

Poverty
(1967 folder)

"The great paradox of this age of affluence is a great surplus of low skilled workers co-existing with shortages of skilled workers. *New Careers* proposes a strategy to remedy both aspects of this paradox: A new program of hiring and training the poor to help the poor."

Charles C. Killingsworth

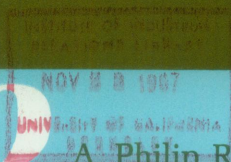
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New Careers

*A Basic
Strategy
Against Poverty*

by **Frank Riessman**

Introduction By **Michael Harrington**



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New Careers

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Utilization Of The Nonprofessional Worker Can:

- Provide millions of new jobs for the unemployed.
- Create human service positions which cannot be automated out of existence.
- Rehabilitate the poor through meaningful employment.
- Provide more and "closer" service for the poor.
- Reach the unreached.
- Reduce the manpower shortage in education, health, and social work.
- Free the professional for more creative and supervisory roles.

Introduction

Michael Harrington

The idea of new careers for the poor is one of the most important and imaginative social proposals to have come to the fore during the recent years in which we have been witnessing a renewed concern with the issue of poverty.

Indeed, the very speed with which the proposal has moved from the mind of innovators like Frank Riessman to Congressional action and public discussion is a testimony of its relevance. Within a few short years, anti-poverty agencies have actually created some new careers on a most modest scale; the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress called for the designing of more than 5 million socially useful subprofessional jobs; the Congress passed the Scheuer-Nelson Act which provided a down payment of \$70 million for moving in this new direction; and political organizations like Americans for Democratic Action have given the new career approach a central position in their program.

In short, there is a very real possibility of a major social reform which would not only provide millions of jobs for the poor but which would raise the quality of life for the entire society as well. Five or six years ago, a careful examination of the potential of subprofessional work, such as one finds in this pamphlet, would have seemed an exercise in utopian speculation. Today, it is a matter of practical urgency. And at least part of the credit for this momentous improvement must go to Frank Riessman and his associates.

For my part, I can only underline a few of the points in this discussion which seem to me particularly important. Beyond that, Riessman's analysis is itself the very best introduction to the subject.

One of the most significant things about the new careers proposal is that it is not makework. This is important for society—and even more important for the poor. Before the notion of subprofessional work was introduced, there seemed to be only two ways of solving the problem of

the under-educated, unskilled wage earner who was either out of a job or else labored long and hard hours for a poverty wage. On the one hand, a government agency could provide some simple task of limited social use and without any possibility for learning and upward movement. Or, on the other hand, the nation could fund a second educational system which would take the rejects of the conventional schools and try to give them the knowledge and motivation needed in the modern labor market. In a good many cases, this meant beginning by teaching a man or woman how to read.

Now both of these lines of action have made contributions to the problem. Yet in an economy in which the private sector with its sophisticated technology now requires, according to government estimates, that a young worker have fourteen years of schooling (which is two years beyond high school), both approaches had profound limitations. Makework prepares a person for makework, and thus is a last resort which functions only so long as the government is willing to keep the program going. It leads nowhere. And the arduous process of preparing the systematically deprived for entry into the modern economy is long and expensive, and, above all, applies to only the least disadvantaged. Practically every one of the manpower programs has conceded an ability to reach the "hard core" of the young poor, and, in many cities, the hard core is a majority.

With the new careers tack, the society no longer tries to shape the man to fit the job. It designs an occupation of enormous social value which the poor can do here and now, and in which they can grow and progress. For practically everyone now realizes that the social sector of the economy—education, health services, community organization and the like—now has a new importance. The social critics have, of course, urged this priority for a long time, but now one also encounters it in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal* and *Fortune Magazine*. All the way across the political spectrum there is now a common consciousness of the imperative need of dealing with the squalor of the public facilities of the affluent society. (This agreement does not extend to program, of course, and there still must be much debate and political conflict before the issue of how the crisis is to be resolved is settled.)

There is, then, a felt need for an expansion of services in the social sector. And there is this enormous reservoir of human talent in the people whose lives are now wasted and blighted in joblessness or meaningless poverty work. The poor, as Riessman demonstrates, can make an obvious contribution here and now. But beyond that, they can grow in their work, they can discover their own potential. They begin careers, not jobs.

Secondly, there is great possibility that these new careers can

contribute to the democratization of the society. One of the most important social developments of recent years has been the growth of collective bargaining in education, the emergence of a teacher unionism that is concerned with the quality of teaching as much as with the teacher's wages and hours. For a variety of reasons, the contemporary school system seems to provide a setting favorable to organization and collective action. If the poor in their new careers could become a part of this trend in the public service sector of the economy, it would be an important step toward the proclaimed goal of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in the war against poverty.

Thus, one can look forward to a time when the ex-poor in their new careers can themselves begin to design and shape their own work. The gain to the individual in this process is obvious. But what must also be understood is that this personal fulfillment would be a social contribution to the nation's happiness as well. It would mean that a new spirit and purposefulness would be introduced into the growing area of public service.

Finally, when the war on poverty began, there were those of us who raised the idea, "Let us hire the poor and put them to work at abolishing their own impoverishment." On the level of macroeconomics and long-range planning, the Freedom Budget, with its proposal of a \$185-billion ten-year expenditure for the ending of slums and the achievement of full employment, does exactly that. And now, on the level of the redefinition of work, the new careers approach provides a concrete proposal that would allow the country to tap the wasted potential of millions of poor people and put it to work, making the nation better for them and for the rest of us as well.

*A Basic
Strategy
Against Poverty*

New Careers

by **Frank Riessman**

While the Guaranteed Annual Income and Black Power have received considerable publicity in the last year, a much quieter movement has been slowly gathering momentum. In fact, it may not yet be a movement in the full sense of the word. But increasing attention is being given to a new kind of public service employee in our society. This is the human service worker, functioning as a teacher aide, family planning worker, housing aide, counselor aide, research aide, mental health aide, etc. This new worker, supported largely by public funds, has been called everything from an auxiliary to a nonprofessional to a subprofessional, to a paraprofessional.

Americans for Democratic Action, at its 1966 convention, proposed that 5 million such jobs be created in public services. Included in their list were police aides, recreation aides, homemakers, welfare aides, code enforcement inspectors. Congress has enacted the Scheuer-Nelson Subprofessional Career Act which will appropriate approximately \$70 million to train the untrained and unemployed and use them in these needed jobs.

Already in the United States there are probably close to 50,000 of these new nonprofessionals, most of the jobs having been created by the anti-poverty legislation. Most estimates indicate that 25,000 such full time human service positions were produced for "indigenous" nonprofessionals by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Probably another 25,000 or more part time pre-school aides have been employed through Operation Headstart, and presently through Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act some 40,000 teacher aides will be employed. Medicare will involve many thousands more as Home Health aides.

Studies find that this new manpower has worked quite effectively in reaching the poor and helping the poor to utilize services. The nonprofessionals have been strikingly effective, for example, in persuading people to obtain birth control information and to utilize the new birth control clinics. In fact, the reports indicate that these neighborhood residents are perhaps the most effective agents in bringing the new birth control techniques to the low income population.

A research investigation conducted by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc., in nine cities indicates that these new workers evidence high morale and considerable involvement in their work, and have been well accepted by professionals. Most of the difficulties anticipated, for example, problems of confidentiality, authority, over-identification with the agency and so on, have not been significant, according to this investigation. An ancillary though especially interesting finding is that the hard core poor who, incidentally, were only hired in small numbers have nevertheless done as good a job as the more "creamed" nonprofessional recruit.

It is interesting to observe the effect of the new trend on the older

type of nonprofessionals who have long worked in settlement houses, hospitals, child care centers, etc. In New York City, for example, District Council 37 of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees of the AFL-CIO (which incidentally has in its union 20,000 hospital workers and 7,000 school lunch aides) is now developing a plan whereby nurses aides can become licensed practical nurses, *with the required education and upgrading taking place on the job itself.*

This model is related to the New Careers concept which suggests that functions normally allotted to highly trained professionals or technicians can, if they are broken down properly, be assigned to inexperienced, untrained people. These initial jobs form the entry position. The notion is *jobs first, training built in*; that is, the job becomes the motivator for further development on the part of the nonprofessional.

New CAREERS...Not Just Jobs

Dead-end jobs in either industrial or professional fields give no scope to the hopes and imaginations of people. The New Career idea puts opportunity on the line.

Like apprentices in the crafts who advance through stages from trainee to journeymen, apprentices can be developed for the professions by clearly defining levels of promotion and the training necessary to get to each level. Promotions would follow a stipulated number of night, correspondence, summer, or "release time" courses plus credits given for on-the-job experience. Doing useful work the entire time, the apprentice can reach the professional credential via a new route: getting the job first, then combining on-the-job training with built-in promotions based on experience and additional schooling. He can also remain at any landing he chooses if he is unable or unwilling to continue up the ladder, and he is still assured of useful employment. But the opportunity to move up is essential to the New Careers idea.

New Careers asks for new, intensive training programs. It asks the involvement of the colleges in providing courses and credit for on-the-job experience to those who enter professional fields as aides but become motivated to seek professional standing.

Although the New Careers concept is being pioneered by public agencies—where personnel shortages are especially acute—it can also be adopted by industry and commerce. Instead of demanding a credential, private employers can re-appraise certain technical jobs where manpower is in short supply. These jobs can be broken down to permit less skilled workers to do parts of them. This can be followed by the development of a sequence of training and promotion that will produce a technician equally as competent to do the job as a college graduate.

The New Careers Model

The New Careers approach attempts to unite jobs, rights, services and *opportunity to help eradicate poverty*. Besides being an antipoverty strategy, the New Careers model contains a new approach to education, training, and manpower development, and calls for a revolutionary reorganization of professional practice. It has implications far beyond those for the poor. It is based on certain assumptions about the emerging service economy, the new rights of man in an affluent, automated age, and the limitations in quality of human services as presently organized. Finally, it is rooted in a theory of history which sees a new significant underclass rising which represents a source of progress and new human values.

While it will be necessary to describe briefly the overall New Careers position, the main emphasis in this pamphlet will be on its relevance as an anti-poverty strategy, always recognizing that this is only one of its dimensions.

Basic to the New Careers theory is the distinction between a job and a career. "Careers imply (1) permanence (2) opportunity for upward mobility. Careers are minimally affected by vicissitudes in the economic health of society. Careers carry an assurance that if one situation is terminated another situation will be available. The New Careers proposal argues that every person has the virtual assurance of at least horizontal mobility (increments of salary that come with years of service) and the opportunity for vertical *mobility* (advancement to the next station and so on to the terminal position)."*

The New Careers theory proposes that all the human service occupations (health, education, recreation, welfare, etc.) can be broken down and reorganized to provide a much more efficient service product while simultaneously allowing people who have little or no training to play a productive role in entry-service positions. These untrained individuals will have the opportunity of learning on the job and rising in the service hierarchy, with the ultimate option of becoming a professional. The New Careers theory requires a reorganization and redefinition of jobs for *both the professional and the nonprofessional*. It not only breaks the job down into component parts, but proposes new aspects of the job to be performed by nonprofessionals and professionals. First, the theory proposes that untrained nonprofessionals can perform a great many of the tasks now performed by professionals, e.g., teachers tying children's shoelaces, taking attendance, etc. Second, it proposes that a hierarchy of these jobs can be developed, requiring different degrees of training. Third, it proposes that

* Arthur Pearl, "New Careers, One Solution to Poverty," 1966.

this training can be acquired on the job itself and through systematic in-service training and job-based college courses.*

Fourthly, it proposes that this reorganization will free professionals to perform a much higher level of specialized services that require advanced training and experience. The theory provides the opening for the development of a number of new occupational functions for both nonprofessionals and professionals. For the professional it increases the possibility that he can play a role in program planning, administration, training, and supervision.

Thus the professional can become something of a generalist as well as a more highly developed specialist. The nonprofessional, on the other hand, cannot only perform the simpler tasks which do not require advanced professional skill, but in the human services can also perform some highly significant new functions which in general should not be performed by the professional. These new functions relate to the potential of the nonprofessional to function as a peer (various types of peer intervention, including peer learning seem particularly effective), and to function in a more "subjective" fashion. In other words, what is being utilized here are the role and the time of the nonprofessionals; he has more time to spend on an evening visit, on long tutoring session, on monotonous grading of papers, in an informal social discussion, etc. His role allows him to be more equal, does not require the distance or objectivity that is so necessary and valuable in the professional role (which should not be lost), and finally, permits the subjectivity of a neighbor or a friend. These elements are rather *unique to the human services* and provide the special value that the untrained entry person can deliver in the service system, thus *broadening* the type of intervention as well as releasing the professional to do more advanced tasks. This reorganization of the human service fields allows for a great increase in the quantity and quality of service. It is clear, then, that the New Careers position is highly *professional* and *pro quality service*. It is entirely antithetical to any notion of reducing the quality of the service or deprecating the value of the professional.

* The idea is to provide people with employment first and diplomas later, and to introduce training while the workers are on the job with concomitant college courses provided largely at the job base. This concept is directly opposite to one of the most popular ideas in America, namely, that one has to obtain long years of education before he can perform a meaningful job. The New Careers concept stresses instead that the job be provided initially and that training, upgrading and added education be built in. It is possible to begin, for example, as a teacher's aide and while obtaining courses on the job, in the evening, and during the summer, to rise within a short period of time to become an assistant teacher, then an emergency teacher (or associate teacher), and ultimately a fully licensed professional teacher. In a plan developed by Scientific Resources, Inc., for the Newark School System, it is proposed that individuals with less than a high school education go through these steps while working full time, obtaining an entry salary of approximately \$4,000 per year and becoming full fledged teachers in five or six years. Copies of the Newark Plan may be obtained from Scientific Resources Inc., 1191 Morris Avenue, Union, New Jersey.

Expensive? No!

New Careerist positions can be inserted in current personnel budgets . . . where positions calling for scarce professionals go begging. This is merely a matter of rearranging funds now available to the agency, as illustrated by the table on the next page. This permits agency professionals who are often mired down with necessary but secondary work to do the specialized, creative jobs they were trained to do. Often, too, an agency finds itself ill-equipped to carry its services to groups and neighborhoods which urgently need them. Where poverty and differences of culture and community attitudes prevail, new careerists can be the experts who can help the agency reach a clientele it has been unable to serve.

New Careerist positions can also go into future budgets as the agency grows. Growth is a fact of life in the human service fields. Rising population trends and the clamor for higher standards and more elaborate services trigger new agency growth. New careerists would be teamed with professionals. The agency could do its work with fewer of the scarce and expensive professionals. Again, the expense need be no greater than that required as the normal result of growth.

Example of Rearranged Agency Funds

Two Systems for Meeting Education Needs

| System | Teacher Category | Number | Salary | Cost |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|------------|---------|--------------------|
| Certified Teacher Only | Teacher | 480 | \$7,000 | \$3,360,000 |
| Certified Teacher & Non-Professionals | Supervisor | 20 | 8,500 | \$ 170,000 |
| | Teacher | 330 | 7,000 | 2,310,000 |
| | Associate | 20 | 6,000 | 120,000 |
| | Assistant | 60 | 4,500 | 270,000 |
| | Aide | 140 | 3,500 | 490,000 |
| Totals | | 570 | | \$3,360,000 |

This Table reflects costs after 10 years of the program. It **assumes a growing need for personnel**. The needed personnel can be non-professionals ensuring **more** personnel for the **same** cost. This model is useful in all human services where professional shortages are drastic. (*Table from Pearl & Riessman, NEW CAREERS FOR THE POOR).

90 More Teaching Personnel at No Increased Cost . . .

Education is an Example of the Manpower Crisis

That is the rule—not the exception—in the human service field. With more children in pre-school, demands for lower class size, more youngsters going to college and for longer periods, more people signing up for adult education—the education system must put 7-10 million more teachers under contract in the next ten years!

An Anti-Poverty Strategy

Thus far, the New Careers position is not uniquely an antipoverty one. Its significance on the anti-poverty agenda derives from the possibility of utilizing untrained poor people to perform the entry positions in the service hierarchy. In light of the enormous manpower shortages in the human service fields, variously estimated at 5 million by the President's Automation Commission and the Americans for Democratic Action, there exists a great number of potential jobs. In view of the relationship of unemployment and poverty,* there is a natural flow in the New Careers thesis which suggests that poor people can obtain entry jobs, and with appropriate training can move up out of poverty all the way to becoming professionals. Thus the program calls not merely for job creation but for career creation, and this requires a redefinition of jobs, Civil Service requirements, and training. The significant feature that must be emphasized here is the relationship of on the job training to college courses. College courses must be attuned to the field situation, must in part, be based in the field and various forms of accreditation must be developed to permit the New Careerists to rise fairly rapidly and thus to move fully out of poverty.

But it should be quickly added that this New Career design is just as applicable to the need for New Careers by *people in all walks of life*, in all classes, at all levels. Part of the work alienation that is so widespread in this society is related to the fact that most people do not have the option of starting and developing a new career. This could be changed through the New Career model by introducing transferability of credits and experience, so that an accountant, for example, might rapidly acquire a new degree in medicine or engineering. It is patently ridiculous for an advanced professional to have to go through the entire course program in order to become a doctor, when much of what he has learned is probably transferable if the new program is properly tailored to permit on-the-job

*The *Freedom Budget* (p. 27) estimates "that 40% of all poverty in the U.S. is directly attributable to full-time unemployment or part-time unemployment." A "*Freedom Budget*" for All Americans, published by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, New York City, October 1966.

experience, job based courses, etc. Moreover, there are large numbers of non-credentialed people in this society, including housewives, returned Peace Corpsmen, retired police officers, businessmen, college graduates, and so on, who would be most interested in developing a new career, if it could be done rapidly and on the job with appropriate salary. (If the nonprofessional movement develops rapidly, it will require a large number of these non-credentialed supervisors and trainers at the new middle line supervisory positions. This will also provide a significant new career line.)

Let us now return to the significance of the New Careers approach as an anti-poverty strategy. We are making the assumption that there must be a *new Bill of Rights*, and that a primary right is the right to a permanent job, to a career, and to an adequate income. (Parenthetically, it might be noted that other new rights which need to be emphasized today are rights to participation, legal rights, rights to various types of services, medical, health, education, etc.) All of these rights are genuine possibilities in an affluent age, in a highly advanced economy where a small number of productive workers can produce all the basic goods required by everyone and therefore the population as a whole has the right to what might be called the "surplus" jobs and income.

Guaranteed Work

Most discussions of the Guaranteed Annual Income stress income without work. While we recognize that this is an important right, we think that the priority should be *guaranteed work* (guaranteed annual wages), and that if the work cannot be made available or if people are unable to do it, then income free of work should be provided. We refuse, however, to prejudge the question by assuming that there are a great many people who cannot or will not want to work, or that jobs cannot be meaningfully produced for them. Unemployability is very much related to the needs of the economy as was well illustrated during World War II when large numbers of supposedly unemployable people were rapidly recruited into the labor force, and unemployment was reduced to about 1% of the civilian labor force. Moreover, the combination of human service jobs and automation allows for the possibility that large numbers of people who might be old, disabled, or untrained can quickly be involved in entry-level human service work. The organization of more efficient child care and neighborhood services would allow a large number of unmarried women, who now spend their time taking care of their own children, to function in meaningful positions. We are not suggesting that any of these individuals be forced to do this, of course. We are suggesting,

however, that the best way to develop a program for anti-poverty oriented Guaranteed Annual Income is to develop permanent jobs and careers, rather than stressing income independent of these jobs. The latter is an appropriate auxiliary demand; it should demand; it should not, however, be the primary focus. There are a number of reasons for saying this. First, there is a great need for labor. The human services, especially education, need a great deal of assistance, both quantitative and qualitative. Second, the world, especially the developing nations, needs a significant anti-poverty program and needs a considerable amount of our labor, both productive and service labor. Third, without at all being Calvinist in orientation, we believe that it is still preferable for people to work and that they will want to work if there are meaningful careers in which they can help other people through providing human services.* People develop their identity, their meaning in life, through working in an occupation and the organized relationships it brings with other people. They develop their competencies in this fashion, as a rule. Thus we think every opportunity must be provided for developing careers in meaningful work. Some people may not be able to perform these jobs on a full-time income basis. In cases where individuals cannot work at all, full guaranteed income should be provided with no stigma attached.

We think the New Careers anti-poverty strategy is likely to be most effective for the following additional reasons:

(1) Income deficiency is not necessarily the only description of poverty. A great many poverty-related problems derive not merely from income deficiency, but from lack of a meaningful life. We think a meaningful life is very related to a meaningful job, and thus we believe that such a job will have the greatest multiplier effect on changing a great variety of poverty-related characteristics even for those people who do not move far out of material poverty; that is, for those individuals who do not move far beyond the entry job. However, for those individuals who move beyond that point and move up the scale toward professional positions, the argument holds even more strongly. The New Careers approach genuinely assists people to change their lives and to break out of poverty rather than becoming more comfortable in it on a limited income.

(2) The pluses or extras do not only exist for the individual in the New Careers approach. The economy benefits from the work, the services that are produced.

*Warren Benis observes that the work of the future will not be characterized by the dull monotony of the factory nor by the bureaucracy of traditional large scale organization. "People will be more intellectually committed to their jobs and will probably require more involvement, participation, and autonomy in their work." Warren Benis, "Beyond Bureaucracy," *Transaction*, July-August 1965, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 34-35. Benis believes that the leisure-centered society envisioned by Robert Theobald and other Guaranteed Annual Income advocates may arise in the far distant future, but long before that the new kind of work will become the "emotionally creative sphere of life."

(3) The possibility of wide alliances would seem much greater in a program directed toward job creation and full employment. Support should come from the labor movement (all those receiving less than the minimum wage, or near the minimum wage would see that wages be forced up by fuller employment). The program should also have considerable appeal in the ghetto, in the civil rights movement, in the service fields and professions if properly presented, and among liberal groups generally. Most interesting is the fact that conservatives are very responsive to this type of approach. They like Arthur Pearl's slogan—"Every man a taxpayer."

(4) The jobs to be created in human services are not likely to be automated out of existence; they represent the rising occupations of the future. To some extent, some of the generic underlying elements in any one human service area may be transferable to others and career lines thus shifted.

New Careers and Civil Rights

Brendan Sexton has observed that "the widespread acceptance of the nonprofessional and the development of means for his progression upwards may beneficially:*

"—Make public institutions more responsive to the poor and to members of minority groups by introducing into the chain of communications—between the servers and the served individuals—those who can speak to and interpret for both groups.

"—Introduce relatively large numbers of minority group members into visible, non-menial employment in schools, social agencies and civil service, and thereby hopefully ameliorate hostility born in the knowledge of exclusion.

"—Provide jobs for poor people in the public sector—the fastest growing segment of the economy and the one area in which prospects are bright for long range and continuing growth.

"These are highly desirable potential results that would be of great benefit to society in the future. But of equal importance would be the immediate gain of opening new opportunities to the poor, especially Negroes and other minorities. In maintaining the current rigid system, each day we give fresh evidence of our inability, of or unwillingness to open our society to Negroes and members of other minority groups, for many of whom alienation begins in early childhood. At the present rate of entry into the American mainstream, centuries will pass before Negroes

*Brendan Sexton, "Realistic Vistas for the Poor," *The Progressive*, October 1965.

and Latin Americans are placed in the professions in numbers proportionate to the population percentages." The Civil Rights Movement is directed toward elimination of inequity. New careers provide an opportunity for opening up the system. Those relatively unequal at one point in history will be given the opportunity to enter the emerging industries (health, education and welfare) which will be principal employers of tomorrow. Thus, in the next decade the new nonprofessionals will become the supervisors or the advanced workers in these industries. Those disadvantaged in the next decade, if given the opportunity to come in on the ground floor of new employment opportunities, can similarly attain relative advantages a decade later. In the new careers concept, the stress is upon the creation of jobs in sufficient numbers to eliminate unemployment, thereby establishing a base for securing greater cooperation and coordination between all low-income persons, be they Negro or white.

The New Careers concept has major implications for developing a powerful integration movement in the United States which will be based upon jobs, and an economic, production base, rather upon the current emphasis on the consumption areas, such as housing, public accommodations and education. New Careers may be the major way in which economic opportunity can be developed "to fulfill these rights" (it is far more meaningful than the family oriented approach implied by the Moynihan thesis, which presumably has the same ultimate goal).

Our general theory of progress is that in any period of history there is typically a progressive underclass that is critical of the ways of the society, the methods of organization and control, and the central values. This was true of the working class in the 30's and of the middle class earlier. These groups represented new, significant and progressive economic forces and carried with them advanced demands for the society. In the present society, this is largely true of segments of the Negro population. But this group lacks an economic base which would provide genuine power, resources, common interests and everyday job-based interaction. We would suggest that all of these latter requirements could be provided for large numbers of people in the ghetto, by working in integrated settings in human service occupations, together with professionals who also have a strong interest in reorganizing these human services. We recognize, of course, that this group of professionals does not represent the entire professional stratum. Some professionals are mainly status, guild and credential centered. They have vested interests in maintaining irrelevant, outmoded technologies and in attaching themselves to the monopolistic systems that protect these vested interests. Thus, it is not the entire professional stratum which represents a forward thrust, a progressive historical force, but an increasingly large segment may—and

this group must be allied with the nonprofessional human service worker in large-scale associations directed toward a reorganization of the professional and the society.

Catalyst for Change

Along with the various functions a nonprofessional can serve there has arisen the idea that the New Careers concept might be a fundamental lever for institutional change. The fact that large numbers of nonprofessionals are likely to be employed in the educational system allows for the possibility of a reorganization of educational practice, with teachers playing new roles, peer learning being utilized more fully by the nonprofessional teaching assistant, etc. Hence the utilization for the new manpower is seen as a possible basis for "bumping" the system, defreezing the equilibrium and continuing toward a variety of social changes.

In some cases, these changes will be necessary in order that the movement continue at all. Changes in the Civil Service System and licensing requirements must take place in order to employ aides whose formal education has been limited; job based courses must be offered by community colleges and universities if the nonprofessional is to develop a career line at all; new patterns of service and agency function must emerge to include the nonprofessional in a meaningful, complementary team relationship to the professional, professional associations must adapt their practices and structures in order to include nonprofessionals.

Unfortunately, as Ornati points out in analyzing the various studies conducted on the nonprofessional, these institutional changes have not taken place as yet.* In this first phase, at least, most of the nonprofessionals employed have been "creamed," that is, they include groups with a higher education than most poor people possess, and while they appear to have worked effectively, they have not as yet played a significant role in institutional or even agency changes.

Not only have these changes failed to materialize, but a number of problems have arisen which will require very careful planning in order to be overcome. In some cases, nonprofessionals have been glamorized as the leaders of the anti-poverty war: in other cases, they have been seen as competitive threats to professionals, and cleavages between professionals and nonprofessionals will mirror the hospital model where nonprofessionals have been employed for many years with no possibility of upgrading or career development. Nonprofessionals also have occasionally been manipulated for political purposes. Related to this issue is

* Oscar Ornati, "Program Evaluation and the Definition of Poverty," paper given at Industrial Relations Research Association 19th Annual Winter Meeting, December 29, 1966.

the fact that no large-scale organization of nonprofessionals or New Careerists has yet emerged nationally, nor has the nonprofessional movement received much attention in the press. To some extent, the nonprofessional trend is similar to the old public works make-work concept of the 30's and is not seen by the intellectual establishment in terms of the new vision and new possibilities it possesses. The civil rights movement and other political forces have been slow to take advantage of the early success of the new manpower and demand large scale job creation. Training has been limited and piecemeal and, for the most part, has not been directed toward a simultaneous training of professionals and nonprofessionals.

As yet, the business community has not been at all involved in the utilization of the New Careers Model. Although Civil Service requirements have been waived for the entry position in some cities and states, new career lines for nonprofessionals have not been generally instituted. Agency tables of organization have not been reorganized to develop hierarchical lines for the nonprofessional to move upward. Few colleges have been involved thus far in providing accredited field-based courses.*

Some contend that the nonprofessionals who have been employed have been "cooled out"; that is, they have been diverted from more significant social and political activity, have been "bought off," so to speak. Frequently, nonprofessionals are permitted to do only "dirty work" and not the significant new functions. Perhaps, most important, professionals and their associations have not been involved in restructuring jobs and functions to include nonprofessionals in a meaningful fashion. Frequently these professional associations have been alienated by the way the nonprofessional concept has been presented.

It is clear then, that institutional change does not follow automatically from the introduction of nonprofessional workers. What is most needed in the present phase—we would describe it as phase two in the development of the New Careers movement—are some strategies for dealing with some of the foregoing problems that are preventing institutional change.

Recommendations

The New Careers proposal needs to be carefully defined as something which will benefit a great variety of groups in the society and

*It is noteworthy, however, that there are at present a number of New Career programs in the process of being developed, in cities around the country: in Baltimore, Rochester, Seattle, New Haven, San Francisco, Sacramento, Washington, D.C., Eugene, Oregon. Some large universities too, like New York University's "Second Chance University" are developing programs for nonprofessionals to enable them to acquire rapidly these new careers. Similarly, Yeshiva University is developing a health career program with college credit.

particularly the professionals and service institutions. Unfortunately, in its first phase there was frequently the tendency to compare what the non-professional might contribute as against what the professional might contribute. This has led, for example, to the diverting polemics which found it necessary to argue that professionals can perform and that frequently they can perform these functions better than nonprofessionals.* Rather it seems that the whole point is that *nonprofessionals and professionals should perform different aspects of the job*, should work in an integrated team, allowing nonprofessionals to perform many tasks which professionals need not perform because it would be an inefficient use of professional time and skill. Professionals should maintain perspective and distance. This function should not be lost. The non-professional, on the other hand, can appropriately be more subjective, directive and even judgmental, and while a professional can suspended his professional status and perform these functions, this is neither wise nor economical. Thus the case aide should not be a junior social worker. He is more the good friend, the good neighbor, or friendly visitor. Though he needs to maintain some objectivity and some detachment, it is of a different order than is required of the professional. The Case Aide intervenes directly in the lives of the clients on a peer level. He can attend weddings, funerals, baptisms, and other social events. He is a friend in need, potential counselor, model and sustainer of hope. Unless this relationship of the professional and the nonprofessional is appropriately conceptualized as a team in which the different agents play complementary roles, an unnecessary competitive cleavage will evolve between the professional and the nonprofessional and there will be much wasted energy. The anti-drug addiction program developed by Ramirez in Puerto Rico provides an excellent model of the teaming of nonprofessional and professional functions.**

The fundamental strategy must then be to demonstrate clearly and honestly to professionals and their associations that the nonprofessional does not represent a threat to them, that he will not reduce the quality of services or the standards of the professions, but that rather he will add

*See Sherman Barr, "Some Observations on the Practice of Indigenous Nonprofessional Workers," paper presented at Annual Program Meeting of the Council on Social Work Education, January 1966, New York City.

**The program utilizes former addicts as its major agents for persuading current addicts to receive assistance and for guarding against their manipulation and regression. The former addicts are called the "new breed." They function out of neighborhood storefront centers where the addict is first received and later in the hospital medical facilities where various types of group therapy take place. The professionals in the system who include psychiatrists, nurses, social workers, contribute their medical and psychiatric knowledge plus the necessary detoxification procedures and the use of hospital facilities. Unlike Synanon which emphasizes a completely non-professional and anti-professional self-help approach, the Ramirez plan utilizes professional skills, technology, and manpower as well as the nonprofessional self-help doctrines and personnel. His program cooperates with the courts and prison system in a unified treatment approach.

considerable assistance to the professional, allowing him to be more fully professional and creative, providing the possibility of new professional functions related to consultation, training, supervision, administration, program planning. In addition, the nonprofessional will add aspects of intervention, particularly the peer dimension, which will be of enormous benefit in extending the quality and character of service. The professional must be assured that he will be the leader of the professional-nonprofessional team as in the Ramirez model in Puerto Rico. But perhaps equally important, the *professional must be fully involved in designing the new functions and the new relationship*. It must not be imposed upon him by the administration of the agency. We have observed that, in school systems and welfare agencies in various parts of the United States, well-meaning administrators have introduced the idea of nonprofessional assistance in the classroom and in the welfare field without involving their professional staffs. Almost invariably this has led to resistance and irritation and a misunderstanding of how potentially useful the nonprofessional could actually be to the professional.

Utilizing nonprofessionals will probably require considerable additional effort and work on the part of the professionals in the system. Thus, teachers may need to attend special seminars, at least in the initial stages in order to learn how to use aides effectively. For any such effort and time, professionals must be paid*—it should not be assumed that they are doing this out of professional good will. Moreover, as far as possible the methods for utilizing nonprofessionals in the system should be developed together with the teachers and the nonprofessionals; there should be joint meetings between the two groups in which problems are talked over and ironed out.

Probably the best way to introduce nonprofessionals into the school system is to ask teachers to volunteer to accept an aide to assist them. The teachers who select themselves can then define the tasks on which they would like nonprofessional assistance. It is quite likely that if the nonprofessionals are really helpful, then the program will contagiously spread and other teachers will request nonprofessional assistants for their classrooms. In this way the idea can be institutionalized with the full cooperation of the professional staff and the new professional-nonprofessional team can be built on a solid foundation. It makes it easier also if materials have been developed which enable the nonprofessional to learn how to assist the teacher very readily without requiring the teacher to

*The Bank Street Report on *Auxiliary School Personnel*, October 1966, suggests that it is necessary that time be scheduled during the school day or after school hours with extra compensation for teachers and auxiliaries and other professional-nonprofessional teams to evaluate their experience and plan together for the coming day.

divert himself from the basic teaching task. If, for example, nonprofessionals could learn to use games to teach in the pre-school Headstart programs, this would enable the professional teacher to utilize the nonprofessional with a minimum of effort. The training of the nonprofessional should prepare him to work cooperatively with the teacher and to understand that the teacher cannot devote full attention to his supervision at all points. It should be noted that a plan developed by Scientific Resources, Inc., at the request of the Newark School System* attempts to introduce all of the principles we have enumerated. Thus the National Teacher's Association in Newark has been involved in the project; teachers are to be paid for all the after school time they devote to preparing work with nonprofessionals; teachers select themselves for the project; the principals of the schools and all levels of the school administration have been involved in the design of the program; before the program is introduced at all, the community is to be involved fully; career lines have been established so that a nonprofessional can begin as a teacher's aide, become then an assistant teacher, an associate teacher and finally a full fledged teacher, with field based courses and other courses provided through colleges in New Jersey such as Farleigh Dickinson University and Newark State College.

New Approaches to Training

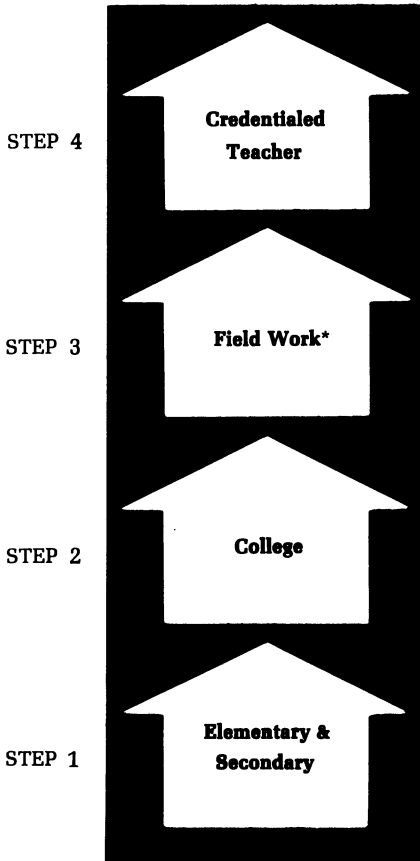
If the nonprofessional movement is to grow, if the opportunity structure is to be opened up so that jobs can become careers and aides can rise to become ultimately professionals, major institutional changes will have to be considered: Civil Service requirements will have to be altered, educational institutions will have to accredit on-the-job training, and enormous new training cadres will have to be developed from among both professionals and sub-professionals. The significance of training has not been fully grasped. No national training institute has been established, although it is needed. No national plan exists for training of trainers, nor for retraining of professionals to work effectively with nonprofessionals.** The Job Corps has not been utilized for the development of training for nonprofessionals or their trainers. If the nonprofessional revolution is to create more than jobs if it is to develop genuine careers for the poor, moving them up the ladder, step by step, authentic training is the key.

*Copies of the *Newark Plan* may be obtained from Scientific Resources, Inc., 1191 Morris Avenue, Union, New Jersey.

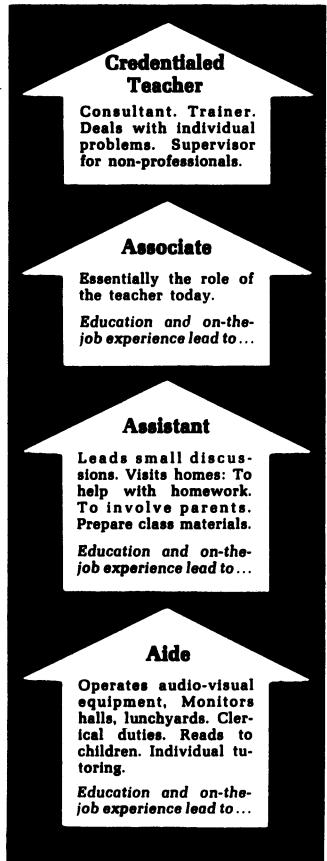
**Supervisory staff, in addition to being recruited from among educators, social workers and psychologists, might be sought from among peace corps returnees, nurses (especially psychiatric nurses), labor organizers and labor educators, anthropologists, occupational therapists, and recent college graduates majoring in the social sciences. Training assistants must be recruited from among the nonprofessional aides.

Two Paths to Teaching

I. Conventional Model



II. New Careers Model



*Field work comes so late students often don't discover they like teaching or have competence until last year.

This diagram shows the process of New Career development. The actual career "stages" with the specific tasks for each would be defined by the employing institution.

Trainers must be trained in how to evaluate nonprofessionals; how to encourage participation; how to listen; how to supervise in new ways; how to provide functional on-the-job learning. The traditional principle that long periods of training are necessary before an individual can be employed, must be reversed; the motto should be "Jobs First—Training Built In." Nonprofessional human service positions can begin with on-the-job training. Nonprofessionals learn essentially from doing plus systematic in-service training which can be phased-in functionally as needed on the job. An interesting illustration of how this might be accomplished is provided by the Howard University Community Apprentice Program developed for hard-core, functionally illiterate delinquents. One phase of this program was concerned with developing nonprofessional research aides. Initially the program was designed so that the research aides had as their first task to interview each other with a tape recorder. They learned only the simplest principles of interviewing in order to perform this task. Before long they recognized that they needed to know something about how to record the information and categorize it and later they needed some statistics in order to analyze it appropriately. As each of these needs became apparent, the appropriate training was introduced to develop the requisite skills. The point is that training must be introduced functionally, on the job itself. The demand for long periods of training before the individual can even apply for a position is not adapted to the needs of the poor, the dropout, the delinquent functioning in a future world that has been unsure and in a school environment that has been unencouraging. The best way to educate many school dropouts is not to send them back to school immediately, but to provide them with non-professional human service jobs. This will provide the stimulus for obtaining the necessary education on the job and returning to the educational structures where appropriate and needed. Basic education and skills that are badly needed by nonprofessionals (and all of the poor) should not be seen as merely remedial. Every effort should be made to cast them not as rehabilitation but habilitation. The assumption should be that people can be basically habilitated and developed at any time. In light of the new and extremely powerful educational technologies for developing literacy at all ages, the historic pessimism which largely surrenders hope on other than pre-school youngsters and sees all other assistance as merely remedial is to be highly questioned. The approaches have been limited in the past because the recipients have not been involved, the available technologies were inadequate, and the people's self-help energies were not utilized in combination with the best professional technology. Consequently a negative hopeless attitude prevailed. It is time to reverse all this.

A New Type of Movement

The following principles are suggested for training New Careerists:

1. *Field based* training: conceptual training built on concrete field experiences
2. *Programmed*: step-by-step training
3. *Systematic*: in-service training related to on-the-job experience
4. *Short period* of pre-job training
5. *Team or group* training

The actual training technology emphasizes building on the style of the trainee and expanding it; learning through doing, role-playing, job simulation, and field exercises; highly explicit, concrete presentations; learning through teaching others; task oriented, functional learning; considerable *over-training*.

A New Type of Movement

One of the problems mentioned above relates to the presumed cooling out of nonprofessionals and their occasional political manipulation. (The Yankelovich Report indicates that the latter is relatively rare.) In light of the Hatch Act which prevents public service employees from becoming involved in political activity, and the *general ebb in political-social activity in relation, for example, to the Civil Rights movement*, we would question whether there has been any significant cooling out among the nonprofessional population in comparison to other groups of a similar background. But much more important, we believe, is the need for new careerists to be organized in order to express their desires for participation and social change, to guarantee their security, prevent their manipulation, and finally to compel the necessary institutional changes in the Civil Service System, education systems, etc., that will be necessary for the New Careers movement to develop significantly.

The nonprofessionals must be organized in a new type of organization.* We envision that this organization will include elements of social movement, trade union components, and some features that characterize professional associations such as the National Education Association or the National Association of Social Workers. Most important, *a national New Careers movement must include not only nonprofessionals but also professionals who favor the concept and want the human services re-organized*. Thus it will be a very different type of organization than the

*It is probably going to be necessary for the nonprofessional to belong to a number of different groups, to have, as it were, multiple membership. Thus a teacher's aide might belong to a teacher's union along with professional teachers, and also belong to a national new careers movement which included professionals, nonprofessionals, and their friends. He might also belong to a union of antipoverty workers or to one of the community unions of the poor, being organized by the Industrial Union department of the AFL-CIO.

traditional labor union or professional association, although to be effective it will include elements of both these types of organizations as well. This new organization might include many individuals that support the New Careers philosophy or wish to careerize their dead-end occupations, or themselves wish to become "New Careerists": e.g., the "old" sub-professionals working in hospitals, schools, settlement houses; housewives who want a new career; retired people; returning Peace Corps youngsters, etc. Supporters of the New Careers idea from among other groups in the society (labor, business, church, youth, etc.) should also be included in this new movement."* This type of organization is going to be necessary in order to provide pressure (including lobbying) for the necessary institutional changes in the Civil Service system, educational system, etc.

This new organization should also mount a program demanding the creation of at least one million nonprofessional careers. Such a program would not be at all expensive—it would cost about five billion dollars—and would bring vast benefits for many different groups in the society. (It would provide greatly increased service, reduce large manpower shortages, provide jobs and careers, etc.) We believe that the nonprofessionals would strongly support such a program for at least two reasons: First, the employment of numbers of new nonprofessionals increases the possibility of promotion for the already employed nonprofessional to positions as assistant teachers, assistant supervisors, etc. In other words, it produces pressure for the development of new career lines. Second, the newly employed nonprofessionals provide an excellent recruitment source for the New Careers organization which should rapidly swell in numbers and influence, thus increasing the strength of the demands of the nonprofessionals as a whole.

The New Careers movement must win a wide variety of allies: Labor, the welfare rights groups, the Civil Rights forces, a fairly large segment of professionals and their associations, the churches (groups such as the National Council of Churches of Christ), the liberal groups (such as the League for Industrial Democracy), governmental agencies, the intellectual establishment and the press. In order to win these allies the movement is going to have to clarify the full implications of the New Careers concept for institutional change and go far beyond its role as a strategy

*It should be noted that the beginnings of such a movement are already emerging in various parts of the country. In San Francisco, Mayor John Shelley is honorary chairman of a committee called "New Careers in San Francisco." This group has issued a brochure and is calling a major conference. The group includes the Urban League Human Rights Commission, Family Service Agency, etc. Various groups in New York City and Washington, D.C. are beginning to organize nonprofessionals. The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty is planning to call a series of regional conferences moving toward a national conference of nonprofessionals. The Community and Social Agency Employees unions, Local 1707 in New York City has organized 600 nonprofessionals in anti-poverty program called Youth In Action.

against poverty. Actually, the New Careers concept has enormous appeal for conservatives (every man a taxpayer), professionals and government agencies attempting to develop a reorganization and significant change in service delivery. As yet, it has not sufficient glamour, or even the veneer of nostalgic radicalism or the nihilistic anarchism that seems so popular with various segments of the American intellectual establishment today. Its far-reaching implications for structural change, enabling our military centered economy to move toward a genuine welfare economy, must be clarified.*

A \$5 BILLION NEW CAREERS BUDGET

The aim is to provide 1 million nonprofessional jobs at approximately \$4,000 per year.**

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1. 700,000 teacher aides—This would directly aid 700,000 teachers and 20 million children. | \$2,800,000,000 |
| 2. 250,000 aides to work out of neighborhood service centers in every low-income community in the United States—thus serving 40 million people. (Neighborhood Service Center Aides could also be assigned to Health Department, Welfare Department, etc.) | \$1,800,000,000*** |
| 3. 50,000 training aides at \$5,000 per year (\$250 million), and 10,000 professionals (supervisors, etc.) at approximately \$10,000 per year. | \$ 350,000,000 |
| | <hr/> \$4,950,000,000 |

CONCLUSION

The New Career Design proposes:

1. The creation of jobs normally allotted to highly trained professionals which could be performed by the unskilled, inexperienced, and relatively un-trained workers; or the development of activities not currently performed by anyone for which there is an acknowledged need.

*There is a tremendous information gap in the whole new careers field. An information clearinghouse is needed to reduce this gap and develop rapid theoretic integration in this field. Such a center is presently being developed at New York University for exactly this purpose.

**Americans for Democratic Action, at its 1966 convention, proposed that 5 million of these jobs be created in public services in the next five years. Included in their list were police aides, recreation aides, homemakers, welfare aides, code enforcement inspectors. President Johnson's Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress proposed 500,000 such full time jobs.

***\$1-billion for aides; \$800-million for storefront service centers.

2. The development not merely of jobs, but of permanent positions incorporated into the matrix of the industry or agency.
3. Latitude for limited advancement without the requirement of extensive additional training.
4. Opportunities for truly substantial advancement in job station; and
5. Establishment of a continuum ranging from non-skilled entry positions, extending through intermediate subprofessional functions, and terminating in full professional status—thereby providing an alternate avenue for upward mobility to the present requirement, virtually inaccessible to the poor, of prior completion of from five to eight years of higher education.

The promise of the new-careers concept is that it would provide easier initial access to a job for the poor, together with built-in opportunities for advancement to a career.

The idea is to provide people with employment first and diplomas later and to introduce training while the workers are on the job with concomitant college courses provided largely at the job base. This concept is directly opposite to one of the most popular ideas in America, namely that one has to obtain long years of education before he can perform a meaningful job. The New Careers concept stresses instead that the job be provided initially and that training, upgrading and added education be built in.

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