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MANPOWER POLICIES AND THE DISADVANTAGED

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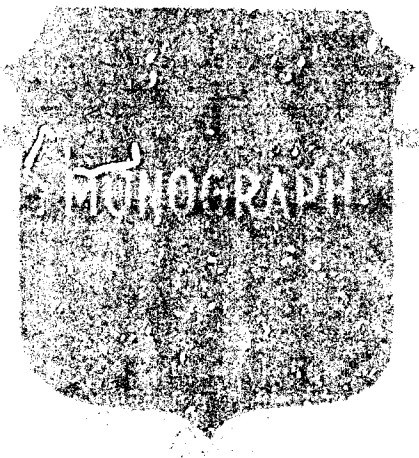
26 January 1973



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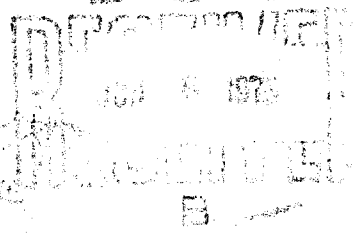

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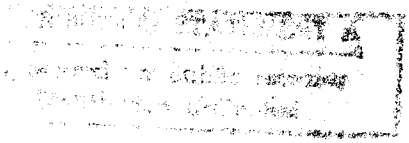

USAWC RESEARCH PAPER

MANPOWER POLICIES AND THE DISADVANTAGED

A MONOGRAPH

by

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ABSTRACT

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This paper discusses the thrust of Manpower Policies that have been enacted with a significant segment of the population as the target group, the disadvantaged. The history of Manpower Policy in the United States is briefly reviewed as are some of the more important pieces of legislation. This leads to a discussion of programs in being followed by a section on barriers to employment which the disadvantaged must surmount. Finally, the paper evaluates present Manpower Policy and concludes that the problem has been recognized, but that new legislation is required to correct all of the ailments of the many programs.

PREFACE

This paper was prepared and presented to the faculty of the Graduate School at Shippensburg State College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Graduate Degree in Public Administration. The paper satisfied the requirements for two courses taken during the fall semester of 1972. These courses were: Political Science 522, Formation of National Public Policy and Political Science 526, Manpower Policy. Dr. John Marrero, a professor on the graduate faculty at Shippensburg, was the instructor for both courses and provided the basic guidance for the material found in this paper. Permission was granted for the use of this paper to satisfy the requirements of the USAWC Student Research Program.

The manpower policies of the United States, and most especially those created during the 1960s, have been the subject of much attention and controversy. The crisis oriented direction and rapid expansion of the many varying programs offering a multitude of services has made it difficult for the disadvantaged to receive the intended benefits. In the coming decade it is necessary that the Congress recognize the seriousness of the problem and legislate the remedies so sorely needed. Only in this manner will America fully realize the great potential of one of her natural resources, manpower.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this monograph is to discuss the thrust of present manpower policies that have been enacted with a significant segment of our population as the target group, the disadvantaged. But before proceeding further, one is prompted to ask why is such a study necessary and what is its worth? I believe that former President Lyndon Johnson answered these questions in his message to Congress in May, 1968. He said:

> In every city, there are men who wake up each morning and have no place to go; men who want work--but cannot break the confining welfare chain or overcome the barriers of life-long discrimination, or make up for the lack of schooling and training.
>
> When we talk about unemployment, we are talking about these citizens, who want and need personal dignity and a stake in America's progress.
>
> When we talk about manpower programs, we are talking about hope for these Americans.[1]

The picture presented is a pervasive one, for it encompasses the young and the aged, the handicapped, heads of broken homes, and members of minority groups; most of whom are poverty stricken. These are the disadvantaged, the subject of this paper. Hopefully this study will illuminate their problems and provide some measure of understanding of the massive task facing our country if the disadvantaged are to become

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[1] Lyndon B. Johnson, Message to the Congress of the United States, 1 May, 1968, Manpower Report of the President--1968 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 1-2.

useful and fully participating members of our society.

The paper sets out to briefly review some of the more significant legislation in the manpower policy field. The emphasis here is not on a long range historical review, recognizing that the United States has a long history of federal support for vocational training, but on a brief synopsis of important legislation. I believe that an understanding of the broader aspects of recent manpower policies is an essential element if the problems of the disadvantaged are to be fully appreciated.

The study then moves to an examination of the barriers to employment which face the disadvantaged, with an evaluation of the manpower programs previously described.

Due to the nature of the study, research has been largely confined to the libraries at Shippensburg State College and the US Army War College, utilizing the books and periodicals dealing with the subject. As with most research projects of this nature, timeliness is a problem because the policies and programs change frequently. Books of the mid-sixties are therefore of dubious value, other than as a source of history. For contemporary legislation, governmental reports and records were relied upon almost exclusively.

Chapter 2

CONTEMPORARY LEGISLATION--THE FLOOD-TIDE YEARS

What is manpower policy? August C. Bolino writes that the central mission of most manpower programs is to facilitate the free movement and use of labor.[2] To assess another view, consider the definition of Seymour Wolfbein:

> An active manpower policy has as its goal the provision of assistance to individuals which will enable them to become as freely employed as they seek to be, in a manner consonant with their own talents, aptitudes, and interests, in an environment of fair standards and equal opportunity, and with the chance to maintain themselves in an adaptable, flexible and responsive stance to the changing demands of the world of work.[3]

Our federal manpower policy has focused on developing and operating training and work-experience programs for unemployed and the underemployed (chiefly the disadvantaged) and on pursuing efforts to improve the efficiency of the labor market in matching jobs and workers.[4]

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[2]August C. Bolino, Manpower And The City (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1969), p. 76.

[3]Seymour Wolfbein, Work in American Society (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1971), p. 127.

[4]Manpower Report of the President-1972 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 71

Manpower policy then deals mainly with the supply of labor. Its concern is for the people making up the labor supply; the poor, unemployed, and those in need of education, training, information, etc.[5]

With an understanding of the meaning of manpower policy, the paper moves to examine briefly its history in the US.

Manpower policies are not new in America although the phrase is. Major elements of such policy can be found as early as 1785, in the Northwest Ordinance. The Morrill Act of 1862 established federal assistance for vocational training through the creation of land-grant colleges. In 1917, the Smith Hughes Act expanded federal support for vocational education. After the Second World War, the G.I. Bill of Rights enabled millions of veterans to complete their education through federal assistance. It is noteworthy that the early legislative efforts cited above were for the most part only ad hoc responses to specific situations.[6] Regretfully the same situation exists today.

The second World War had long lasting effects upon the nation's manpower policies. Not only did it rescue millions from unemployment, but vast numbers were also trained and educated.[7] An additional benefit, largely ignored by manpower policy experts, was that America became accustomed to the expenditure of massive sums of money for programs she deemed worthwhile. The war did not, however, erase the spectre of the

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[5]Wolfbein, op. cit.

[6]Ibid., p. 126

[7]Sar A. Levitan and Garth L. Mangum, Federal Training and Work Programs in the Sixties (Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1969), p. 8.

9 million unemployed in this country at the wars' beginning. Congress was preoccupied with a search for answers to the manpower dilemma even as the war was being fought. For many Congressmen, the problem could only be solved with the active intervention and support of the federal government.[8] Garth Mangum writes that it was the fear of unemployment which lead to the passage of the Employment Act of 1946.[9] This act stated a specific concern for maximum employment, production and purchasing power, but it did not provide procedures or authorizations for improving manpower resources. It would take other events to shake the US from its doldrums.

Two occurrences in 1957 spelled an end to the long period of complacency over manpower policy. The first was the successful launching of Sputnik by the Russians. It was considered by many to be a signal that the United States was losing its technological and scientific lead over the U.S.S.R. The remedy was the passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, which committed federal funds to a new national goal of increasing the supply of scientists.

The second important event was the recession which had reached the highest levels since the thirties. Up until that time, administration policies had continued to focus on controlling inflation.[10]

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[8] Bolino, op. cit., p. 78.

[9] Garth L. Mangum, The Emergence of Manpower Policy (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 21.

[10] Ibid., p. 25.

Unemployment persisted even after the recession and concentrations of unemployed and underemployed persons in depressed areas fueled the demand for federal action.

In order to combat unemployment in areas where economic recovery was lagging, the Congress enacted the Area Redevelopment Act. This 1961 bill offered to depressed areas funds which included up to 16 weeks of skill training for their jobless workers. Although the program was limited in scope, enactment of the ARA was explicit recognition by the government that areas of high unemployment should be assisted with federal funds.[11]

Following closely on the heels of ARA was the passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. This act contained much broader provisions for institutional and on-the-job training, new support for manpower research, and required an annual assessment and report by the President of the nation's manpower requirements. "The passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act was a recognition that the benefits of a changing technology accrue to society and that the resulting burdens are not borne by individuals alone."[12] Underlying the programs of MDTA was the assumption that despite high levels of prevailing unemployment, jobs were available and they existed because the unemployed were not properly prepared to fill the job vacancies. In the first three years after enactment, the MDTA allocated $435 million

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[11]Manpower Report of the President-1972, op. cit., p. 8.

[12]Bolino, op. cit., p. 85.

to encourage retraining of the unemployed and the underemployed. Payments to those eligible were geared to the payments of state unemployment services. Under the original Act, any unemployed person or worker in a farm family with less than $1,200 annual net family income was eligible for assistance. The trainee could receive a training allowance if he was an unemployed head of a family who had not less than three years of work experience. Training allowances of $20 a week could be paid to youths between the ages of 19 and 22, but these payments were limited to 5 percent of the total training allowance expenditures.[13]

MDTA training courses, unlike the Area Redevelopment Act, were to be offered in prosperous as well as depressed areas. However, the results were that most of the trainees were from depressed areas since state allotments were determined on the basis of the numbers of unemployed. Amendments in 1963, 1965, 1966, and 1968 revised the funding process to give the states the authority to develop and administer manpower programs as well as broadening the span of the programs.[14]

By 1965, MDTA had met its objective of enrolling 400,000 trainees in its first three years of existence. As the rate of unemployment decreased, the numbers of workers seeking employment began to decline causing manpower administrators to dip deeper into the economic barrel for trainees. This served to reinforce the need to provide basic literacy and prevocational training to those who were less than well prepared for employment.[15]

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[13]Legislative Analysis, Manpower Training And Employment Proposals (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1970), p. 6.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Bolino, op. cit., p. 90.

Calling attention to groups in the population not originally designated for special help, i.e., the poorly educated, members of minority groups, men and women of low incomes--all who faced hurdles in obtaining decent paying jobs which would enable them to support themselves and their dependents--resulted in making MDTA a more flexible and responsive instrument for meeting the diverse needs of disadvantaged groups. [16]

To sum up, the MDTA played a large part in the federal manpower policies and programs in the sixties that had not only become much more extensive, but had become part of a deliberate, purposive, organized, and affirmative commitment overtly aimed at problems of unemployment and poverty and allied with economic policy.[17]

As America moved into the sixties, the civil rights movement served to further generate additional federal support for training and rehabilitating of the unemployed and the disadvantaged. Although the movement initially focused on the political and civil rights of blacks, it soon became clear that Negroes and other deprived minorities could not compete on an equal footing without special economic assistance. As President Kennedy said, "Employment opportunities play a major role in determining whether civil rights are meaningful. There is little value in a Negroe's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has no cash in his pocket and no job."[18]

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[16]Manpower Report of the President-1972, op. cit.

[17]Wolfbein, op. cit.

[18]Sar A. Levitan and Garth L. Mangum, Making Sense of Federal Manpower Policy (Washington: National Manpower Policy Task Force, 1967), pp. 2-3.

The solution seemed to be the same as for general employment--more jobs and more training--but there was a significant difference. Without the civil rights movement and the attention it focused on the disadvantaged minorities, the reduction of unemployment might have reduced effective support for continuing manpower efforts.[19]

Other programs were rushed through Congress in the mid-sixties which were part of President Johnson's "War on Poverty." Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, several manpower training programs were established which included the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps among others.

The Job Corps was established with the purpose of providing general education, vocational training and work and physical conditioning to persons between the ages of 16 and 21 who were out of school, unemployed, or in "dead end" jobs. Both urban and rural job training centers were operated under contract by private corporations or educational institutions to train enrollees for various skilled and service jobs and to provide basic education. Rural conservation centers were established to provide basic education and training in conservation work and related activities. They were set out in rural areas in the belief that if the youths enrolled could be removed from their home environment their chances of rehabilitation would be greatly enchanced.[20]

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[19] Ibid., p. 3.

[20] Legislative Analysis, op. cit.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) was originated by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. In the course of the Senate debate on the Economic Opportunity Act, he stated the purpose of NYC. He said, "To put idle youth to work constructively and, in some cases, to help prevent high school dropouts by providing part-time work. This program . . . . would provide many needed community jobs."[21] The Youth Corps consists of three separate programs:

> (1) The in-school program is designed to provide participants with a certain number of hours of employment per week in order to provide participants with a sufficient amount of money so they won't drop out of school for financial reasons.
>
> (2) The summer Neighborhood Youth Corps is similar to the in-school program in that it is meant to provide income to needy youths so they will return to school in the fall. The focus of the in-school and summer programs is on employment and income rather than on training or education.
>
> (3) Out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps programs provide full-time work programs for idle 16 to 20 year olds, mostly high school dropouts. There are a variety of work situations, including maintenance, custodial, and health work. However, the programs rarely offer vocational training and basic education and, therefore, help little in improving a youth's employability or his propensity to return to school.[22]

JOBS, acronym for Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, was established in 1967 for the purpose of encouraging private industry to hire, train, retrain, and upgrade the hard-core unemployed and underemployed workers of 18 years and older. The program, an outgrowth of the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), which had set out in 1967 to locate

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[21] U.S., Congressional Record, 87th Cong., July 23, 1964, p. 16219.

[22] Legislative Analysis, op. cit., pp. 7-8

the hard-core unemployed and provide jobs in the private sector, was launched by President Johnson in 1968 with initial funding of some $151 million. With this amount as a starter he hoped to put 100,000 men and women in jobs by June 1969 and 500,000 at work by 1971.[23] To find additional jobs in the private sector, the President established the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) and asked Henry Ford to serve as its head.

JOBS had been limited to the hard-core unemployed in 50 major metropolitan areas. In 1970 the program was expanded to include all hard-core unemployed workers on a nationwide basis. The employment of Negroes and other minority groups was stressed. JOBS has been described as an attempt to distribute existing job opportunities more equitably----not a device to create more jobs.[24]

In 1970, a major change was introduced into the JOBS program. In order to up grade workers abilities who are caught in low-skill jobs, the government began paying the extra costs involved in special training programs. Additionally, financial assistance was given to employers in upgrading a small number of employees to skill occupations where labor shortages existed.

Another important adjunct to the Economic Opportunity Act was created by a 1965 amendment. Operation Mainstream was initiated to pro-

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[23]Bolino, op. cit., p. 190.

[24]Legislative Analysis, op. cit., p. 8.

vide counseling, basic education, and work experience for adults who were chronically unemployed and who lived in rural areas. The jobs are provided in community development and beautification programs. Little, if any, job training was offered, but for many participants the earning supplemented their meager Social Security payments.[25]

WIN or Work Incentive Program, was enacted under 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act. Required of all states, it provides for training, literacy development, and child care for those referred by welfare agencies in order to move into productive employment, employable persons on the rolls of Aid to Dependent Families (AFDC) Program. To encourage welfare recipients to seek work, WIN allows them to retain part of their welfare payments in addition to their earnings. The first $30 of their monthly earnings plus 30 per cent of all their additional earnings can be retained without reducing their welfare benefits.[26]

WIN also provides for the creation of public jobs, and workers assigned to such jobs are to receive at least 20 per cent of their welfare grants. For the most part, participants have been enrolled in remedial education or pre-vocational training and few have been assigned to public employment projects.[27]

The New Careers Program was also established by an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act. The aims were to relieve shortages of

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[25] Ibid., p. 9.

[26] Wolfbein, op. cit., p. 130.

[27] Legislative Analysis, op. cit., p. 9.

professional personnel in many human-service occupations by training poor and underemployed for paraprofessional jobs in such undermanned fields as health, education, and public assistance. The program emphasized jobs which have built-in training and advancement. Enrollees are placed in subprofessional jobs with public and private nonprofit agencies who receive federal subsidies to finance the cost of training.

With the major programs of the sixties reviewed, it may be propitious to look at the number of enrollees and amount of funding for manpower programs. The data is for fiscal year 1971.

ENROLLMENT

PROGRAM	ENROLLMENT (Thousands)
MDTA (OJT and Institutional)	200.7
NYC (In school and summer programs)	658.8
NYC (Out of school training)	40.1
Operation Mainstream	23.3
New Careers (Public Service Careers)	42.4
CEP	Not Given
JOBS	88.2
WIN	60.7
Job Corps	22.4
TOTAL	1,136.6

TABLE 1[28]

[28]Manpower Report of President-1972, op. cit., p. 261.

FUNDING

PROGRAM	FY-71 FUNDING (Thousands)
MDTA (OJT and Institutional)	$324,221
NYC (In school and summer programs)	$311,258
NYC (Out of school training)	$115,195
Operation Mainstream	$ 71,350
New Careers (Public Service Careers)	$ 91,636
CEP	$166,752
JOBS	$169,051
WIN	$ 64,085
Job Corps	$160,187
TOTAL	$1,464,935

TABLE 2[29]

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[29] Ibid.

Chapter 3

BARRIERS TO EMPLOYMENT--"WHY CAN'T THEY FIND A JOB"?

The chief concern of manpower policy is now the disadvantaged worker who during periods of great economic prosperity remains unemployed. These people, in President Johnson's words, "are blocked from productive employment by barriers rooted in poverty: lack of health, lack of education, lack of training, and lack of motivation".[30] If a greater appreciation of th disadvantaged and their problems is to be gained, then an understanding of the barriers they face is essential.

In 1967, finding the term unemployment inadequate to measure the economic situation of the disadvanteged, a broader, more useful term of sub-employment was established. This term introduced the issue of the quality of employment as represented by monies earned. This was especially important to manpower development in poverty areas since it took into account the employed poor. This group now presents a larger problem, in terms of numbers, than the unemployed.[31]

The sub-employed are a diverse group, with varied problems requiring different approaches. Therefore, no one policy can deal with the employment problems of the sub-employed.

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[30]Lyndon B. Johnson, Message to the Congress of the United States 23 January, 1968, Manpower Report of the President-1968 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1968), p. XI.

[31]Manpower Report of the President-1968 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 84.

This diversity explains in part why this group finds it difficult to keep a job. The reasons may stem from psycho-social characteristics or low motivation. But its important that these typical difficulties not be considered as norms for the entire group. Similarily, barriers to employment should not be considered without assessing the availability of job opportunities. Surely a most crucial point.

A question often heard is, What are the reasons for the high unemployment rates of the blacks? An unemployment rate which in 10 cities surveyed by the Department of Labor in 1966 stood at 10 per cent or higher. In two of the city slums surveyed, the unemployment rate was was above 15 per cent.[32] These unemployment figures continue to remain approximately double that of the white population.

In addition to having high rates of unemployment, those in poverty areas are out of work for longer periods of time. Many of the unemployed men of normal working age are neither employed nor looking for work; some suffer poor health, and others have been discouraged by their inability to find a job. Additionally, many slum residents are working only part-time in low paying and often low-skilled jobs.[33]

In urban poverty areas surveyed in 1966, it was found that whites outnumbered non-whites by a factor of 3 to 1. It is only in the very worst slums that the non-whites dominate.[34] Due to their extremely high

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., p. 85.

[34] Manpower Report of the President-1967 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 76.

rate of unemployment, however, blacks represent a majority of all of the poverty area unemployed.

A study conducted in Newark, New Jersey, has revealed that youth unemployment, once thought to be the dominant problem in poverty areas, though significant is secondary to the greater numbers of unemployed Negro men.[35] It is therefore incumbent upon manpower policy makers to ensure that the employment needs of the adults are given as much, if not more emphasis than those of the youth.

There are many factors which seem to operate against the sub-employed minority groups in urban areas. Among these are, social-psychological factors, lack of education and training, ill health, discrimination and other employer practices with respect to selection of employees and distance from jobs. These are only a few of the barriers which contribute to joblessness, underemployment, and low earnings. The magnitude of the task in overcoming these barriers is best illustrated by this passage:

> Training the hard-core unemployed--even for factory work--is more difficult than imagined and there are no overnight solutions.... it can involve teaching a man how to catch the correct bus, or how to get up in the morning, or getting him glasses so he may learn enough reading for simple jobs.... These people .... have to be taught the letters that spell common colors so they can read the instruction cards that tell them to put a blue or green steering wheel on a car as it comes down the assembly line.... They must learn simple addition so that they can count boxes of parts they take of a supplier's truck.... Some sign an "X" for their names .... We have had to overcome fear and resentment, hostility and a history of failure.[36]

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[35]Jack Chernick, Newark-New Jersey: Population and Labor Force, Spring 1967 (Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers-The State University, December 1967), p. 12.

[36]New York Times, June 16, 1968, p. 52.

High rates of joblessness and low earnings in city slums have been cited often as distinctive characteristics of the large-city sub-employed. Further, that they are less motivated to work, lack perseverance in their work, and in general are alienated from the world of work. It appears that these assumptions do have some validity. Employers reports indicate that the men from big-city poverty centers who quit after being hired have poor motivation and work attitudes. This in turn acts as a barrier to further employment. The social-psychological factors used in explanation for job behavior of Negroes and other low-income groups in their difficulty in getting and holding jobs include; attitudes, aspirations, motivation, ability, willingness to defer gratification, and self image. More recently, an individuals early family life has been used as an explanation of the complex interrelationships the factors encompass. The basic assumption is that a person's self perception, his attitudes toward work, his motivation, and his ability to postpone self gratifications affect his chances of getting and keeping a job.[37]

There is a wealth of material on distribution, relevance and casuality as they relate to psycho-sociological barriers to employment. This paper, limited in scope as it is, cannot hope to cover all of the aspects which should be covered in order to gain a better understanding of the problem. The brief explanation which follows sums up some of the more important, but still tentative conclusions.

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[37] Manpower Report of the President-1968, op. cit., p. 86.

> --Since the disadvantaged are not homogeneous, what may be characteristic of the most troubled individuals in this category may not be generally applicable to the disadvantaged.
>
> --The dividing line between employability and the lack of it is not fixed. In part, it reflects employers' judgments about individuals, made in the context of the general labor supply-and-demand situation. These relative judgments apply to the work attitudes and motivation of individuals as well as their levels of education and skill.
>
> --The extent to which these difficulties are the major factors in sub-employment is unclear. Still lacking is an adequate understanding of the connections between attitudes and work patterns. Attitudes are certainly significant, but it is not yet possible to say what the most relevant attitudes are, nor precisely how they influence actions [38]

The policy implications of the social-psychological factors are also uncertain. One method might be to attempt to modify the disadvantaged attitudes before introducing him to a job situation. A second approach would place the disadvantaged person in a job situation and then apply all of the activities and services required to influence his attitudes and ability to adequately perform in his job. The latter approach reminds one of the Hawthorne Studies. A series of experimental studies conducted at the Hawthorne plant on the Western Electric Company in Chicago from 1927 to 1939. These studies are a classic in their field and helped lay the present day framework for the human relations movement.[39]

In the early sixties, the emphasis has been on the first approach. More recently, empnasis has shifted to getting workers into jobs--based

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[38] Ibid., p. 98.

[39] Fritz J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 4.

on the theory that "real life" work situations are those most likely to affect attitudes. The aim is to provide a fully developed work identity through progression.[40]

This latter approach suggests the need for selective job development aimed at the particular groups to be served and is one of the major emphases of the manpower program. Although the cooperation of private industry has been solicited in placing the disadvantaged in regular jobs, (the JOBS and CEP programs in particular) protected job situations may be needed by these small groups.

With the myriad of barriers thus far discussed, it is easy to see how difficult it is to program manpower policy for everyone. Especially so when one considers that the same social-psychological factors are not equally significant in every case.

Other Factors.

The obstacles to employment which impinge upon the attempts of the disadvantaged to find work are partly personal, partly environmental and partly institutional. Taking account of the personal factors first, one should consider the plight of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Negroes who do not have a basic education or even a basic command of the English language which would normally be considered a requisite for employment. Many more lack the skills essential for the jobs available. Health problems and lack of adequate medical care also act as barriers to employment. Records of police and bad debt difficulties are likewise personal problems which may significantly influence potential employers.[41]

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[40] Manpower Report of the President-1968, op. cit., p. 89.

[41] Ibid.

In addition to these personal factors, the appearance of the potential worker; his or her dress habits, hair style and grooming can make them less likely to be employed. With todays emphasis on individualism the factor of appearance should be downgraded by potential employers. but more likely than not it is overemphasized. Unfortunately, many sub-employed mirror in their personal appearance and behavior the difficulties they might bring to the job--untidiness, inattention to detail and, unreliability.[42]

Many disadvantaged persons, although willing to work, do not know how to effectively search for a job. For many, the problem may be the simple act of reading and responding to a want ad. For others, it may be that a shortage of money prevents them from crossing town to respond to an advertisement. It may be that the personal isolation of slum dwellers acts as a barrier since the disadvantaged are forced to re_ so heavily on informal lines of communication.

The lack of transportation facilities also act as an institutional barrier to the unemployed. The large metropolitan areas with the slums and poverty centers are increasingly separated from the job markets as business and industry moves to the suburbs. While the suburban dweller drives to the city for his work, residents of central slums are trapped by their inability to commute to jobs in the expanding outer suburban ring.[43]

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., p 92

Perhaps the most important and least understood institutional barrier is discrimination. Discrimination against ethnic minority groups, the largest group of slum dwellers, and the aged. The hiring or workers is a process of selection, (or exclusion) which keeps out those who do not fit the personnel managers' concept of what the employee should look like. Applicants for jobs undergo a process of testing, interviewing, and scrutiny of credentials which operates as an important barrier to employment. As an example, the requirement for a high school degree for many of the disadvantaged is an effective obstacle which few can overcome. Research has illustrated that even when the desired educational requirements for a job are achieved, the financial gain resulting to blacks is much lower than the gain to whites. The attainment of a high school diploma was worth a little over $8 per week for a black ghetto area resident. The gain for his white neighbor (same sex and age, living in the same city, with equivalent training and employed in the same industry) was about $25 a week more in extra wages. These gains have been shown to be about the same in terms of schooling and occupational status.[44]

The most significant results were found in connection with unemployment. The white resident of a ghetto area with a high school diploma could expect to be unemployed almost 4 percent less often than the dropout. The black with the same background could expect the gain to be reduced to an expectation of unemployment of only 4 tenths

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[44] Bennett Harrison, Training for Nowhere, Washington Post, November 19, 1972, p. B4.

of 1 percent. Surprisingly, college educated blacks from the poverty areas were unemployed almost as often as those who did not go beyond high school.[45]

In terms of unemployment, the results for blacks was nearly identical whether the negro lived in ghetto or the suburbs. Suburban blacks do not gain any more from their education than do the ghetto blacks. It appears to make little difference where the blacks live because the forces which prevent them from enjoying gains from their schooling comparable to whites is omnipresent. These forces cannot be escaped via a high school degree.[46]

Oscar Ornati of NYU has stated:

> The preponderance of Negroes in low-wage, low skill occupations..... appears to be the result of discrimination, which is rationalized in terms of insufficient education and skills. Thus, excessive emphasis on education and training may, in view of the persistence of discrimination in hiring and promotion, prove to be what is similiarly called a cop-out.[47]

This chapter set out to discuss the barriers to jobs which face the disadvantaged. These factors include social psychological, poor health, discrimination, job structure, education and training, and employer practices with respect to selection of employees. As we identify each barrier, that in itself is a step forward, we then should turn our efforts toward the reduction or elimination of them. It is important

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

that our manpower policies be directed toward the reduction and elimination of these barriers if a large and significant segment of our population is to move forward.

Chapter 4

EVALUATION OF PROGRAMS--HAS THE SHOTGUN HIT ANYONE?

In reviewing contemporary legislative of the last decade, one is struck by the seemingly "all-inclusiveness" of it all. The broad scope of the aids to the disadvantaged is impressive and it appears to take care of everyone and his or her particular need. But is it as neat and tidy as it seems, or has it been a shotgun approach in response to each crisis as it occurred?

In terms of numbers, the impact of the new programs has been great as evidenced by the two charts which appear earlier in this paper. Most of the available literature suggests that large numbers of the disadvantaged have had successful transitions from welfare to worker. But has enough been accomplished? Couldn't the private sector do more, particularly with respect to equal opportunity. The answers to the two last questions are no and yes respectively.

Consider this telling point which Bolino makes.

> No government program now operating gives any substantial promise of meeting the problems of Negro unemployment in the slums. The Manpower Development and Training Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the Economic Development Act--these and similar efforts have been going on for five years. Yet in these years, while family income was increasing 14 per cent nationally, and family income of Negroes was increasing 24 per cent, family income in Watts declined.[48]

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[48] Bolino, op. cit., p. 201

With regard to progress in equal opportunity, it has been characterized as, 'slow, faltering, and often g udgingly obtained and hardly to the satisfaction of the people involved."[49]

There are still many problems with manpower policy, too numerous to delineate in detail. The following six factors are generally considered to be the crux of the problems in todays' manpower programs.

First, there are too many programs with different eligibility requirements and funding sources. In spite of the shotgun approach, too many people have not been struck with the kind of training they need. Often times the concern is on filling slots in a particular program rather on developing an appropriate mix to fit what an individual might need. Because of their diversity, the programs are not made aware to those in need. The programs only aid a few of the total number who require assistance.

The second point is that a great deal of duplication exists in manpower programs. Coordination between agencies on the Federal, State and Municipal levels is still a significant administrative problem. There has been too much competition between federal agencies for control of the programs. The programs are operated by a myriad of organizations and companies. The Department of Labor alone deals with over 10,000 different sponsors in operating it's programs. Moreover, each program is accompanied by regulations which specify the rate of pay, eligibility criteria, and conditions of training.[50]

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[49] Wolfbein, op. cit., p. 135.

[50] Legislative Analysis, op. cit., p. 11.

Third, there is a concentration of manpower programs in Washington, D.C. State and local authorities have been given little opportunity to display initiative since the programs depend on federal control.

Fourth, the coordination of manpower programs with similar programs has received little effort. Therefore, state and local manpower officials have a difficult task in developing plans to draw upon the resources of the federal government.

Fifth, the system of training allowances competes with other programs. In many cases, people are in a position to shop around for the program which gives them the greatest return in terms of allowances, whether they need it or not.

Lastly, manpower programs have not been used effectively with the totality of monetary and fiscal policies so that fluctuations in the level of economic activity can be dealt with. A powerful economic stimulus could be derived from manpower policies by improving the labor force.[51]

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[51] Ibid.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

At the beginning, this paper set out to examine the thrust of manpower policies directed at the disadvantaged. Although encompassing only a short review of the existing legislation, barriers to employment and problems with existing programs, it is hoped that some appreciation for the magnitude of the task facing this country has been garnered. I think Representative James Scheurer stated the value of manpower policy when he said:

> I believe we could show them a balance sheet-income statement approach by using all of the known techniques of business and economic analysis, that creating a citizen and a worker with reading and writing tools, out of an illiterate, is about as good an economic investment as our society could make. Apart from the question of preparing these people to fill jobs in an urbanized, automated society, they will of course be better citizens. And we will be creating tax payers out of tax eaters. I don't think there is a finer, more basic economic investment that our Nation could make.[52]

This paper has not attempted a lengthy critique of present manpower policies nor has it attempted to devise a new program. There is enough written on that subject already and legislation is pending which should correct many of the ills of present programs. I believe it is safe to say that manpower policy makers have recognized the need for a comprehensive national manpower policy. It is now up to the legislators to place the remedies into action. As President Nixon stated,"....even though manpower programs have grown in number, the need for manpower training has out-

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[52] Bolino, op. cit., p. V.

paced the capability of these older programs to provide services."[53] I deem it essential that new legislation be enacted that will cure the ills of manpower programs as previously described and so well known to anyone familiar with manpower policy. To quote President Nixon once more, the new program "would benefit citizens in every corner of the Nation and offer renewed hope to members of our society who have lacked opportunity--hope for jobs, for advancement, and for a better standard of living."[54]

Who are the disadvantaged? Elliot Liebow offers this description in way of closing:

> When we look at what the men bring to the job rather than what the job offers to men, it is essential to keep in mind that we are not looking at men coming to the job fresh, just out of school perhaps, and newly prepared to undertake the task of making a living, or from another job where they earned a living and are prepared to do the same on this job. Each man comes to the job with a long history characterized by his not being able to support himself or his family. Each man carries this knowledge, born of his experience, with him. He comes to the job flat and stale, wearied by the sameness of it all, convinced of his own incompetence, terrified of responsibility--of being tested still again and found wanting.[55]

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[53]Richard Nixon, Message to the Congress of the United States, 7 February, 1972, Manpower Report of the President-1972 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1972), p. xi.

[54]Ibid., p. xiii.

[55]Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, p. 53.

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