. But discrimination also occurs in the absence of noneconomic preferences when an adverse

¹⁴Cf. Albert Rees, "Information Networks in Labor Markets," *Proceedings, American Economic Review* (May 1966), p. 561.

judgment about the probable job performance of an applicant is made from a characteristic of the applicant which is not a good predictor of his job performance.¹⁵ Informed observers agree that in the job selection process, it is impossible for employers to treat each applicant as a unique individual. Instead, the employer's initial screening process must identify a few of the gross characteristics of a person, and on the basis of these characteristics, categorize the applicant as "fit" or "unfit" for more intensive selection procedures. But to avoid discrimination, categorization of applicants as "unfit" must be done only through characteristics which predict poor job performance with a high degree of success. Thus, almost everyone now agrees that the rejection of job applicants solely because of their sex, race, religion, or (with less certainty) age is discrimination, because membership in these sociological categories does not have anything to do with the performance of most jobs. Similarly, whether screening with educational requirements is discriminatory depends upon the comparative job performance of the educated and less educated groups. If there is no difference in performance, or if the better educated group has only a slight advantage, screening with education is discriminatory.

Clearly, much more information about the actual determinants of job performance than we now possess is necessary to make supportable judgments in this area. Even so, I think there is enough inferential evidence available of the type presented in Table 6 to say that formal educational attainment, as well as sex, race, religion, and age, is often a characteristic which is not relevant to job performance; for example, on many jobs high school graduates do not perform sufficiently better than high school dropouts to justify wholesale rejection of the latter. The time has come, it is in fact overdue, for employers to review their use of high school graduation as a screening requirement, especially for manual employment but also for some non-manual jobs, and to abolish this requirement when it does not distinguish with a high degree of consistency between satisfactory and unsatisfactory job performance.¹⁶

¹⁵ For a precise definition of discrimination which includes both of the types which I have mentioned, see Gary S. Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 6-9.

¹⁶ See Page 146.

How do these remarks pertain to minority occupational structures? The connection is, I think, obvious. Use of schooling requirements in job selection has a much greater impact on nonwhites, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans than on the majority population. These requirements, therefore, are a barrier to the occupational progress of disadvantaged minorities. Now that these groups are finally beginning to experience some reductions in labor market discrimination against them, it is ironic that many minority persons are suffering increasingly from a relatively new kind of discrimination--that which is exercised against persons with low educational attainments. The fact that many whites receive similarly unfair treatment is no consolation.

Formal schooling can do many things for our society, but it cannot relieve us of a responsibility to use our intelligence. One of the acts of intelligence which is long overdue is to stop labeling the unschooled as unfit for any but the most menial jobs.

¹⁶It is revealing to note that one of the studies previously cited (Scoville, "Education and Training Requirements for Occupations," pp. 391-94) found that in 106 of 226 occupations (47 percent), the 1960 median educational attainment of workers was less than the required educational attainment as estimated for the U. S. Department of Labor's *Estimates of Worker Trait Requirements for 4000 Jobs* (1956). In 60 of these occupations the actual median schooling of workers was one or more years below the required level. One implication which can be drawn from these facts is that estimates of occupational schooling requirements are unduly influenced by current hiring standards, which in many cases call for more schooling than the amounts possessed by the average worker who is already employed in the occupation.

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NONWHITE UNEMPLOYMENT PERSISTS

The unemployment rate for nonwhites is 2.4 times as great as the rate among whites. At a national rate in excess of 8 percent, Negro joblessness is rising, while whites enjoy full employment.¹ With the economy in a war boom, and the Johnson administration's efforts to launch the "Great Society", it is ironical that the nonwhite remains largely left out. Both papers being reviewed underscore the sharply limited employment possibilities open to Negroes and Spanish-speaking peoples. Neither group has been permitted to enter America's economic mainstream, and both groups suffer from ethnic and class prejudice which frustrates the national goal of equal employment opportunity.

¹Unemployment Rate by Color Table:

<u>Year</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Negro as percent of White</u>
1947	3.3%	5.4%	164%
1948	3.2	5.2	163
1949	5.2	8.2	158
1950	4.6	8.5	185
1951	2.8	4.8	171
1952	2.4	4.6	192
1953	2.3	4.1	178
1954	4.5	8.9	198
1955	3.6	7.9	219
1956	3.3	7.5	227
1957	3.9	8.0	205
1958	6.1	12.6	207
1959	4.9	10.7	218
1960	5.0	10.2	204
1961	6.0	12.5	208
1962	4.9	11.0	224
1963	5.1	10.9	214
1964	4.6	9.8	213

Department of Labor, *A Report on Manpower Recruitment, Resources, Utilization, and Training* (Washington: Government Printing Office, March 1965), p. 204.

In the background is the apparent failure of the federal government's campaign against job discrimination.² Beginning with the Fair Employment Practice Commission under Franklin D. Roosevelt, each succeeding president has given attention to job discrimination. The pressure for change has largely taken the form of executive orders which first outlawed discrimination in federal employment, later applied the ban to private firms holding federal contracts, and, under President Johnson, brought the initiation of Plans for Progress, a program to end discrimination in private firms. Now, after more than a decade of effort, both the compliance program for contract holders and the private voluntary program appear to be insufficient for the discharge of presidential intentions. It is only in Washington that even the federal government has been able to dent entrenched patterns of job discrimination.

Confronted anew with the fact of barriers to employment for nonwhites the same questions are being asked again: Just how serious is the problem of discrimination? What are the forms that these barriers to employment take? What can we do to remove them? Both of these papers are addressed to these questions. I would suggest that an adequate answer to none of the questions can be found if we concentrate on the education and training of racial minorities.

MORE EDUCATION WILL NOT MEAN MORE JOB OPPORTUNITY

Job discrimination against Negroes extends well beyond unemployment figures, as bad as they are. Walter Fogel brings this out by challenging the often advanced nostrum that more education will bring expanded employment opportunities. His attack first documents that increments of schooling play only a minor role in expanding opportunities for Negroes, and secondly, offers evidence to suggest that educational requirements for employment are often themselves discriminatory devices. Through correlating education and occupational levels for whites and Negroes he concludes: Improvement in neither

²See testimony, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, before the Subcommittee on Employment Manpower and Poverty of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *New York Times*, May 5, 1967.

amount nor quality of educational attainment will be sufficient to provide Negroes with equitable representation in managerial, sales, and craft occupations.³

Fogel's analysis weakens when he attempts to look beyond years of schooling to take into account the quality of education offered and the aspiration levels of nonwhite students. The assessment of these factors is mainly by reference to the Coleman study, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, to support the idea that schools attended by nonwhites are inferior to those available to the majority population.⁴ After acknowledging his limitations, the author suggests that minority group youngsters have less capacity to absorb education. The statistics on broken homes, low levels of income, and nonmiddle-class patterns which allegedly exist in predominantly Negro neighborhoods make-up his evidence. Even though the correlation between these statistical interpretations and employment are only inferred, Fogel concludes that no elaborate assessment of these factors is necessary because of ample ". . . evidence which shows that educational *achievement*, in contrast to amount of schooling, is only loosely associated with success in the world of work."⁵ Negroes, we are told, have easier access to the professions which require high achievement levels than they do to positions in sales, management, and the crafts which often present more limited intellectual demands. Fogel notes that the level of educational attainment for Americans has gone up a full grade in the past 20 years, as against an average increase in schooling required by all jobs in the United States of only one-half year. He could have added that the median education of nonwhite workers has advanced more rapidly than the nation's pace, up from 7.6 to 9.6 years of schooling in the last decade. The greatest educational increase in the job area, he points out, is in the manual occupations where schooling is of least significance.

The demand for educational standards for jobs leads Fogel to assert that discriminatory practices exist in employment. He states,

We can be definitive about at least one thing: rejection of applicants for semiskilled and skilled jobs because of their

³Fogel paper.

⁴James S. Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966), catalogue number FS 5.238: 38001.

⁵Fogel, *op. cit.*

lack of schooling does exclude *some* people who could perform these jobs capably and, therefore, does affect their personal equity. . . . If there is no difference in performance or if the better educated group has only a slight advantage, screening with education is discriminatory.⁶

The occupational status of minorities, we are urged to conclude, is not altered greatly by the achievement of higher levels of education, and yet employers present the lack of education as a justification for their failure to hire more nonwhite employees.

NOT EDUCATION BUT SOCIAL CHANGE IS NEEDED

An explanation as to why disadvantages confront minority groups is offered by Lamar Jones through a look at the culture of Mexican Americans. He asserts that a *realistic approach* should not be to offer more education to the Mexican American, but rather we should insist that they change their cultural patterns. In need of change are cultural factors he relates to *La Raza*--a present-time perspective, noncompetitiveness, passive acceptance of the world, and resistance to change. Age domination, male superiority, and group (not individual) decision-making are some of the negative results he finds. The changes Jones desires are toward competitive behavior, social equality, individualism, and community unity (by which he apparently means loyalty to a place rather than a cultural group). Jones urges Mexican Americans to perfect their English as a key to employment opportunity. He asserts:

The material benefits of American technology will not be gained from adherence to values incompatible to that technology and its rationality. Certain values in the lives of many Mexican Americans must yield to the values of the majority if sequestration is to be avoided.⁷

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*

THE RECOMMENDED ACTION

From these two diagnoses, remedies are offered. For Fogel, the statistical analysis suggests more vigorous enforcement of fair-employment requirements by the federal government--against "compliance" and private firms. The job entry educational requirements should be re-examined and assurances should be obtained that opportunities for advancement do in fact exist.

Jones has more far-reaching solutions. He would limit immigration from Mexico to the more skilled workers. The alternative he sees is increased expenditures in social welfare and job training to compensate for the social and skill limitations of Mexican immigrants. The public schools, he feels, should play a larger role in bringing these newcomers into the mainstream. Bilingualism, he advances, should be used as a preparatory stage to an intensified English language program. The school should assert itself against the home in order to better prepare the student for employment.

COMMENTS

Some hesitations are in order because both papers tell us what is of marginal relevance about Negroes and omit what is essential about whites. Fogel's statistical analysis is based upon 1960 census data which is likely to prompt the response: Hasn't discrimination against the Negroes declined in the last six years? There is good reason to assume that it has not--but in order to counter the "we're making progress" view, comparative longitudinal studies are needed, and most helpful would be follow-up studies of specific cohorts.

The fundamental hang-up the Negro faces is not so much that there is more discrimination, but that the consequences of discrimination are now much more severe. This is in large part due to the restrictions that keep Negroes in unskilled jobs. Whites, as a whole, have been able to put to advantage the new educational and training opportunities and increasingly to escape the unskilled ranks. In the process, the Negro percentage in the unskilled ranks has grown. Since the demand for the unskilled job is declining, the relative position of the Negro in

employment steadily worsens. The conclusion that this suggests, somewhat in contrast to Mr. Fogel's finding, is that low educational attainment and the occupational status of minorities are related. The critical question in the white-collar area is why are Negroes prevented from using the education and training they already have?

The sensitive sampling and cross-sectional procedures utilized by the Census Bureau in 1960 are dependent upon statistical interpretations of short verbal or written responses. Possible bias is introduced at several points: by the age, sex, race, or religion of interviewers; by the inaccessibility of respondents; and by the snapshot quality of the results.⁸ These biases present major problems when respondents are members of minority groups, primarily because the surface data uncovered spreads abroad a distorted and repugnant view of the Negro. It is this image (Deutsch, Moynihan, Riesman, etc.) whites have of Negroes that throws up the barrier.

Interview data on employment must be used cautiously, since responses often blur employment with intermittent employment and underemployment. Responses include little of the qualitative aspects of the work situation. To be employed is more than having a job at a particular moment in time; it involves, at the least, the ascription of meaning to what is being done, pleasurable ancillary social interactions, and elements of personal and career status--all these are in addition to the fact of having a job.

Yet limited opportunities and discrimination against nonwhites are to be found primarily in these qualitative areas. To take a single example, one of the largest gains in the white-collar area experienced by Negroes is in teaching, but this directly parallels the rise of *de facto* segregated schools, i. e., the expansion of racial discrimination. Segregation accounts for the easier access of the Negro into the professions--the clientele are largely other Negroes.

The aim of these comments is not to devalue the statistical approaches used in this study, but only to suggest that additional research is required and to emphasize the desirability of employing a variety of techniques. The results may only reinforce Fogel's general conclusions, and it is likely that additional research will reveal discriminatory behavior by whites far beyond the level indicated by census materials.

⁸For a discussion of interview bias, see Eugene J. Webb *et al.*, *Unobtrusive Measure: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences* (Chicago: Rand McNally Sociology Series, 1966), Chapter 1.

Similar hesitations are presented when one suggests the cause of limited opportunity to be discrimination. If by discrimination in employment we mean *management's* denial to individuals or groups of people equality of treatment and opportunity, then the source of the problem has been too narrowly confined. Limited job opportunity is not primarily caused by the vindictiveness of a few "bad guys." Employers insist they are opposed to discrimination and claim that qualified minority group employees are just not available. The evil of management is not so much what they do as what they fail to do. Pledges to be nondiscriminatory are not accompanied by aggressive action to assure that integration in employment is achieved.

The heart of the problem is not so much the aggressive acts of white managers against Negroes as it is the fact that whites and blacks are out of contact with each other. "Two Americas" is the way Michael Harrington described it, taking up the theme that the Negro is invisible, which Ralph Ellison first advanced. If we add the diverging values and attitudes, hopes and fears--the inside feelings--blacks and whites in America are strangers to each other. The incidence of overt discrimination may have declined, but job opportunities have *also* vanished. Laws help to remedy such a condition, but accessible educational programs, more and better opportunities for personal contacts, and the effective utilization of mass media to promote intergroup experience also are needed.⁹ This only suggests that our attention should shift from individual misdoers to the divisive cultural patterns which are broadly operative in our country.

It is to this larger cultural scene that Jones addresses himself. The tone of his paper reflects his personal unhappiness with the absence of the "get-ahead" values in Mexican culture. It calls to mind a comment by Christopher Jencks:

What has been launched is not just a war on poverty but a war on the poor, aiming to change them beyond all recognition. The aim is not just to provide them with the lower-middle-class standard of living, but also with the lower-middle-class virtues such as they are.¹⁰

⁹See, for example: Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958), Part VII, "Reducing Group Tensions."

¹⁰Herman P. Miller, "The Dimensions of Poverty," in *Poverty As a Public Issue*, ed. Ben B. Seligman (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 28.

One can't help but feel that his excursion into comparative anthropology reveals primarily the inflexibility of Anglo values.

Making other people over in the white, lower-middle-class image is an ambitious undertaking. If seriously contemplated, it must begin with an intimate knowledge of those to be changed. The Mexican Americans along our borders, for example, differ widely from migratory workers and residential enclaves, say, in Chicago. The over-the-border commuter's "strange behavior" needs to be assessed not only as a reflection of Mexican culture, but also as distortions produced by American economics. One must also use caution in applying Oscar Handlin's European immigrant notions to Mexican Americans, or in generalizing about peasant peoples. There is, however, a growing body of responsible literature, specifically about these minority groups in America, which is available to us.¹¹

Insights from our foreign aid program experiences with "under-developed countries" suggest the folly of cultural imperialism and the pitfalls in asserting superiority feelings. The destructive potential of such a posture is well documented in the problems faced by the compensatory education program and the operations of the Economic Opportunity Act.

Acculturation is a difficult process not easily engineered. Historically, imposition of bilingualism, assaults by schools on the family structure, and suggestions to curtail procreation and restrict immigration have not succeeded. This is not to suggest that we can avoid giving attention to cultural differences between Mexicans and Anglos; we cannot. But if we are to expand the employment opportunities of this or any other cultural sub-group in America, we will need a much greater command of anthropology and more understanding of the system of employment than is now available. If acculturation is honestly our goal, we must realize that this involves the differential contributions of two or more separate ethnic groups to a common social pool. Thus, our attention must also be addressed to what Mexicans have to contribute and must not omit the weaknesses that persist in American culture.

Let me add that the disadvantages confronting Negroes and Mexican Americans--presented in these two papers--are descriptive

¹¹See, for example, Oscar Lewis, *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (New York: Mentor Books, 1965).

of adverse conditions confronting a far larger number of whites. Limited employment opportunity, for example, is a general problem confronting female employees.

What Mr. Jones misses is that efforts to retain one's cultural identity are, in part, defense mechanisms. The cultural ring is forged not merely in in-group wish; it is much more basically the product of out-group hostility. The fundamental changes that are needed are in the attitudes of the majority group. The question of how to accomplish those changes remains the first order of business if equal employment is to be achieved.

TOWARD A CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH TO EMPLOYMENT

Some aspects of this difficult task of seeing the culture of work as related to the culture of poverty have been undertaken by the Institute of Human Relations. We have started with the hypothesis that the problem is not primarily discrimination by management, but that the products of *de facto* segregated schools are not socially equipped to move from their environment to the alien white world of work. Since urban anthropological research is new, our efforts are but preliminary field studies among white-collar workers; and research in inner-cities among Negro high school students, graduates, and drop-outs. In the Milwaukee area, we have been trying to identify the barriers Negroes face (in getting and holding white-collar employment), which arise out of the cultural separation which exists between whites and blacks.

We have so far discovered that two separate cultures exist. The unemployed or underemployed Negro speaks one language, the white white-collar worker another; the nonwhite has one set of values and patterns of behavior which differ from those of the successful clerical employee. These little understood differences lead to unarticulated criteria which make getting hired more difficult; they project barriers to Negroes which make advancement on the job all but impossible. There is a two-sided barrier; Negroes do not know the world of work and consequently are unable to prepare themselves properly, and because employers do not know the world of the ghetto, they are unable to recognize many promising, potential employees. These cultural barriers transcend skill and educational requirements; they are not the results of simple discriminatory acts by employers. We are seeking to demonstrate that Negroes are missing employment opportunities, because, in part, they live in one culture and the world of work is largely in another. If we are to overcome the barriers there must be accommodation on both sides of the color wall.

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The papers were good as far as they went. In each case, the traditional kind of survey research had been done to present a better picture of the situation. No one would disagree with this. Presentation time was a factor and choices for content inclusion had to be made. Hence, it is not unusual that gaps and omissions were more apparent than points of disagreement. Certain other basic questions must be raised, however, questions which suggest that we need to look beyond the area of traditional research. Some anthropological and sociological research is needed to examine such questions as:

- (1) What kinds of changes in personal habits or living patterns are needed to make the minority group member more employable?
- (2) To what extent is discrimination the result of mislabeling what are, perhaps, valid reasons for non-employment?
- (3) Are the minority employment problems sufficiently alike for all groups to justify treating them together as has been done so often?
- (4) Do some of the groups have problems which have such deep-seated, cultural roots as to defy routine handling?
- (5) If education is redesigned to do a better job of acculturation beginning at an early age, what are the implications for some substantial change in later vocational preparation?

Many other equally pertinent research questions could be raised.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF MEXICAN AMERICANS

Dr. Jones has referred to the term "change" rather than education and training, but basically much of his content has been oriented to the latter. It seems there may be good reason for this. Perhaps the problem which one has in attempting to interpret change as an all-encompassing process represents a great part of the difficulty. Because change is such a complex process and social scientists are just now

beginning to identify change-agents and how they operate, it is suggested that the entire problem is perhaps oversimplified when one attempts to equate it with total change.

Whether change has been thwarted, as was indicated, because the Mexican-American community has not been subjected to sufficiently severe strain represents one viewpoint. Another viewpoint expressed in the presentation, or perhaps an idea more closely related to this first, is that the continued in-migration has served as a handicap toward whatever acculturation might have been accomplished through the normal influence of available social institutions. Negative, retarding influences can not be entirely eliminated.

This speaker believes that, in spite of the apparent operation of the factors cited, there is enough evidence from such areas as northern New Mexico, where acculturation has been extremely slow, to shed some doubt on viewpoints expressed. In that particular area, irrespective of that fact that there has been little in-migration through the years and that considerable strain has been placed upon the groups to accelerate their acculturation, little change has taken place. This observation does not refute the evidence presented by the author, but rather it indicates that the problem is a very complex one.

I am happy to agree with Dr. Jones in his observation that one sign of progress is that the Mexican-American child is now being reinforced and rewarded in his bilingualism instead of being punished for the use of his native tongue, as was once the case. It must be said that this recent, more logical approach in the schools appears to be a sound one. It is not, however, the whole picture, even though some cultural anthropologists and sociologists subscribe to the viewpoint that "language is culture." The bilingual approach in schools alone can never produce the required change. Rather than have the child live from eight to four each day in a world that is different from his home environment, in certain experimental situations families are now being brought together for a twenty-four-hour, seven-days-per-week, family education experience. This approach, being undertaken in an experimental way, could provide some better answers to the acculturation-education problem. If the method is validated, then an answer of how best to approach total family education within acceptable cost limits is still another problem.

The idea of "assimilation impulses" for Mexican Americans, as mentioned in the presentation, impresses one as being something highly desirable. However, with the problem of assimilation being

as complex as we know it to be, it would seem to be extremely difficult to identify and describe "assimilation impulses;" and how to produce such impulses is another problem.

In conclusion, one must say that up to this time educators have not used the best techniques presently available in the education and training of Mexican Americans. This does not suggest that the search for newer methods should cease, but it only implies that practice should be brought into line with present knowledge.

Some thirty years ago a community school experiment in a Spanish-speaking community was conducted by Dr. Lloyd S. Tireman of the University of New Mexico. His experiment and its report received little attention at the time. Nevertheless, the book published by Dr. Tireman describing the Nambe community-school experiment, the methods used in that total community effort, and assessing the effectiveness of different methods, probably still represents very advanced thinking. That attempt to solve this problem of educating and training Spanish-background people for assimilation into the American culture has been, perhaps, the most successful one to date.

EFFECTS OF DISCRIMINATION ON EMPLOYMENT

A study of the effects of two such important factors as discrimination and low educational achievement on the occupational status of minorities is indeed a significant topic. These two selected factors are most important ones. Either, acting independently, could exercise considerable influence, but with both acting in concert, the effect can be just plain disastrous, as indeed it has statistically been shown by the author to be.

"Minority groups" in this presentation referred largely to the Negro group, although passing reference was made to one or two other groups. Higher educational attainment, measured in terms of grade level, has been shown to result in the securing of better positions. However, for all population groups the investigator has shown that the educational increment does not bring the same results. This pin pointed one fact of the problem.

Furthermore, the author has rightly suggested that broad categories of occupational classification alone do not tell the whole story. There is a wide range of position desirability within each category, and perhaps it is *within* the range of the respective categories that much of the injustice is done.

Coming from the particular section of the country that this discussant does, it is noted that two other minority groups are affected by the same set of factors discussed in the presentation: namely, the Spanish or Mexican Americans and the Indians. Discrimination appears to be practices in certain sections of the Southwest against these two groups just as surely as discrimination is practices against Negroes almost nationwide. One must agree with Professor Fogel that the degree and nature of the discriminatory practices may vary for the different minority groups within the same community. Incidentally, it is noted that these second two minority groups which I mentioned are notable for their absence from this conference.

The point that the level of schooling attained by the prospective employee is quite regularly used as a screening device is a practice which should be examined. Requiring that an employee have a high school diploma when it may or may not have direct relevance to the job has become a customary practice with many employers. As has been pointed out, the effect of this practice not only serves to screen out prospective employees who lack a certain level of schooling, but at the same time, it tends to give a false statistical picture of the employment situation. An unrealistic educational requirement for positions gives little help in planning for training programs.

Professor Fogel has pointed to another area in which some study is greatly needed the quality of educational attainment as contrasted to the actual grade level of attainment. With the present system of reporting, and with the emphasis having been only upon level of attainment, far too little attention has been given to the quality of attainment. So as far as one can determine from statistics as they are presently reported, quality is a factor of negligible proportion. Due to the many factors operating in employment practices, some of which are not identified, the usefulness and perhaps the validity of standardized indices in the presentation are questioned. A study of relevance is greatly needed here.

The cultural background of individuals probably should be given more attention as one studies the effect of employment practices on minority groups. At the present time, it seems quite apparent that with a "push" being on with certain groups who are seeking status, as well as deserved justice, the situation is somewhat different than it may be later. A minority group pushing its people to certain types of employment and into positions almost against their will creates an abnormal situation. It makes it very difficult to study the over-all employment picture and to make valid comparisons.

It is well known that in the past the cultural environment of certain minority groups has tended to stifle the ambition of the individual members. Hence, to do an about-face on short notice is unrealistic and abnormal. It is likely that occupational preference has never been a completely free choice by any group. Occupational preferences, based upon cultural environmental factors, develop slowly at best. It may be that our present fast pace of change will not permit us the luxury of developing vocational preferences based upon cultural suitability and personal choices among groups. Perhaps the time has arrived for modified selection-assignments based upon the best use of the most valid instruments that are now available. The need for this or some different approach was implied in the presentation.

Section V

J. Kenneth Little, Chairman

THE SOUTH'S UNUSED MANPOWER TRAINING POTENTIAL

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I have chosen to address myself to the problem of unused manpower. While the thrust of my remarks is for the nation as a whole, I shall develop, where possible, implications for the South. This is done because of a peculiarity associated with Southern manpower utilization—underutilization in contrast to unemployment as a basic problem—and because manpower development and use is of special significance to Southern economic growth. Benefits from maximum development and use of manpower are disproportionately greater for the South than for other regions in terms of per capita incomes and economic growth.

I do not have a well-structured hypothesis. My basic concern is with a systematic manpower policy that will "catch" workers in the act of voluntarily shifting or moving, for whatever reason, from a position of underemployment to unemployment and nonparticipation and attract them into training and retraining programs that will structure more effectively a continuum of worker retraining to provide occupational mobility commensurate with changes in economic environments.

The United States has been in a period of economic prosperity during recent months. The Vietnam war has played an important role in this upsurge. But in the early sixties, even before the war seriously affected domestic employment, the economy had begun to recover from the rather depressed state of the second half of the decade 1950-1960.

*The author is indebted to Howard Rosen and Joseph Epstein, Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research, United States Department of Labor, for their assistance in preparation of this paper.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unused manpower, when viewed within the context of a prosperous economy, is quite different than when viewed within the context of an economy characterized by high unemployment and sluggish growth. In an economy characterized by depressionary forces, unused manpower affects workers on a broader scale. The whole range of occupations, jobs, and working age population may be affected. The problem is different and more complex in a prosperous economy. The issues involve recognition of more diverse aspects of the economy and the labor force. We can see this by looking at unused manpower in two ways, first, in the conventional and more narrow sense, and second in the broader and more unconventional sense.

In the more narrow meaning, unused manpower can be considered in terms of traditional measures of unemployment. The national rate of unemployment currently averages about 3.7 percent. Thus, in the sense of national unemployment, the economy is in the best shape it has been since the early 1950's. On the other hand, as low as this rate is, it represents *only* a statistical average. Within that aggregate there exist differential rates of unemployment for various subgroups in the population. When the aggregate is disaggregated, the problem of unused manpower is clearer. For example, unused manpower, in this sense and as indicated by conventional data, ranges from a low rate of 2.0 percent for adult married men to an unconscionable rate of 26 percent for Negro teenage girls.

Likewise, unemployment rates vary considerably throughout the nation. In 1966 rates of unemployment of less than 3 percent were evidenced in such major job market areas as Little Rock, Hartford, The District of Columbia, Greensboro, Reading, Houston, and Madison, while rates of more than 6 percent were typical of such areas as Fresno, San Bernadino, Fall River, Louisville, Altoona, and Kenosha.

Conventional unemployment aggregates fail to reflect adequately problems of manpower use along regional lines, such as between the South and the non-South. Unemployment figures persistently reflect lower unemployment rates for the South compared to those in the non-South. Judged by conventional unemployment statistics, unused manpower is not a problem in the South. Atlanta, for example, consistently shows unemployment rates of 2.8 to 3.2 percent. In fact, mayors, governors, and other public officials often delight in their references to low unemployment rates when espousing the idea that their cities, towns, and states do not have a problem of unused manpower. Moreover, public policy for manpower, including training and retraining,

is enunciated and articulated in terms of unemployment rates that appear relatively low in aggregate terms.

Beyond traditional unemployment figures, however, is the broader area of unused manpower that even today remains largely unexplored and to a great extent has escaped systematic quantification. I refer here to underutilized manpower. Underutilized manpower, often referred to as underemployment in contrast to unemployment, is one of the major characteristics of Southern labor force problems. The industry mix in the South continues to be burdened with disproportionate employment in agriculture and in manufacturing industries which are characterized by low wages and slow growth. Thus, whereas unemployment in conventional terms may not have been a chronic problem in the South, underemployment has been. This is reflected in income, as well as in income-education and other kinds of relationships.

Several aspects of unused manpower and, implicitly, training potential need to be explored more fully, such as:

1. Unemployment and discovery of training potential in slum areas of major cities in both the South and non-South.
2. The problem of "nonparticipation" in the labor force of persons in the working age population—i. e. , those who are neither employed nor looking for work. These include, for example, the discouraged worker who believes no work is available and is no longer actively looking for work.
3. The problem of underemployment—those men and women who, while they have jobs, are working at poverty wages; those who can find only part-time work even though they need full-time jobs; and those at lower levels than the potential indicated by their education, skills or latent abilities. This latter point is highly relevant to Negro workers. As a group, Negro workers experience underemployment across the board and differences between the South and non-South in this regard are quite significant. Every index showing relationships between income-occupations and education shows that Negroes are unable to exploit education and skills in a manner comparable to whites. As shown in Table 1, this is true for all sections of the nation, but its impact is greater in the South.

It is in this broadest context of unused manpower—unemployment, nonparticipation and underemployment—that wasted manpower

TABLE 1

Median Wage and Salary Income of Males 35-44 Years of Age by Color,
for Selected Education and Occupation Groups, United States and Regions, 1959
(Dollars)

Region and Color	All Males 35-44 yrs.	Education and Occupation			Professional and Technical	
		High School Graduates	College Graduate	High School Graduate	College Graduate	
United States						
White	5,657	5,906	8,797	6,916	8,818	
Nonwhite	3,322	4,266	5,479	5,231	5,872	
Nonwhite as percent of white	58.7	72.2	62.3	75.6	66.6	
South						
White	5,016	5,568	8,485	6,572	8,534	
Nonwhite	2,424	3,163	4,672	-	4,808	
Nonwhite as percent of white	48.3	56.8	55.1	-	56.3	
Other Regions						
White	5,842	5,992	8,893	7,044	6,900	
Nonwhite	4,281	4,692	6,086	5,571	6,876	
Nonwhite as percent of white	73.3	78.3	68.4	79.1	77.6	

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Population 1960, Occupation by Earnings and Education.*

shows up in urban slums, rural areas, smaller cities and towns, and in large metropolitan areas. The pool of unused manpower is growing and the potential of that pool is being bypassed. It is this aspect of manpower use that suggests potential for training and retraining, as well as implies the need for closer relationships between vocational education systems and adult education programming.

SUBEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment, nonparticipation, and underemployment were objects of a special survey taken last November in slum areas in eight cities in the United States. One of the objectives of the survey was to discover possibilities for training and jobs. An attempt was made to develop a "subemployment index" as an indicator of wasted manpower. The subemployment index was defined to include the unemployed plus the proportion of those people too discouraged to look for work, who involuntarily work only part-time, or who work full-time for an income below the poverty level. Several findings from this survey are indicative of the severity of manpower problems in ghetto areas.

1. Unemployment in slum areas was found to be three times the over-all national average of 3.7 percent. The subemployment index, as previously defined, was found to be about 34 percent, in other words, suggesting that one of every three persons in the working age population in slum areas is in the pool of unused and wasted manpower.

2. Of those employed, 6.9 percent were working involuntarily only part-time and were trying to find full-time work. The comparable figure for the nation as a whole is 2.3 percent.

3. Of the full-time individual workers with families, over one-fifth (21 percent), earned less than \$60.00 per week, the equivalent of the \$3,000 annual income which is used as a poverty criterion. The comparable figure for the nation is 15 percent. Thirty-seven percent of the slum families reported incomes for the year which were under \$3,000, compared with 25 percent for the nation. The average family income in slum areas was about \$3,800 compared with the national average of \$6,000. Forty-seven percent of the families reported incomes from unemployment insurance, welfare, or other nonemployment sources.

4. A disproportionate number, who by normal expectations should be working, are not working and are not looking for work. Among men in the age group 20-64, the nonparticipation rate in slum areas amounted to 11 percent while the national rate is 7 percent.

5. Between one-fifth and one-third (20 to 33 percent) of adult males who would be expected to be part of the slum population and to show up in the statistics were unfound, which suggests that survey methods systematically undercount groups with the highest incidence of severe problems. This implies that policies and programs for training and retraining do not come to grips with problems associated with this group.

In his 1967 economic report¹ President Johnson made the point well. Special efforts to structure more effectively the training opportunities for inhabitants of ghettos is necessary if further erosion of manpower use and potential is not to occur. The coexistence of job vacancies with idle manpower unable to fill them represents a bitter, human tragedy and an inexcusable waste. We have yet to exploit possibilities for training the underemployed, the unemployed, or the formerly employable to fill these vacancies.

Much of the unemployment, underemployment, and nonparticipation found in slum areas is rooted in social as well as economic causes—garnishments, police records, education and training deficiencies, racial discrimination, lack of transportation and other facilities conditioning access to jobs and training are some such causes—and the trend toward movement of jobs and other opportunities away from central cities does not help the situation.

The 1967 Economic Report of the President reported that in seven large metropolitan areas 975,000 new jobs became available in the suburban ring in the period 1948–62, while the central cities of the same metropolitan areas were gaining only 60,000 new jobs. The central city gains were in finance, insurance, real estate, and services. In manufacturing, the seven central cities lost 150,000 jobs while the suburban rings gained 250,000 new jobs. Factors such as racial discrimination in housing and lack of accessibility make it even more difficult for unused manpower in the ghettos and central cities, not only to follow jobs, but also to follow opportunities for training such as on-the-job and apprenticeship training.

Data provided by the Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research on nonparticipation among adult men shows trends further indicating the magnitude of the problem.

1. Since the period 1951–53, when over-all employment last approximated 3 percent, there has been an increasing gap in the nation's utilization of white and Negro manpower. Table 2 shows that

¹ *The 1967 Economic Report of the President.*

TABLE 2

Manpower Utilization of Men 25 to 64 Years Old in the Civilian Noninstitutional Population by Color
1951-1953 to 1966

Age & Color	Rate Per Thousand					
	1966 ^a			1951-1953		
	Not Utilized			Not Utilized		
	Total	Unemployed	Not in Labor Force	Total	Unemployed	Not in Labor Force
25-64						
White	74	19	55	63	20	43
Nonwhite	128	40	88	94	42	52
25-44						
White	43	19	24	41	19	22
Nonwhite	95	43	52	76	44	32
45-54						
White	59	17	42	54	20	34
Nonwhite	131	37	94	89	41	48
55-64						
White	172	21	151	145	24	121
Nonwhite	226	35	191	175	36	139

^aUnpublished data provided by Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research.

Source: *Unused Manpower—The Nation's Loss*, U. S. Department of Labor, Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research.

for every 1000 Negro adult men, 25 to 64 years of age in the population in the year 1966, 128 were not utilized—they either were unemployed or not in the labor force. This compares with 74 per thousand white men. In the 1951-53 period, the respective figures were 94 and 63 per thousand. Thus the gap between white and nonwhite manpower use in the age group 25 to 64 grew by 23 per thousand during the period. A comparable trend exists for the age group 25 to 44 where the gap between whites and Negroes expanded from 35 per thousand to 52 per thousand; and for the age group 45 to 54 for whom the gap expanded from 35 to 72 per thousand.

2. While recently there has been a reduction in unemployment among Negro adults, the proportion not in the labor force has continued to rise. In the former case, unemployment among Negro adults was 40 per thousand in 1966, the lowest since the period 1951-53, but nonparticipation had increased from 52 per thousand in that period to 88 per thousand in 1966.

The trend toward increased nonparticipation by Negro adults is disturbing to say the least. Apparently, despite over-all prosperity since 1961, Negroes have failed to share proportionately with whites in the nation's growing affluence. Their departure from the labor market may mean the development of a new phenomena regarding Negro labor force use. Whereas the old adage was that Negroes were the last to be hired and the first to be fired, it may be that a new adage is developing, "First to be fired and possibly never rehired." They are being forced or squeezed out of the job market either because they do not believe work is available or because they do not have skills and qualifications for available jobs.

One of the problems involves arrangements and procedures designed to reach workers before they leave the labor force and to channel them into training and retraining programs or even into new jobs. Sources of this malfunction include the employment service system and adult vocational education programs.

Susan Holland writing in the March 1967 *Monthly Labor Review* cites data bearing on this point.² She points out that nearly one-third of the 4.5 million men not in the labor force had worked within the past six months. This amounts to 1.5 million men. Moreover, almost one-half of the nonparticipants intended to look for work in the next twelve months. These facts tend to support the hypotheses that a sig-

²Susan B. Holland, "Adult Men Not in the Labor Force," *Monthly Labor Review* (March, 1967), pp. 5-15.

nificant proportion of nonparticipation is the result of temporary factors, and that a substantial number of nonworkers have a strong attachment to the work force. Nonetheless, they are nonparticipants and many will never re-enter the labor force unless training and job opportunities are more adequately structured to meet their needs. This means devising policies which will, so to speak, "catch" the worker in the act of undertaking a voluntary shift or moving out of a position of underemployment and attracting him into a retraining program.³ The most obvious potential for this involves seasonal workers; another potential involves those situations where there is reason to expect workers to become jobless because of implementation of minimum wages and increase in mechanization of production. Farm workers provide the most obvious example here.

The nonworker group is significant because of its size, its growth tendency, its age-color composition, and its little known characteristics.⁴ The group presents significant policy challenges in areas of training and retraining, and vocational education. Fullest utilization of available manpower is a major strategy in efforts to eradicate poverty. At the same time proper conditions are not being generated or structured, even in a prosperous economy, to enable persons not only to get a job but also to undergo training and retraining to prepare for changes in industry and occupation demands.

To offset the impact of technological change and escalation of job requirements, greater emphasis should be placed on structuring training opportunities to accompany work opportunities for lower skilled workers. Rather than treating training and retraining as a device for crisis—i. e., high unemployment—it should be given more emphasis as a method of encouraging adaptation to structural changes in employment whether or not those changes are accompanied by appreciable problems of unemployment.

During World War II, Negroes achieved significant gains in employment and economic position. Yet, when the economy slowed down and technological advances were accelerated during the middle part of the 1950's, Negroes not only failed to continue gains previously made but in many aspects they lost ground. Average annual unemployment among Negro workers has not fallen below 7 percent since about 1953, and nonparticipation has been increasing.

³Margaret S. Gordon, *Retraining and Labor Market Adjustment in Western Europe*, Manpower Automation Research Monograph Number 4 (Washington: United States Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, August 1965).

⁴Holland, *op. cit.*

One reason for this situation is the inability of Negro workers to adjust quickly to change in economic environments. The occupational structure of the Negro labor force is disproportionately skewed toward low skills. Negro workers did not get a real "toehold" in non-agriculture industries during the full-employment years of the 1940's and early 1950's, and their skills were too limited for quick adjustment to changes in employment demands. More advanced structuring of training and retraining to facilitate occupational mobility of the employed, even under conditions of full employment, may have provided the difference between adjustment and nonadjustment to changing labor market conditions, as well as between high and low unemployment rates. No doubt risks possibly associated with manpower use in a post-Vietnam war period could be minimized if greater investment and programming for manpower development and use were directed toward upgrading currently employed workers in low skilled occupations for improved occupational mobility.

I would like to return to the problem of unused manpower in ghettos and deal with this aspect of the problem within the context of the South.

During the greater part of its history, the South has functioned under the dual hardship of a backward economic structure and a system of race relations based upon segregation and discrimination. Low investment in manpower development is one outcome of the situation, as well as a pattern of racial discrimination in manpower use much more severe than that which exists in other sections of the country.

The South today suffers from these burdens of history. They have a retarding effect on economic progress in the region and development of social overhead conducive to rapid economic growth. The South's orientation toward agriculture and an adverse business mix continue to be serious problems. Consequently, whereas employment and job holding have kept traditional unemployment rates low, Southern industry has been slow in generating income. Manufacturing employment, for example, is largely confined to such low wage industries as lumber, furniture, food processing, textiles, and apparels.

At the same time it should be pointed out that the South, with a hangover of backward characteristics, is not alone in underemployment. Similarities between the South and non-South are more pronounced than a decade ago. This becomes clearer with urbanization and as industrial sources of employment and occupational demands shift in the total economy. The region has been a chief exporter of

poorly developed labor and people to other regions. This has contributed to raising per capita income in the region. With outmigration, jobs generated in the region during the last two decades were thus distributed among fewer people in low-skilled categories; incomes rose with growth in nonfarm employment. However, there is ample evidence that outmigration cannot be counted on to raise per capita income in this region in the future. Negroes and whites in low-skilled categories are migrating into Southern cities like Atlanta in substantial numbers, and the rate of outmigration of Negroes from the region has shown tendencies to slow down.⁵ Migrants from rural farm areas to Southern cities do not find jobs or training opportunities in sufficient numbers to meet their needs. Vocational and technical training, particularly that which is most accessible to Negroes, lag in terms of current manpower demands. MDTA and retraining options are quite limited. Rural feudal type economies do not encourage training and retraining to any great extent. This is particularly the case in those occupations where local labor market and wage structures may be upset by training. Because of states' rights and local control over training and retraining projects, potential for development of manpower is lost; those for whom no opportunity is created become nonparticipants and part of the unused manpower.

Second, even though the South has undergone significant change in urban-rural relationships, in industry mix, in politics, and in education and vocational training, the region lags behind the rest of the nation in economic and social well-being. Likewise, despite progress, the region is still encumbered with disproportions in agrarian values and traditional racial views. If the region could somehow grasp the basic problem of unused manpower while it still may be manageable, it would quicken growth in per capita income and might hasten the time when it reaches parity in economic well-being with the nation as a whole. In the absence of this, however, it will be well into the next century before this could happen.

The problem of training, retraining, and unused manpower was sharply pointed up by a recent study in Atlanta conducted by the United States Employment Service. The findings quantify the problem in a way heretofore not done, and they help to sharpen the focus as to where the mandate for policy and program lies. The survey was completed

⁵U. S. Department of Labor, *The Economic and Social Status of Negroes in the United States* (Washington: GPO, 1966).

in June 1966.⁶ It involved a total of 46,384 males and females in the working age population in nine slum areas and two other areas. Approximately 18 percent of those interviewed were white and 82 percent were Negro.

1. Of those responding, 25,000 (54 percent) were either unemployed or nonparticipants in the labor force. (Table 3)

2. Of the 43,384 responding to questions on vocational training, 39,970 (90 percent) had received no vocational training. (Table 4) These included:

9,083, 16-21 years of age; 3,969, 22-24 years of age;
9,638, 25-34 years of age or 13,052 (33 percent of the
total were in the age group 16 to 24.

22,290 (60 percent) of the total were in the age group 16-34.

3. In the age group 16-34, only 1,610 (4 percent) of those with no previous vocational training had experienced training under USES guidance and programming.

4. Of those unemployed and not in the labor force about 15 percent had been residents of Atlanta less than four years and about 6 percent had been city residents less than one year.

5. Of the Negroes responding to the survey, 25,551 (67 percent) expressed desire to have some type of training or retraining in occupations commensurate both with shifts in occupational and industry demands as well as shifts in opportunities for Negroes that accompany equal employment programs.

6. A significant number of those responding had completed 12 years of schooling (Table 5). It was striking to note the number of this group for which there are apparently no training or retraining opportunities:

of the 3,395 unemployed or nonparticipant Negro males with
12 years of school, 2,359 (70 percent) would like training in

⁶Georgia Department of Labor, Atlanta Human Resource Survey, June 1966.

occupations such as draftsmen, office machine operators, electrical repairmen, airplane mechanics, welders, and auto mechanics (Table 6).

of 7,864 females with 12 years of school, 5,260 (67 percent) would like training in such occupations as telephone switchboard operators, clerk-typists, office machine operators, cashier, decorator-florists, practical nurse, and general clerk. (Table 6)

7. When classified as to work experience and occupation these examples were found (Table 7):

of the 1,483 males with skilled work experience, 993 (67 percent) wanted retraining in such areas as auto mechanics, electrical repairmen, and welders.

of the 2,396 males with semi-skilled work experience, 1,450 wanted retraining in such areas as office machines (123); welding (180); auto mechanics (297); electrical repairmen (180). (Table 6)

The basic thrust of these findings and of what I have tried to develop in these remarks is that in a period of relatively full employment, tight labor markets, and low unemployment, the supply of retrainable, unemployed, and nonparticipating persons appears to dry up. This is not the case. The retrainables among unused and underused persons are obscured despite greater interest in demands associated with meeting labor shortages. Moreover, there is increasing agreement among labor market researchers that difficult residual problems of a subemployment nature shall remain even if we succeeded in reducing the over-all unemployment rate to a consistent 3 percent. The problem of nonparticipation would be obscured. Retraining in its broadest sense, therefore, should be looked upon as a method of encouraging adaptation to structural changes in employment whether or not these changes are accompanied by appreciable problems in unemployment.

An essential element of adult retraining programs is a logical and carefully considered relationship with basic vocational education for youth. Improvements in vocational training for young people will simplify the problem of adult retraining programs in the future, although, given the certainty of continual technological and structural changes, such improvements will not remove the need for continuing adult retraining facilities and programs on an expanded scale.

TABLE 3

Employment Status by Age Group

Description	Distribution by Age Group									
	Total	Under 16	16-21	22-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75 & Up
<u>WHITE</u>										
Men										
Working	1,376	4	188	111	335	310	239	177	12	12
Not working--in school	124	33	68	5	8	4	3	1	2	2
Seeking work	764	4	227	103	170	104	84	50	21	1
Not seeking work	516	2	37	6	28	47	113	197	65	21
TOTAL MEN	2,780	43	520	225	541	465	439	425	100	22
Women										
Working	835	1	135	62	165	183	184	101	4	4
Not working--in school	146	26	82	5	15	12	2	4		
Seeking work	1,157	9	293	151	229	210	165	87	13	13
Not seeking work	3,561	13	418	272	737	626	632	682	133	48
TOTAL WOMEN	5,699	49	928	490	1,146	1,031	983	874	150	48
Total										
Working	2,211	5	323	173	500	493	423	278	16	16
Not working--in school	270	59	150	10	23	16	5	5	2	2
Seeking work	1,921	13	520	254	399	314	249	137	34	1
Not seeking work	4,077	15	455	278	765	673	745	879	198	69
GRAND TOTAL	8,479	92	1,448	715	1,687	1,496	1,422	1,299	250	70

TABLE 4

Vocational Training Status by Age Group

Description	Distribution by Age Group									
	Total	Under 16	16-21	22-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75 & up
WHITE										
Men										
No vocational training	2,403	42	457	192	451	374	381	389	95	22
Uses training received	253		32	24	58	61	47	28	3	
Training not used	<u>124</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	
TOTAL MEN	2,780	43	520	225	541	465	439	425	100	22
Women										
No vocational training	5,033	47	822	412	986	914	868	803	136	45
Uses training received	410		52	48	100	75	76	45	12	2
Training not used	<u>256</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTAL WOMEN	5,699	49	928	490	1,146	1,031	983	874	150	48
Total										
No vocational training	7,436	89	1,279	604	1,437	1,288	1,249	1,192	231	67
Uses training received	663		84	72	158	136	123	73	15	2
Training not used	380	3	85	39	92	72	50	34	4	1
GRAND TOTAL	8,479	92	1,448	715	1,687	1,496	1,422	1,299	250	70

TABLE 5

Employment Status by Education

Description	Distribution by Years of Education Completed									
	Total	INA	1-3	4-6	7-8	9-11	12	13	14-15	16 & up
<u>WHITE</u>										
Men										
Working	1,376	12	46	143	284	384	411	31	42	23
Not working--in school	124	1	3	8	25	61	6	7	9	4
Seeking work	764	3	18	30	113	219	264	27	50	40
Not seeking work	516	33	70	138	97	107	58	4	5	4
TOTAL MEN	2,780	49	137	319	519	771	739	69	106	71
Women										
Working	835	5	14	75	137	322	234	20	11	17
Not working--in school	146	1	5	21	77	33	33	4	3	2
Seeking work	1,157	5	18	98	197	471	280	45	37	6
Not seeking work	3,561	36	176	554	861	1,239	612	27	41	15
TOTAL WOMEN	5,699	47	208	732	1,216	2,109	1,159	96	92	40
Total										
Working	2,211	17	60	218	421	706	645	51	53	40
Not working--in school	270	2	3	13	46	138	39	11	12	6
Seeking work	1,921	8	36	128	310	690	544	72	87	46
Not seeking work	4,077	69	246	692	958	1,346	670	31	46	19
GRAND TOTAL	8,479	96	345	1,051	1,735	2,880	1,898	165	198	111

TABLE 6
Training Desired Occupations by Education

Description	Distribution by Years of Education Completed									
	INA	1-3	4-6	7-8	9-11	12	13	14-15	16 & up	
WHITE--MEN										
1-01 Cashier			2	2	5	15				
1-25 Office machine op				4	17	36	3	5	3	
1-75 Salesperson		1		1	1	14	1	2	2	
4-85 Welder	1	3	7	13	35	16	1			
4-97 Electrician		2	2	8	13	10	1			
5-81 Auto mechanic		4	15	41	65	25		1		
5-83 Electrical repairman		3	7	20	39	46	2	1		
7-36 Bus, truck driver			3	7	10	2				
All other occupations	3	6	21	44	87	101	14	15	8	
No training desired	45	118	262	379	499	474	47	82	58	
TOTAL MEN	49	137	319	519	771	739	69	106	71	
NONWHITE--MEN										
0-48 Craftsman		1	1	4	47	66	3	3	1	
1-01 Cashier		3	3	8	68	109	9	17	6	
1-04 General clerk	1	1	1	10	32	46	9	4		
1-25 Office Machine op			5	14	137	308	37	62	31	
2-32 Barber, beautician	1	4	12	32	101	64	3	2		
4-26 Tailor		1	3	11	61	39				
4-85 Welder	1	26	58	77	366	256	8	11	1	
4-97 Electrician		3	5	10	90	75	1	3	1	
5-24 Brick mason, layer	3	20	46	70	189	73	5	2	3	
5-25 Carpenter	1	10	21	27	71	33				

Table 6 (cont.)

Description	Distribution by Years of Education Completed										
	Total	INA	1-3	4-6	7-8	9-11	12	13	14-15	16 & up	
NONWHITE WOMEN (cont.)											
1-05 Office clerk	322			2	13	109	155	25	16	2	
1-17 File clerk	191			3	13	68	94	9	3	1	
1-25 Office machine op	2,023		1	10	45	569	1,134	102	128	34	
1-33 Secretary	730		2	5	26	229	383	36	37	12	
1-37 Clerk-typist	2,669	2	14	37	163	1,101	1,176	75	79	22	
1-42 Switchboard, tele op	181		2	1	15	78	77	5	3		
2-07 Nursemaid	324	2	12	44	65	105	76	3	10	7	
2-26 Commercial cook	442	1	20	95	110	160	51	3	2		
2-32 Barber, beautician	1,095	2	18	60	172	588	247	5	2	1	
2-38 Practical nurse	1,576	4	22	94	216	743	452	24	19	2	
2-42 Nurse aide	1,243	7	39	139	258	590	198	8	4		
4-25 Seamstress	263		13	44	35	110	56	2	3		
6-27 Sewing machine op	2,120	10	91	323	495	841	339	9	10	2	
All other occupations	1,859	7	50	158	253	741	506	48	64	32	
No training desired	7,782	110	636	1,272	1,279	2,255	1,604	192	219	215	
TOTAL WOMEN	26,153	146	950	2,377	3,439	9,680	7,864	648	700	349	

Source: Georgia Department of Labor, Atlanta Human Resources Survey, June 1966.

TABLE 7

Training Desired Occupations by Occupation of Work Experience

Description	Distribution by Occupation of Work Experience									
	Total	Prof- Mng	Clerical	Sales	Domestic	Serv	Skilled	Semi-sk	Agr- unsk	INA
WHITE--MEN										
1-01 Cashier	24	2	7	3	2	2	6	3	1	3
1-25 Office machine op	68	11	10	6	1	1	8	18	10	4
1-75 Salesperson	22	3	5	8			3	1	2	
4-85 Welder	76	2	7		5	5	20	26	13	3
4-97 Electrician	36		2	2	2	2	5	16	7	2
5-81 Auto mechanic	151	2	5	12	2	12	35	49	29	5
5-83 Electrical repairman	118	3	9	8	2	3	37	40	13	3
7-36 Bus, truck driver	22			1	6	6	2	7	4	2
All other occupations	299	31	33	20		19	60	85	36	15
No training desired	1,964	189	147	118	8	127	540	480	245	110
TOTAL MEN	2,780	243	225	178	12	177	716	725	360	144
NONWHITE--MEN										
0-48 Craftsman	126	5	14	4	2	36	10	25	21	9
1-01 Cashier	224	17	43	6	6	60	17	37	26	12
1-04 General clerk	103		17	5	1	27	5	22	20	6
1-25 Office machine op	594	29	134	13	11	119	56	123	74	35
2-32 Barber, beautician	219	10	16	2	5	48	19	56	51	12
4-26 Tailor	115	2	9	3	2	38	8	14	23	16
4-85 Welder	804	17	52	6	14	156	123	180	214	42
4-97 Electrician	188	4	16	7	4	38	32	35	42	10

Table 7 continued on next page

Table 7 (cont.)

Description	Distribution by Occupation of Work Experience									
	Prof-					Oth-				
	Total	Mng	Clerical	Sales	Domestic	Serv	Skilled	Semi-sk	Agr-uns	INA
NONWHITE--MEN (cont.)										
5-24 Brick mason, layer	411	10	15	1	14	66	66	58	154	27
5-25 Carpenter	164	4	12		4	29	26	21	53	15
5-80 Airplane mechanic	137	1	6		3	30	22	35	30	10
5-81 Auto mechanic	1,287	29	65	10	27	273	161	297	339	86
5-83 Electrical repairman	824	24	83	10	17	176	115	182	178	39
6-78 Lathe operator	129	1	8	1	1	24	12	32	43	7
7-36 Bus, truck driver	105	1	4	1	1	15	10	33	32	8
All other occupations	1,750	76	185	39	59	408	211	300	354	118
No training desired	4,572	290	364	72	108	912	590	946	1,007	283
TOTAL MEN	11,752	520	1,043	180	279	2,455	1,483	2,396	2,661	735
WHITE--WOMEN										
1-01 Cashier	192	7	57	18	3	31	5	36	12	23
1-04 General clerk	90	3	33	12	2	19		5	7	9
1-05 Office Clerk	56		14	1	1	19	1	15	2	3
1-25 Office machine op	293	9	115	27	1	37	9	37	36	22
1-33 Secretary	71	1	23	7		16	1	5	4	14
1-37 Clerk-typist	212	6	52	25	6	47	2	26	13	35
1-42 Switchboard, tele op	53	2	8	6	1	13	1	7	5	10
2-32 Barber, beautician	215	10	30	16	3	64	5	32	13	42
2-38 Practical nurse	96	1	9	9	1	50	1	9	9	7
2-42 Nurse aide	137	6	11	12	6	32	3	24	19	24
6-27 Sewing machine op	156	1	7	8	5	36	7	40	22	30
All other occupations	332	22	59	27	9	47	21	72	33	42
No training desired	3,796	173	686	290	65	487	137	748	378	832
TOTAL WOMEN	5,699	241	1,104	458	103	898	193	1,056	553	1,093

NONWHITE--WOMEN											
0-33	Registered nurse	173	7	10	3	34	66	3	6	3	41
0-43	Decorator, florist	171	10	11	1	65	42	6	14	3	19
1-01	Cashier	2,136	56	212	37	620	634	32	204	103	238
1-04	General clerk	853	32	144	13	191	221	14	71	34	133
1-05	Office clerk	322	16	59	12	55	83	5	29	18	45
1-17	File clerk	191	6	19	4	43	61	2	24	6	26
1-25	Office machine op	2,023	89	381	69	302	509	41	219	121	292
1-33	Secretary	730	35	139	24	107	190	9	47	25	154
1-37	Clerk-typist	2,669	74	326	64	660	708	27	224	124	462
1-42	Switchboard, tele op	181	6	16	2	43	55	3	18	9	29
2-07	Nursemaid	324	11	5	5	165	79		19	16	24
2-26	Commercial cook	442	3	4	1	172	173	3	24	21	41
2-32	Barber, beautician	1,095	13	34	7	400	340	10	91	56	144
2-30	Practical nurse	1,576	30	77	10	547	575	10	102	44	181
2-42	Nurse aide	1,243	10	24	7	579	320	14	92	52	145
4-25	Seamstress	263	3	8	2	106	50	13	23	13	45
6-27	Sewing machine op	2,120	25	32	13	1,017	450	26	222	108	227
All other occupations		1,859	86	108	51	516	484	64	210	124	216
No training desired		7,782	458	490	96	2,867	1,439	103	668	330	1,331
TOTAL WOMEN		26,153	970	2,099	421	8,489	6,479	385	2,307	1,210	3,793

Source: Georgia Department of Labor, Atlanta Human Resources Survey, June 1966.

We are in a period of relatively full employment and a kind of economic growth which generates large increases in demand for higher skills rather than low skills. The problem of labor displacement is hardly likely to disappear, and unused manpower is likely to become a more serious problem unless greater understanding of the unused manpower situation is achieved. Present systems of vocational education, training, and retraining should become more oriented toward manpower policy in which structured job development—structured training and retraining for nonparticipants, the unused manpower—is a vital component.

THE DETERMINANTS OF THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES*

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In a conference on the education and training of racial minorities, it is convenient to assume that jobs would be available if Negroes were trained to fill them and that government policies can affect only the supply side of the labor market. Dubious assumptions, however, can lead to dubious programs. This paper will present evidence that despite government programs, anecdotal evidence, and avowed desires to hire Negroes, Negro employment gains have not been above what would have been expected, given the state of the economy. Public and private training programs play a vital role, but the American economy does not run with an immutable vector of labor demands. Jobs can be adjusted to people as well as people to jobs.

Economists traditionally pay homage to the concept of a balanced labor market where the vector of labor demands is equal to the vector of labor supplies. Unfortunately, a balanced labor market is not apt to bring about structural changes in the income and employment position of the American Negro. To do this in an acceptable period of time will require an unbalanced labor market where there are shortages of labor at all skill levels. Evidence to support this proposition can be found in Negro employment and income gains during World War II and from the similar alterations in job content and erosion of artificial employment standards resulting from our current prosperity, but this paper will use Negro employment functions to study systematically the impact of an unbalanced labor market. Both the causes of recent Negro

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employment gains and their implications for the future can be examined in this way.

The profit motive is the driving force leading to structural changes in an unbalanced labor market. If an employer can hire a white worker, he will do so, but if he must choose between not being able to meet the demand for his goods and services or hiring, training, or promoting Negroes, he will do the latter. An unbalanced labor market is similar to an economic boycott. In the normal boycott, employers need Negro patronage, but in an unbalanced labor market an implicit boycott is created when employers need Negro labor. Both explicit and implicit boycotts create Negro market power, but the sustainability of an unbalanced labor market is obviously much greater than the sustainability of a buyers' boycott.

No one should be under the illusion that unbalanced labor markets are free goods. Some inflation would certainly result, or price and wage controls would be necessary. Steps could be taken to offset the impact of inflation, but realistically some inflation would certainly occur. *Yet it must be clearly recognized that to be in favor of balanced labor markets and against inflationary pressures is to be in favor of small relative gains in Negro employment and income.*

Unbalanced labor markets are not a sufficient answer to the effects of discrimination in employment, education, and training, but they are a necessary policy for any but a very long-range solution to the problem. The impact of unbalanced labor markets is examined in this paper, but that should not be taken to imply that a whole host of other policies to alter labor demands and supplies are not necessary. They certainly are. An unbalanced labor market is complementary with all of these programs and is perhaps a necessary precondition for their success.

To examine the causes of Negro employment gains, this paper estimates employment functions for Negro adult males, adult females, and teenagers, but to investigate adequately the problems of Negro teenagers, the paper must consider the problems of white teenagers since they are also a disadvantaged group in the labor force. To provide more detail, occupational employment functions are also estimated for Negro males and females.

Although this paper is part of a larger study of both the long-run and short-run determinants of Negro employment, only the short-run factors are analyzed here. The source and magnitude of these short-run gains are particularly important since they are key determi-

nants in setting proper aggregate economic policies. If Negro gains are large, unbalanced labor markets should be created even at the price of concomitant inflation. If they are small, Negro employment problems can be ignored in setting macro-policies even if they are crucial in setting particular expenditure policies.

EMPLOYMENT GAINS AMONG NEGROES AND TEENAGERS

According to the queue theory of the labor market, workers are arrayed along a continuum in order of their potential productivity. Employers choose their workers from as far up the queue as possible, but as the demand for labor expands, the dividing line between employed and unemployed shifts closer to the lower end of the spectrum. If a subgroup of the labor force is concentrated at the lower end of the queue, whether from direct employment discrimination, lack of human investment, or any other cause,¹ the subgroup's employment situation will be sensitive to the aggregate level of demand for labor. The popular phrase is "first fired; last hired."

The queue theory leads to three possible, but not mutually exclusive, hypotheses about the employment of disadvantaged workers and the expansion of aggregate demand: (1) When aggregate demand expands, the marginal employment gains among the disadvantaged will be relatively larger than those of preferred workers. (2) As the level of aggregate demand grows in relation to potential output, the marginal gains in employment among the disadvantaged will become relatively larger and larger. And (3), if the relationship between aggregate demand and potential output is above some thresholds, the disadvantaged will make large relative employment gains, but if aggregate demand is below this point, the gains will not occur.

To test the queue theory of the labor market, the hypotheses that spring from it, and the implications for aggregate economic policies, a model must be developed to explain employment gains among the disadvantaged. Since the queue hypothesis concerns relative employment gains rather than absolute gains, the employment gains for

¹For a discussion of possible causes see H. J. Gilman, "Economic Discrimination and Unemployment," *American Economic Review*, December 1965.

disadvantaged groups will be explained in terms of the employment gains of the corresponding preferred workers instead of by the expansion of aggregate demand itself. This does not mean that white employment causes Negro employment, but merely that the same factors probably explain both, and that white employment gains can probably serve as a good proxy for the forces of demand when we are only interested in relative effects.

In addition to employment gains among preferred workers, the queue theory leads to including unemployment rates for preferred workers as one of the explanatory variables. Unemployment rates provide a measure of how many preferred workers are left to be hired. In hypothesis (2), unemployment needs to be included in a nonlinear fashion since the hypothesis implies that a decline in white unemployment from 4 to 3 percent has a greater effect on Negro employment than a decline from 6 to 5 percent, and in hypothesis (3), unemployment among the advantaged is only relevant to employment of the disadvantaged if it is below some threshold.

There also may be some autonomous trends working for or against the disadvantaged over time; discrimination may be declining, human investment may be increasing, or the quality of labor demanded may be increasing faster than the skills of the disadvantaged. In addition, employment gains may depend on the relative size of the disadvantaged group. Since employment gains have probability aspects, the greater the size of a group relative to the preferred group, the greater the likelihood of any one member of the group finding an available job. Alternatively, the structure of labor demands may be adjusting to changes in a group's relative size; demands may be changing to take advantage of the most abundant sources of supply.

In addition to labor's potential productivity, a group's position in the queue will be influenced by the relative wages which must be paid to it. In a time series, the constancy of relative wages precludes any testing of the impact of changes in relative wages, but it is possible to test for the impact of minimum wage laws. Since Negroes are concentrated in lower-paid occupations where minimum wage laws may lead to fewer employment opportunities, these laws may have a differential impact on Negro employment. To study this possibility, the effects of these laws must be investigated through relative wage variables rather than through absolute wage variables. The impact of minimum wage laws depends on how they compress the bottom of the wage scale relative to the average wage. With rising productivity leading to higher wages, a constant minimum wage law will have less and less impact over time.

Finally, lags may appear in the relationships. The a priori expectations would be that employment of the disadvantaged probably lags behind that of the preferred workers.

All of the previously mentioned factors may be significant explanatory variables, but the size of each of these effects is of key importance to the validity or invalidity of the policy recommendations that have followed from the queue theory. How large is the elasticity of Negro employment with respect to white employment, how large are the effects of unemployment, what is the degree of nonlinearity, how important are the autonomous trends, how much does the labor market adjust to changes in the relative size of subgroups in the labor market, and how large are the relative effects of minimum wage laws?

The model used to test the preceding theories is the following:

$$(1) \quad E_i^D = a + \sum_{i=0}^n b_i E_{t-1}^A - \sum_{i=0}^n c_i U_{t-1}^A + \sum_{i=0}^n d_i (U_{t-i}^A)^2 \\ + e \frac{LF_t^D}{LF_t^A} + fT_t - g \left(\frac{MW}{AHE} \right)_t + u_t$$

where E_t^D = employment of disadvantaged group

E_t^A = employment of advantaged group

U_t^A = unemployment rate of advantaged group

LF_t^D = labor force of disadvantaged group

LF_t^A = labor force of advantaged group

T_t = time trend

$\frac{MW}{AHE}$ = minimum wage/average hourly earnings

u_t = error term.

Since it is desirable to use relatively homogeneous groups in the model, the labor force is broken down into three groups—adult males, twenty years of age and up, adult females, twenty years of age and up, and teenagers. The three groups are distinguishable in terms of their respective unemployment rates and in terms of their employment distributions by both industry and occupation. The model is applied by regressing the employment of the disadvantaged on the variables of the corresponding preferred group. Adult nonwhite male employment is explained by adult white male variables, adult nonwhite female employment by adult white female variables, nonwhite teenage employment by white teenage variables, and general teenage employment by adult variables (both male and female).

The results of applying equation (1) to seasonally adjusted quarterly data from 1954 to 1966 (here and after Roman numerals will indicate quarters), are shown in Table 1. The best equation is shown for each of the four disadvantaged groups. Variables were eliminated from the equation when their coefficients were not as large as their standard errors, however, all but two of the coefficients meeting this test were also significant at the 1 percent level. One was significant at the 5 percent level and the other is considerably larger than its standard error. Several conclusions are evident from the four equations.

(1) There are very few lags in the relationships. Employment of nonwhite teenagers depends on white teenage unemployment in the previous quarter, and teenage employment depends on adult employment in the previous quarter, but no other lags were found. Various experiments also were made with distributed lags, but they did not prove to be significant. Judging from the corrected R^2 's, the same factors seem to affect both the advantaged and the disadvantaged at approximately the same time, or with very short lags.

(2) Looking at the coefficients of the employment term, the elasticities of disadvantaged employment with respect to employment of preferred workers (evaluated at the means) were 1.4 for adult nonwhite males, 1.0 for adult nonwhite females, .8 for nonwhite teenagers, and .3 for teenagers. If the expansion of aggregate demand represented by preferred employment gains were the only factor affecting disadvantaged employment, the employment gap between the adult white males and adult nonwhite males would narrow, the gaps for nonwhite teenagers and adult females would remain roughly constant, and the gap for teenagers would widen rapidly.

TABLE 1

Employment of Nonwhites and Teenagers, 1954-1966 II^a

<u>Class</u>	<u>Adult Nonwhite Males</u>	<u>Adult Nonwhite Females</u>	<u>Nonwhite Teenagers</u>	<u>Teenagers</u>
a	-4370.6 (267.0) ^b	-2149.9 (162.4) ^b	-382.72 (96.77) ^b	-1858.4 (272.4) ^b
E_t^A	.1419 (.0163) ^b	.1506 (.0026) ^b	.0908 (.0039) ^b	
E_{t-1}^A				.0272 (.0076) ^b
U_t^A	-103.2 (35.1) ^b	-17.55 (3.57) ^b		-193.7 (51.3) ^b
U_{t-1}^A			-4.5794 (1.2302) ^b	
$(U_t^A)^2$	8.306 (3.898) ^c			14.603 (5.416) ^b
$\frac{LF_t^D}{LF_t^A}$	300.95 (45.01) ^b	141.78 (12.31) ^b	41.61 (2.99) ^b	646.26 (23.05) ^b
$\frac{(MW)}{(AHE)}_t$	-2.588 (1.567)			
\bar{R}^2	.98	.99	.92	.99
S_e	28.0	18.5	12.9	39.9
d. w.	1.08	1.23	1.93	1.56
d. f.	42	44	44	43

^aData were taken from *Employment and Earnings and Monthly Report on the Labor Force*, U.S. Department of Labor. Employment is measured in thousands and the other variables in percentages. AHE was calculated from data in the *Survey of Current Business*.

^bSignificant at 1 percent level.

^cSignificant at 5 percent level.

(3) In every case unemployment among the preferred group had the expected effect, but only in the cases of teenagers and adult nonwhite males were there significant nonlinear effects as well. For nonwhite adult females and for nonwhite teenagers, a one percentage point decline in unemployment for white adult females or white teenagers resulted in employment gains of 0.7 percent and 0.9 percent respectively. The nonlinear term for nonwhite adult males and teenagers means that their employment gains rise as unemployment among preferred workers falls. A decline in adult white male unemployment from 6 to 5 percent raises adult nonwhite male employment by 0.3 percent, but a decline from 3 to 2 percent raises nonwhite adult male employment by 1.6 percent. For teenagers a decline in adult unemployment from 6 to 5 percent raises teenage employment by 0.7 percent, but a decline from 3 to 2 percent raises teenage employment by 2.4 percent.

During the period under consideration the lowest unemployment rates for the preferred groups occurred at the end of the period. If the equations were used to predict nonwhite and teenage employment gains for the third and fourth quarters of 1966, under-predictions might provide evidence to substantiate the threshold hypothesis (hypothesis (3)), but in no case did employment rise substantially faster than expected. Perhaps the hypothesis is correct and unemployment rates between 1954 and 1967 have simply not been low enough, or perhaps they have not been there long enough, but both of these possibilities must remain an open question.

(4) Expanding aggregate demand has two effects on the employment of the disadvantaged. It leads to a direct expansion of employment among the disadvantaged, but it also leads to lower unemployment for the preferred group and thus to additional employment gains for the disadvantaged.

When both of these effects are put together, they substantiate hypothesis (1) that employment gains for the disadvantaged are larger than those for preferred workers for all four groups. If induced increases in the size of the labor force from lower unemployment are ignored, a 1 percent increase in adult white female employment and the corresponding reduction in unemployment results in a rise of 1.7 percent in adult nonwhite fe-

male employment,² and a 1 percent rise in white teenage employment results in an increase of 1.5 percent in nonwhite employment.

Because of the nonlinear effects for adult nonwhite males and teenagers, their employment gains depend on the exact unemployment levels for adult white males and adults. Currently (1966 II) employment of adult white males is 2.2 percent and adult unemployment is 2.9 percent. Lower rates may not be achievable, but assume for illustration that both of these rates can be lowered. Then a 1 percent rise in adult white male employment would lead to an increase of 3.3 percent in adult nonwhite male employment and a 1 percent rise in adult employment would result in a 2.7 percent increase in teenage employment. For adult nonwhite males and for teenagers both hypotheses (1) and (2) are correct. As unemployment falls, their employment gains expand.

(5) No autonomous time trends were found for any of the four groups, either for the entire period or for different subperiods. On the aggregate level, there is no evidence that any of the attempts to eliminate employment discrimination and to improve Negro or teenage job opportunities have had significant effect as yet.

(6) Changes in the relative size of advantaged and disadvantaged groups are potentially important for all four groups, but actual changes in relative size were large only in the teenage labor market. The teenage labor force rose from a low of 7.6 percent (1955 I) to a high of 11.3 percent (1966 II) of the adult labor force and the nonwhite teenage labor force fell from a high of 15.6 percent (1955 IV) to a low of 11.9 percent (1965 IV) of the white teenage labor force. For each group there were important market changes which were proportional to the relative size of the advantaged and disadvantaged groups. If the increase in the relative size of the teenage labor force had not been accompanied by market adjustments, teenage unemployment would be three times as high as it actually is. Conversely, if the white teenage labor force had not grown faster than the Negro teenage

²A 1 percent rise in employment results in a one percentage point reduction in unemployment in cases where unemployment rates are small, but not in cases where unemployment rates are high.

labor force, Negro teenage unemployment would be five percentage points lower than it actually is.

(7) Minimum wages were significant only for adult Negro males. This is not surprising given the coverage of the minimum wage laws, but it should be emphasized that the model is testing for relative and not absolute effects. To the extent that minimum wages affect white employment, this effect will appear in the white employment variable and be reflected in Negro employment. Given the coverage that existed until 1967, minimum wages have played no part in deteriorating employment picture for teenagers vis-a-vis adults or Negro teenagers vis-a-vis white teenagers. While the minimum wage variable is significant for adult Negro males, the size of the effect is small. A 1 percent increase in the minimum wage relative to average hourly earnings causes a reduction of only 0.07 percent in Negro employment. The income effects obviously outweigh the employment effects although the individuals who receive the income gains are not the ones who lose their jobs.

PROJECTIONS

Ignoring induced increases in the size of the labor force, an expansion of aggregate demand which raises employment among the advantaged groups (adult white males and females) by 1 percent would increase employment among adult nonwhite males by 3.3 percent, among adult nonwhite females by 1.7 percent, among nonwhite teenagers by 3.9 percent, and among white teenagers by 2.6 percent. Gains of that magnitude would almost equalize adult male unemployment (1.7 versus 1.2 percent) and would improve the situation for other groups, but they would still leave a discouraging gap between nonwhite and white teenagers, and between teenagers and adults. (See Table 2.) If the level of unemployment necessary for the threshold hypothesis to occur was reached, the relative gains might be larger and more equalizing, but there is no evidence indicating either the existence of this threshold or its location.

Perhaps the problem can be put into perspective by looking at white and nonwhite unemployment in 1953 when national unemployment reached its postwar low of 2.9 percent. Nonwhite unemployment was

TABLE 2

Projected and Actual Unemployment Rates
(Seasonally adjusted)

	<u>1966 II</u>	<u>Projected</u>
White adult males	2.2	1.2
White adult females	3.4	2.4
White teenagers	11.1	9.8
White	3.5	2.4
Nonwhite adult males	4.8	1.7
Nonwhite adult females	6.3	4.7
Nonwhite teenagers	26.7	23.8
Nonwhite	7.5	5.0
Total	3.9	2.7

4.7 percent and white unemployment was 2.8 percent.³ There is some slight evidence of a deterioration in the position of nonwhites since 1953, but this is entirely due to the deterioration in the position of both white and Negro teenagers.

OCCUPATIONAL EMPLOYMENT

Part of the validity of the queue theory derives from the shifting mix of occupational employment over the cycle.⁴ If the occupations at the bottom of the queue expand relative to those at the top of the queue when the labor market is tight, the disadvantaged will make relative employment gains without any within-occupation queue effects. If queue effects do exist within occupations, however, the possibilities for significantly upgrading the disadvantaged labor force as a result

³These rates have been adjusted for the change in definition of unemployment which took place in 1957.

⁴"The Changing Structure of Unemployment: An Econometric Study," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, May 1965.

of a tight labor market will be much greater. Negroes will be able to upgrade their occupational distribution as well as improve their employment position.

In fact, each occupation may also be regarded as a queue in which the distribution of advantaged groups is concentrated at the top of the queue, and the distribution of disadvantaged groups is concentrated at the bottom of the queue. The segments of the general advantaged and disadvantaged employment distributions covered by a particular occupation depend on the occupation's relative position in the total labor queue. Those occupations at the top of the queue will have very few disadvantaged workers and those at the bottom will be composed primarily of disadvantaged workers. As the labor market tightens, the division between the employed and unemployed moves closer to the bottom of each occupational queue, but the individual occupations also tend to lose some of their better workers to occupations higher in the queue. As a result of the events at both ends of the occupational queue, the entire occupational distribution moves down the labor queue. The width of labor demands and the possibilities for using workers with different qualifications are vividly illustrated by the extremely wide range of qualifications that are contained within each of our major occupations. Even within the professional occupations, 26 percent of the labor force in 1960 did not have any college education and 47 percent had not graduated from college.

The basic queue equation (equation 1) is applied to quarterly data for each of the major male and female (including teenagers) occupations from 1958 to 1966 II, but the pressure variables must be modified to include both the unemployment rates of the preferred groups and the unemployment rates of the particular occupations under consideration. Both of these pressure variables are necessary to explain occupational employment gains since the tightness of the occupational labor market and the tightness of the general labor market can, and do, have different effects on the employment of disadvantaged groups. (See below.)

The relative position of each occupation in the general labor queue can be determined by the proportion of disadvantaged workers employed; its marginal position is given by the employment elasticity of disadvantaged with respect to advantaged; the differential response to tight labor markets is given by the coefficients of the unemployment variables; the favorable or unfavorable exogenous factors are given by the trend terms; and the correlation coefficients give indication of how closely the demand for disadvantaged workers is integrated with the demand for advantaged workers.

For males the top of the queue is occupied by managerial and sales occupations while the bottom of the queue is occupied by laborers. (See Table 3.) Since discrimination is an important element in placing an occupation in the labor queue, placing an occupation at the top of the queue is not the same thing as saying that the objective qualities demanded are the highest or lowest in these occupations. A nonwhite managerial employment elasticity of 1 means that the employment of nonwhites is just keeping pace with the employment of whites and a positive trend term of 3.5 percent indicates that some exogenous gains are being made; but it should be pointed out that a 3.5 percent trend would take over 40 years to eliminate the relative employment gap in the managerial occupations between whites and nonwhites. Nonwhite sales employment is even less integrated with the white labor market since there are no employment or unemployment responses at all, but a high trend would lead to a closing of the employment gap in 20 years if it continued.

The concept of a backward bending labor supply curve with respect to wages has long been familiar in economics, but the occupational queue equations also present evidence of a backward bending supply curve for some occupations with respect to employment opportunities. For both "farm laborers" and "other services," a tight labor market leads to a decline in nonwhite employment within these occupations and a loose labor market leads to a rise in nonwhite employment. Both of these occupations are inferior occupations which nonwhites leave when employment conditions are tight. This reaction can be clearly seen in "other services." A fall in the occupational unemployment rate leads to a rise in nonwhite employment, but a fall in the unemployment rate of the preferred group (white males) leads to a decline in nonwhite employment in the occupation. In the case of "other services," the dominant effect comes from unemployment in the preferred group rather than from unemployment within the occupation. A falling occupational unemployment rate leads to an expansion of 1.5 percent in nonwhite employment, but a falling white male unemployment rate leads to a decline in nonwhite employment of 4.9 percent. The net effect is a decline in nonwhite employment as the labor market tightens.

The low employment elasticity for male craftsmen can be easily explained in terms of the supply constraints that prevent nonwhites from taking advantage of expanding employment opportunities, but the zero employment elasticity for nonwhite laborers is more puzzling. Nonwhites seem to be the residual supply of laborers. Their employment gains are completely dependent on the unemployment level of white competitors rather than on the expansion of white employment.

TABLE 3

Occupational Employment Gains

Occupation	Relative	1958-1966 II			\bar{R}^2
	Employment Distribution 1966 ^a (%)	Employment Elasticity ^b	Unemployment Response ^c (%)	Trend Factor ^d (%/yr)	
MALE					
Professional	43.8	-	5.5	7.6	.90
Managers	23.9	1.2	-	3.5	.70
Clerical	93.0	2.3	-	-	.33
Sales	29.2	-	-	8.0	.50
Craftsmen	60.8	.1	1.7	3.6	.86
Operatives	136.7	1.0	-	1.9	.86
Private household services	300.0	-	-	-	-
Other services	246.8	-	-3.4	3.4	.83
Laborers	316.1	-	7.8	-2.4	.68
Farmers	55.8	1.0	3.8	-5.3	.88
Farm laborers	236.4	.4	-5.7	-	.70
FEMALE					
Professional	62.3	-	8.7	7.6	.88
Managers	31.2	-	-	-	-
Clerical	38.5	1.6	-	4.1	.90
Sales	24.1	-	6.4	5.8	.65
Craftsmen	70.0	-	-	-	-
Operatives	102.6	.4	4.0	1.3	.68
Private household services ^e	509.1	.3	1.0	-2.4	.41
Other services	182.1	-.8	3.0	7.4	.90
Laborers	175.0	-	-	-	-
Farmers	100.0	-	-	-	-
Farm laborers	175.0	.4	8.1	-6.3	.92

^aNonwhite employment in occupation *i*/nonwhite employment ÷ white employment in occupation *i*/white employment.

^bEvaluated at the means.

^cBased on the assumption that the unemployment among the preferred group fell by one percentage point. The declines on occupational unemployment rates that are associated with this are estimated using the coefficients from "The Changing Structure of Unemployment: An Econometric Study," *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, May 1965.

^dEvaluated at the means.

^eFor private household employment, nonwhite female unemployment rates and nonwhite median family incomes were introduced into the equation. The trend factor is based on the mean increase in nonwhite median family income from 1958 to 1965.

Female managerial and sales jobs are once again located at the top of the queue, but since managerial jobs do not employ many women the serious underrepresentation occurs in the sales and clerical occupations. Under present structural conditions, the relative employment gap would be eliminated in 45 years in the sales occupations and in 25 years in the clerical occupations.

The backward bending labor supply curve can also be seen for female private household workers. Declines in occupational unemployment lead to increases of 5.1 percent in nonwhite employment in the occupation, but declines in unemployment among white females lead to decreases of 4.1 percent in nonwhite employment in the occupation. For private household workers, the occupational unemployment effects dominate the general labor market effects, but nonwhite employment in this occupation also proved to be very sensitive to movements in nonwhite incomes.⁵ When nonwhite incomes rise, nonwhite employment in the private household occupation falls. The income elasticity of employment is -0.2 (evaluated at the means). The combination of income effects and employment effects lead to declining employment of female nonwhite private household workers when the labor market tightens and a long-run declining trend due to the income effects.

The female "other service" occupations indicate a need to distinguish between jobs which whites regard as inferior and jobs which nonwhites regard as inferior. The "other services" seem to be inferior for whites and superior for nonwhites. Apparently, white women regard "other services" as inferior and leave this occupation when alternatives appear. When their employment falls, the employment of nonwhite women increases. This difference is probably due to two factors. Nonwhite women do not have other attractive alternatives and the "other service" occupations are clearly superior to private household work.

IMPLICATIONS

Attacks on poverty and discrimination have both income and employment goals. Income equality is the ultimate objective, but employment opportunities are more than just a means for achieving this ultimate goal. Employment opportunities are goals in themselves be-

⁵See footnote (e) of Table 3.

cause of their effects on personal independence and selfrespect. Although both income and employment goals are important, they are not equally important for every subgroup within the disadvantaged. For adult nonwhite males, income problems clearly dominate employment problems, and for nonwhite teenagers, employment problems clearly dominate income problems. The projections place adult nonwhite females between these two groups, but the important element here is probably the income goal rather than the employment goal.

White lower national unemployment would have very favorable effects on employment opportunities for nonwhite adults, a national unemployment rate of 3 percent would still leave nonwhite median family incomes less than 60 percent of whites.⁶ Thus, structural programs for adult nonwhite males must concentrate on creating high wage employment opportunities rather than on training unemployed workers for employment. Since nonwhite incomes are generally far below those of whites in all occupations, all the gains do not have to be made by moving individuals across occupations. In 1960, 60 percent of the income difference between adult white and nonwhite males could be traced to income differentials within occupations, and only 40 percent was due to poor occupational distribution.

In the teenage labor market where family responsibilities are not as important and where the unemployment problem is much larger, employment problems dominate income problems. Since a major social goal for this age group is formal training, jobs probably need to be more closely linked with formal training activities. To achieve a better linkage between jobs and education will probably require some kind of guaranteed job program supported by the government, since high turnover costs make it irrational for any private employer to employ massive numbers of teenagers.

There is some evidence that the queue theory works within occupations as well as across occupations, but in none of the occupations is the dynamics of the labor market adequate to eliminate relative employment gaps in an acceptable period of time. Structural programs will be needed to raise employment elasticities in key male groups, such as craftsmen, and to achieve a radical break-through in the employment of nonwhite females in the clerical occupations. With large-trend factors, the professional occupations will probably be the first of the high income occupations to achieve employment parity, but employment parity will probably be achieved long before income parity. Both income and employment parity are apt to be achieved faster, however, if we are willing to tolerate unbalanced labor markets.

⁶"The Causes of Poverty," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February 1967.

DISCUSSION

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Professor Lester Thurow is to be complimented for presenting an interesting paper which provides us with another analytical tool for labor market research. I hope that he continues to develop his model and refine his techniques.

The "queue theory" of the labor market, whereby workers are arranged along a continuum in order of their potential productivity, is a useful tool for examining the employment and unemployment experience of Negroes in relation to white workers. This concept is particularly effective in explaining the direction of macro shifts. However, Professor Thurow might want to do some further testing of the theory when he uses it for micro analysis. Let me refer to some specific questions which might be asked about the queue theory.

First, does the queue theory take into account the so-called discouraged workers who do not participate in the labor force at all? In November 1966, one out of 10 workers living in the slums in 13 major cities was unemployed.¹ Disproportionately large numbers of slum residents of working age were neither working nor looking for work. This labor force "nonparticipation rate" was 11 percent among men 20 to 64, compared with only 7 percent in the country generally.

Second, does the queue theory take into account the fact that some employers may prefer Negro workers for low-skilled, low-paid jobs? The competition between Negro and white workers at this level may not be amenable to a queue concept.

Third, does the queue theory assume an efficiency in labor market operation which does not, in truth, exist? The immobility of

¹U.S. Department of Labor, *Manpower Report of the President and A Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training* (Washington: Government Printing Office, April 1967), p. 74.

workers, accidental geographical location, the mismatching of workers and jobs are indications of a labor market which is not equally efficient in bringing workers and jobs together.

Fourth, is the queue theory correct in assuming that employers take all factors, such as education and training, into account in hiring new workers? There is an assumption here of a rational process which may not be as rational as one might think in hiring procedures.

Fifth, does the queue theory have general applicability to hiring practices when we know that a substantial proportion of new hires are made through in-house referrals by those already employed? The queue theory does not appear to take into account the operation or existence of the internal labor market in large employing institutions.²

Sixth, does the queue theory take into account occupational changes which occur because of technological changes, demographic factors, or shifts in consumer demand which change the occupational distributions with and among industries?

A further exploration of the queue theory in relation to the shifting mix of occupational employment is warranted. Professor Thurow believes that the queue theory works within occupations as well as across occupations. The aggregate data on the employment distribution of nonwhites appear to show significant shifts which reflect the effects of the activities of the civil rights groups and the large scale attack on discrimination by public as well as private groups. In 1955, only 12 percent of the nonwhite workers had white collar jobs.³ By 1965, almost 20 percent of the Negroes were white-collar workers. During this same period, the proportion of the Negro workforce employed as professional and technical workers rose from 3.5 to 6.8 percent.

²"In the typical enterprise, hiring-in jobs are only a small fraction of the total number of job classifications; in many, such jobs are confined to common labor maintenance, a beginning woman's job in the plant, a clerical position, a beginning managerial post, and few professional occupations." John Dunlop, "Job Vacancy Measures and Economic Analysis," *The Measurement and Interpretation of Job Vacancies* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1966), p. 32.

³U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *The Negro in the United States, Their Economic and Social Situation*, Bulletin No. 1511 (Washington: Government Printing Office), p. 107.

When we look at specific occupations the queue theory may not provide us with a particularly satisfactory tool. Negro workers represent so small a percentage of the total employed in certain occupations that it is difficult to conceive a competitive queuing taking place. The Negro workers may not be located in parts of the country where the jobs may exist, or they may not have had the education and training preparation for some of these occupations.

For example, there were only 5,439 Negro male accountants and auditors as compared to 397,000 white males in this occupational grouping in 1960. There were 3,097 Negro male electrical engineers as compared to 184,000 white male engineers in that same year. We had about 1900 Negro tool and die makers and 156,000 white workers in this occupational group in 1960.

When one compares the number employed, by race and occupations, it is difficult to visualize an application of the queue theory. The smallness of the Negro employment negates a continuum concept with workers lining up in order of their potential productivity.

The reality of training and education problems created by years of neglect, discrimination, and segregated and unequal educational facilities make it difficult to respond very easily to Professor Thurow's exhortation that, "Thus structural programs for adult nonwhite males must concentrate on creating high wage employment opportunities rather than on training unemployed workers for employment."⁴ Fortunately, administrators engaged in training programs are not always faced with "either-or" situations.

Negro workers will be able to increase their penetration in the more rapidly growing skilled and white-collar occupations when, in addition to providing education and training opportunities, the walls of racial discrimination in hiring start to crumble more rapidly.

⁴U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1966* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 232.

HILTON E. HANNA

**AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER
WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL-CIO**

It is with saddened heart that one comes to this point of our Conference. Despite all the brilliant papers presented and discussed, one gets the feeling that there is yet a need for a keener focussing on *the real job we face and an aroused consciousness of the urgency of the hour.*

Everything else being equal—as the economists would say, meaning in this instance for those who have eyes to see, ears to hear, and hearts and minds to understand the signs of the times—it ought to be crystal clear that the United States today is sitting on a volcano or at least on a series of time-bombs relentlessly ticking away toward the fatal moment of hell-bent destruction. This is as implicit in what Professors Thurow and Henderson have said, as in what others have said.

It surely does not take a proverbial "Philadelphia Lawyer" to recognize the fact that in terms of education, technical training, jobs with equal pay for equal work, equal opportunity for advancement, home ownership, and recognition for services rendered in behalf of the general welfare—all of which we consider essential ingredients of the American way of life—the Negro is still the lowest man on the national totem pole.

With but precious little modification, what is true of the Negro with respect to progress into the mainstream of American life is also true of the Mexican American, the Puerto Rican, the American Indian, and other racial minorities.

Just why it is necessary day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, to hold such conferences to deal with the so-called "Negro and other minority problems" is beyond comprehension. The Negro is already the most surveyed, polled, investigated, interviewed, checked and double-checked citizen or group of this nation.

Say it however you say, "slice it as thin as you wish," wrap it up in the smoothest terms of the economists or statisticians, the stark fact remains that the Negro, by and large, is still the last hired and first fired; the last to get a job in anything but the traditionally menial

"Negro jobs"; the last to be up-graded; and certainly the last to be paid on the basis of his competence instead of his color. As Henderson puts it, unless we individually, and collectively, do something about it, and quickly, the new slogan with respect to the Negro might well be "First fired and perhaps never rehired."

Of course, here and there, it is possible to discover a few notable "exhibits" to "prove" that this is not so. Everybody, or almost everybody, wants to be able to show off the "new look" in economic and human relations.

So in banks and counting houses, "hash joints" and filling stations, radio and T. V., and a host of other enterprises and callings, one can never be sure that he will not stumble upon a "blood brother or sister," where but a few years ago none would have dared show his face without running the risk of being chased off the premises with ax handles or police dogs.

It is the mode of the hour; so "everybody is doing it." But take a peek behind the facade and you will find that the mask of "compliance" or "respectability" runs no deeper than the briefest of the mini-miniskirts. In short, the same old ugly Jim Crowism and discrimination continue to *rule the roost*—often with greater vengeance than before.

At the risk of being labeled "an economic man," it seems to me that no efforts to help the Negro—and his fellow sufferers of other racial minority groups—help himself could be genuine or effective *if it failed to grapple with the problem of jobs and education*. That is precisely what this conference is all about; with jobs and education you can get money, and the young Negro of the ghetto knows this just as much as a young fellow in suburbia. The young Negro is determined to have some of that "filthy lucre" for himself. He knows that with "folding money" or the wherewithall in your pocket, or in the bank, you just about "*hold the key to the kingdom*." He knows that "folding money" gives you *power*—not *white power* or *black power* but *green power*! And green power is one of the basic levers by which people lift themselves up "by their own bootstraps."

As one brave soul pointed out yesterday, we already have at our fingertips a "mountain of information" on the education and training of racial minorities as the key to the well-being, or unrest and disillusion of those groups. By the same token, this means major challenges to the peace, progress, and serenity or turmoil of the com-

munity, state, and nation of which they are—for better or worse—living, breathing, sensitive souls.

Learned as have been the discussions of the past several days, it seems to me that in the main we have been "tilting at the windmills." We have "missed the boat." All the arguments as to whether the queue theory or employment or any other theory is the more relevant is completely irrelevant at this stage. The real problem we face at this moment is the problem of finding jobs for the hundreds of thousands of disgruntled, dissatisfied, uninspired, hopeless young poor who will be pouring out of the schools and colleges in the next few weeks, joining the dissatisfied who are already on the outside waiting for reinforcements to heat up the summer.

If I seem unduly frantic or disturbed, it is because the ghost of the Chicago riots of last summer, like Banquo's ghost, is ever with us to haunt us. The Chicago nightmare was probably never quite brought home to anyone despite the death and devastation that reigned in the Lawndale and surrounding area last summer—until the end of the week in which the rioting began.

On Friday morning following the Thursday night outbreak of that hellish week, the *power structure* of the city, representing religious leaders, the political bigwigs, captains of industry, and leaders of significant civic groups, were called into an emergency "war council" in a downtown hotel. No sooner were they assembled than workers from those tension-torn areas representing all faiths, various political parties, and civil rights workers drew for the "City Fathers" a vivid picture of the causes and background of the riots.

They were told that unless those assembled in *that* room in *that* Loop hotel on *that* Friday morning took it upon themselves to make jobs available, to insure by tangible evidence that the dispossessed people of the Lawndale district would be recognized as human beings with rights and aspirations that must be met, it would be impossible for those leaders to meet on the following morning as they were meeting that Friday. They were told that the residents of Lawndale were angry, bitter people because they had been let down by the power structure, by people who were in positions to do things to help them help themselves.

The result of it was that from the religious leaders, headed by Archbishop John P. Cody of the Archdiocese of Chicago, and including leaders of Jewish and Protestant groups, and from the men of civic

and business areas came agreement that something would be done that very morning.

Men with economic power gave this pledge to the assembled group that they were able and willing to put teenagers to work that very afternoon, or the next day, or beginning Monday morning, at anything they could do—for whatever their skills or physical ability might make them qualified. They agreed that they would cut red tape to see that people who possessed more than the minimum aptitude would be placed in situations where they would be able to get on-the-job training. They agreed that they would pay these workers on a daily basis in order that they would have some spending money in their pockets, rather than making them wait for the full week or two week payroll period, as might have been the custom in many of those establishments.

It was agreed there and then that a delegation from the group would contact the mayor and others of the city administration to try to change the situation then existing in which fifty-one of the fifty-three Ward Committeemen of the district were not only white, but were also absentee "representatives" in that they lived someplace else in the city rather than in the Wards they represented. The businessmen decided to contact lending agencies to make it plain that the people in Lawndale were entitled to loans on the basis of their ability to repay and at rates no more exorbitant than normally charged citizens living elsewhere in the city. They pledged to support the formation of committees to contact merchants in the area to insist that they recognize their responsibility to employ area people.

In other words, they were ready to demand that some of the "cream" that was being skimmed off in the form of profits be poured back into the community. They pledged to support the campaign of Doctor Martin Luther King and others for a "better deal" from the landlords for the tenants. And last, but not least, they decided to take steps—on the spot—before the meeting was over to make water available in that Lawndale area for sprinkling until swimming pools could be installed. By the way, temporary swimming pools, obtained from the National Guard or someone else, were installed within the next day or two. Multiply Chicago by Watts, Harlem, Philadelphia, Washington, Cleveland—any major city of the country—and you begin to see the immensity of the problem we face today.

In short, my thesis to you at this time is that the time for discussion is over. The time for action is now. All the argument about whether the Worker's Defense League program of New York is suffi-

cient for doing the job, or whether the Opportunity Industrialization Centers of Philadelphia and Little Rock have the right answers, or whether the A. Philip Randolph Institute has evolved a program that merits emulation elsewhere, to me seems useless.

In the situation we face, there is a job for everyone. Someone mentioned the fact that since we are faced by a national problem, national problems require national solutions. To that I would say, *correct*, so long as we recognize that we, each of us individually and collectively as citizens make up this nation of ours. That being the case, it is a job for the federal government, for state governments, counties, and municipalities. It is a job for civic and religious groups, and there certainly is a job for each of us as individual human beings. Let us never forget that in a crisis such as the one we are facing, we can no longer delegate responsibility to George or Mary or Jane. The situation demands personal involvement by every American on behalf of the dispossessed, oppressed, outcast. This goes for the youthful poor, whatever their creed or color, as well as those we classify as racial minority groups.

When it is estimated, as we frequently hear, that something in the neighborhood of forty million Americans live in families with incomes of less than \$3,000 per year, we can understand how the personal attention and concern of those in the more privileged groups might often do more to stimulate and motivate hope and pride in the forgotten men and women in the nation than any amount of money, no matter how large, that might be "thrown at them."

In our discussions over the past couple of days much has been said about labor and its cooperation or lack of it in helping to make jobs available to young people by way of the apprenticeship training programs. There is no question that labor, as a significant force to be reckoned with in the body politic, shoulders a responsibility at least as great as that of any other section of the community.

What we have said about the "City Fathers," in Chicago on that "frightened Friday," taking matters into their own hands and deciding to cut red tape to make jobs available to those able and willing to work, needs to be done in other sectors of our society. There is no question that organized labor has a responsibility to revise its traditional practices of apprenticeship training in order to meet the demands of our time. We are not here today to discuss the minute details of what might be done. The responsibility is for labor to shape up and shoulder the burden of social changes faced by the nation.

We have been told that there are on the average only about fifty thousand apprentices enrolled throughout the United States in any single year. At this rate, it would seem that the present system of apprenticeship training is far from adequate to meet the needs of the times and especially the new search for opportunity by the up-to-now *dispossessed* colored citizens. After labor has risen to the occasion in deeds as well as words and has instituted the needed reforms in its practices, we must face the fact that there will still remain a vast task in making jobs and more jobs available for those who are traditionally "the last hired and first fired."

While labor shares in this responsibility—labor alone cannot do the job! My personal view of the crisis we face in employment and in the education and training of those who would be employed is that as a nation, we still have a long way to go to recognize the immensity and gravity of the situation. We simply do not have time to argue about who is right or who is wrong, or who should take the lead or who should follow.

Perhaps a story which many of you may recall about the British in the crisis at Dunkirk might help drive home the picture.

If you remember, at the battle of Dunkirk the British and Canadians had been driven to the water's edge by the Germans. The Admiralty frantically set out a call for volunteers with any craft that could float to help rescue the soldiers on the beach across the Channel. The response was terrific—large pleasure craft, small boats, dinghies, anything that could stay afloat. When they were assembled, however, it was discovered that some of those craft had never been out of sight of land before. They wondered what to do about maps and charts, as there was no time to prepare any such material. The word given by the Admiralty was simply, "Head for the sound of the guns." In other words, those British volunteers could hear the sound of the German guns on the other shore. The only thing that mattered under those circumstances was to head for the direction of the action, since it was at that spot the troops were waiting evacuation. The order was obeyed; the troops were saved and were able to save England in her darkest hours yet to follow.

If we are to save the day, so as to prevent future violence by those who will no longer be pacified by words, we must not only head for the action—we must hasten into action. "The day is already far spent."