



1989

## Crew: The South Shore Community's Response to Youth Unemployment

Joan Marie Payne Hill  
*Loyola University Chicago*

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CREW - THE SOUTH SHORE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE  
TO YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

by

Joan Marie (Payne) Hill

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University of Chicago in  
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Doctor of Philosophy

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To God, who is "First and Last and the One who lives" ... who makes all things possible and puts them in their proper perspective - I hope I am worthy.

## VITA

The author, Joan Marie Hill, is the daughter of Otis and Mary (Stephens) Payne, Sr. She was born, and resides, in Chicago, Illinois.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	ii
VITA . . . . .	iii
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	vii
LIST OF FIGURES . . . . .	ix
CONTENTS OF APPENDICES . . . . .	x
Chapter	
I. THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT . . . . .	1
Section 1. CREW's Origin and Youth Unemployment. . . . .	1
Introduction . . . . .	1
Labor Unions . . . . .	14
Outline of the Dissertation. . . . .	18
Notes to Chapter I Section 1 . . . . .	20
Section 2. The Coalition That Developed CREW	21
Introduction . . . . .	22
The Host Community . . . . .	22
The Neighborhood Institute and South Shore Bank . . . . .	27
The Carpenter's Union and the AFL/CIO. . . . .	31
Washburne Trade School: Public or Private? . . . . .	40
Conclusion . . . . .	46
Notes to Chapter I Section 2 . . . . .	48
II. YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS AND LABOR MARKET THEORIES. . . . .	49
Section 1. The Youth Labor Market. . . . .	49
Introduction . . . . .	49
Structural Barriers to Youth Employment. . . . .	54
Social Barriers to Youth Employment. . . . .	65
Human Capital Theory . . . . .	69
Dual Labor Market Theory . . . . .	78

Section 2. A Brief History of Measures		
Employed to Solve the Problem of		
Youth Unemployment. . . . .		82
Introduction . . . . .		82
Job Corps. . . . .		87
Neighborhood Youth Corps . . . . .		93
Comprehensive Employment and Training		
Act. . . . .		96
Job Training Partnership Act . . . . .		101
III. CREW - CASE STUDY DESIGN. . . . .		105
Introduction. . . . .		105
Methodology . . . . .		106
Interview Procedures. . . . .		107
Interview Process . . . . .		114
Notes to Chapter III. . . . .		118
IV. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS. . . . .		119
Introduction. . . . .		119
Recruitment and Program Orientation . . . . .		122
Sex . . . . .		125
Age . . . . .		125
Education . . . . .		127
Graduation. . . . .		131
Program Assessment. . . . .		131
Conclusion. . . . .		142
Notes to Chapter IV . . . . .		144
V. FAMILY INVOLVEMENT. . . . .		145
Introduction. . . . .		145
Family Perceptions. . . . .		149
Summary . . . . .		156
Notes to Chapter V. . . . .		159
VI. WOMEN IN CREW . . . . .		160
Introduction. . . . .		160
Recruitment and Supportive Services . . . . .		161
A Profile of Women in CREW. . . . .		167
Discrimination. . . . .		167
Men as Helpmates. . . . .		169
Job Referrals . . . . .		177
Retention . . . . .		179
Summary . . . . .		182

VII.	IMPLEMENTATION AND RELATED PROBLEMS . . . . .	184
	Introduction. . . . .	184
	Administration. . . . .	186
	The Union . . . . .	193
	The Carpentry Instructors . . . . .	196
	The Students. . . . .	200
	Record-Keeping. . . . .	204
	Summary . . . . .	205
	Notes to Chapter VII. . . . .	208
VIII.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION. . . . .	209
	Summary . . . . .	209
	Concluding Statement. . . . .	211
REFERENCES	. . . . .	212
APPENDICES	. . . . .	232

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1.1 Dropout Rate for Students by Race and Entering and Graduating Class 1980 and 1981 . . . . .	10
2.1 Unemployment Rates for 16-19 years old . . . . .	50
2.2 Chicago Community Areas with the Largest Estimated Number of Unemployed Persons . . . . .	51
2.3 Annual Average Unemployment in the City of Chicago 1983-86. . . . .	52
2.4 Illinois Employment Projection's Year-End from 1986 to 1988 . . . . .	56
2.5 Job Corps Federal Obligations, Enrollment Opportunities and New Enrollees, FY 1970-78; Partial FY 1986-87 . . . . .	84
2.6 Federal Expenditures, Number Participants, and Entered Employment Rates for Youth Programs for 1975-1980. . . . .	93
2.7 Federal Expenditures, Number Participants, and Entered Employment Rates for Youth Programs for 1981-1986. . . . .	100
2.8 Unemployment Rates from Selected Years by Age and Race . . . . .	103
3.1 Profile of CREW Participants (At Program of Entry) . . . . .	107
3.2 Status of Former CREW Participants . . . . .	108
3.3 Interview Procedures . . . . .	110
3.4 Program Participants' Telephone Numbers by Class and Availability 1986-87 . . . . .	111
3.5 Data From Interview Efforts by Class . . . . .	113
4.1 Program Participants by Sex 1980-86. . . . .	126
4.2 Program Participants by Age at Program Entry . . . . .	128



4.3	Level of Education at Program Entry 1980-86. . .	129
4.4	Graduation Status of Sample 1980-86. . . . .	129
4.5	Education Level at Program Entry by Class Year .	130
4.6	Program Graduates by Sex . . . . .	132
4.7	Willing to Participate in Program Again By Sex .	133
4.8	Willing to Recommend Program to Friend - By Sex.	136
4.9	Program Perception (Effective Program?) - By Sex	136
5.1	CREW Recruitment Efforts Per Personnel Files and Interviews . . . . .	149
6.1	Characteristics of Women in CREW 1980-1986 . . .	163

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1 Effect of Youth Seeking Employment . . . . .	71
2.2 Earning Potential of Primary and Secondary Sectors. . . . .	73

## CONTENTS OF APPENDICES

	Page
<b>APPENDIX I</b>	
1. Youth Unemployment Rate for Selected Years . . . . .	233
2. Deaths from Suicide Among Illinois Residents Under 20 Years of Age, by Race and Sex: Chicago. . . . .	235
3. Request for Governmental Data on Youth Unemployment in Cook County and Chicago. . . . .	237
4. City of Chicago Community Areas (As of 1980 Census) . . . . .	239
<b>APPENDIX II</b>	
1. Federal CETA Entitlement Programs. . . . .	241
<b>APPENDIX III</b>	
1. CREW's Goal and Objectives . . . . .	243
2. Letter of Request for Interview. . . . .	245
3. Second Letter of Request for Interview . . . . .	247
4. Letter Regarding Grant Award . . . . .	249
5. Receipt for Stipend Payment. . . . .	251
6. Interview Schedule . . . . .	253
7. Interview Questions for Participants . . . . .	256
8. Interview Questions for Instructors. . . . .	258
9. Interview Questions for Administrators . . . . .	260
10. Interview Questions for Union. . . . .	262
11. CREW's Orientation Schedule. . . . .	264

## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

#### Section 1: Crew's Origin and Youth Unemployment

##### Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works (CREW) program. CREW is a pre-apprenticeship carpentry program located in Chicago's South Shore community and is attempting to address the youth unemployment problem in its community and the surrounding area. Additionally, there is an examination of the problems of black unemployment in the context of human capital and dual labor market theories, and a look at the role and impact of public policy regarding youth unemployment under the Reagan administration. Youth, as defined by the CREW program, and used in this case study, unless otherwise noted, includes persons between the ages of 16 and 26 years old.

The Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works program is a microcosm of larger programs, such as the Philadelphia Plan and the Washington Plan which were designed by the government to address the lack of black employees in the construction industry. The purpose of the plans were to force the construction industry to establish

employment goals on all federal projects over a half million dollars. These plans were initiated by the government to ensure employment opportunities for blacks and other minorities in the construction industry (Rowan and Brudno, 1972:394-406).

Like CREW, these programs used the self-help approach to develop their programs and provide blacks with marketable skills. CREW is an outgrowth of efforts by The Neighborhood Institute (TNI), a community development organization, to provide black youth an opportunity to learn a marketable skill, carpentry. TNI took advantage of the federally funded Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), which provide incentives for private and public partnerships, to create a situation whereby CREW could become a reality.

CREW was designed, in 1979, by The Neighborhood Institute (TNI), as a one year pilot program. Its implementation involved the public sector (a governmental agency), the private sector (a bank), and the not-for-profit sector (a community organization) working together to provide pre-apprenticeship training in carpentry and painting for youth in Chicago's South Shore community. These entities were: The Neighborhood Institute, a not-for-profit community based organization; the South Shore National Bank; the Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship Training; the Chicago Painting and Decorating Joint Apprenticeship Committee (union); the Chicago District

Council of Carpenters Apprentice and Trainee Program (union), the South Shore Housing Center (Sweat Equity Project), and the Painters District Council #14 Local Union No. 1332. Although these linkages had a significant impact on the program, The Neighborhood Institute was, and still is, the nexus for the program and is responsible for the development and maintenance of effective social and economic programs in the South Shore community.

The human capital (self-help) approach, which seemed the most appropriate to this case study, does not address the limitations of self-help which are essential to the success of programs such as CREW. For example, who provides the worksites, tools, and equipment which would allow minorities to take their skills to the labor market?

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 was enacted in order to provide training for disadvantaged youth. This legislation represented a new thrust and an effort to train youth in skills which would have a positive long-term effect on the labor market as well as on them. CREW designed its program with this view in mind. "The end result would be an upgrading of the skills of particular workers and a more productive economy overall" (National Commission on Employment Policy, 1979:109-117). Unfortunately, this effort did not succeed for CREW participants - between 1980 and 1986, only 9.9% became apprentice carpenters.

This nation prides itself on being called the "Land of

Opportunity" and yet it is being challenged by one of the country's most critical manpower problems ... youth unemployment. The frustrations, discontent, and dissatisfactions of youth regarding their inability to fully participate in the work force has been shown to result in other social problems, such as drug and alcohol addiction, delinquency, family instability, and spouse abuse (Focus, 1985; Freeman and Wise, 1982; Testa and Lawlor, 1985).

Since 1964 the United States Government has spent millions of dollars on jobs programs such as Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), for the unemployed and underemployed (Focus, 1984:2). These programs were initiated in response to the National Commission on Civil Disorders' Report on the Civil Disorders (World News Digest Index, 1968:79-86). They were designated to alleviate the impact of technological changes which displaced many unskilled workers and changed the work place for the workers who were retained; new computerized and robotized machinery was being used to do the work which was ordinarily done by several workers.

During the first five years it seemed that the investment in employment and training programs was at least minimally effective (Taggart, 1980; Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, 1979:6-7). In 1964, when the Job Corps was established, the unemployment rate was 5.2% and the federal government expended .3% of its budget on

training programs. Even though the employment rate decreased to 3.5% by 1969, job training expenditures increased by 1.1%. However, beginning in the 1970's the unemployment rate began to rise again, despite the increase in program expenditures. Unemployment rates increased from 7.1% in 1980 and 9.6% in 1983, while expenditures for employment and training programs decreased for that same period (Focus, 1984:2).

According to economists, a rise in unemployment may be due to structural, frictional, or cyclical unemployment. Structural unemployment occurs when there is an imbalance in the number of laborers and the demand for their skills. Frictional unemployment arises when people move in and out of the labor market. Cyclical unemployment, referred to as seasonal unemployment, occurs when there is a lack of jobs for those who seek work (Weinstein, 1980).

Youth in general experience frictional unemployment more than others, due largely to their movement from job to job (Adams and Mangum, 1978). However, black youth experience structural unemployment as well as frictional unemployment because they are, generally, the long-term unemployed. Cyclical unemployment is particularly harmful to youth in the CREW program because they must be unionized in order to obtain employment in carpentry.

Cyclical unemployment affects CREW apprentices because they must maintain employment in the construction industry



for at least nine months each year, for the four years they serve as apprentices. This requirement must be met in order to retain union membership.

Although the unemployment rate increased from 1970 (4.9%) to 1986 (7.0%), the level of unemployment for youth (16 to 19 years of age) for the same period, was two and one-half to three times greater than adults. In 1970 the unemployment rate for youth (16 to 19 years of age) was 15.3%, and 18.3% in 1986. However, youth unemployment has always been higher than adults, regardless of state of the economy. For example, in 1969, when the economic boom peaked, the adult unemployment rate was 3.4%, while for youth (16-19 years of age) the unemployment rate was 12.2% (Appendix 1.1).

Youth, like adults, have dreams and hopes regarding careers, jobs, and of becoming productive members of society. Likewise, youth have the same commitment to work as adults but respond to the rapid technological changes, supervision, and the general work place in a different manner. For example, Nasbitt (1982) shows that, youth wish to have more of a participatory arrangement with the administration and the flexibility to be creative and innovative in the management of their jobs and skills. That is not to say that adults do not want that also, but, historically, they did not make such demands at such an early age (Nasbitt, 1982:181-188).

High youth unemployment rates continue to linger while unemployment in general is decreased (Appendix 1.1). Opportunities for youth to learn about work and work habits diminished over the years due to many complex factors such as the gutting of CETA programs, plant closings, and the relocation of plants and businesses to suburban and rural areas.

Unemployment has a greater impact on black youth than their white counterparts. In 1972, the unemployment rate for black youth (16-19 years old) was six and one-half times greater than unemployment in general, compared to four and one-half times greater in 1983. By contrast, unemployment rates for white youth (16-19 years old), for the same periods, were two and one-half times and two times, respectively, greater than unemployment in general (Appendix 1.1).

Even more disturbing is the widening gap between white and black youth unemployment. When looking at the 1972-83 data for youth 16-19 years old, unemployment rates were approximately two times higher for blacks than whites (U.S. Department of Labor, 1983). In 1982, of the 24.5 million teenagers and young adults (16-24 years old) in the labor force, about 4.4 million (17%) were unable to find jobs. Of the latter number nearly 1.0 million (22%) were black, despite the fact that black youth constituted 13.9% of the total population and are not all in the labor force (BLS

Employment and Earnings, 1983; U.S. Department of Commerce, 1984).

The problem of black youth unemployment is not just one of age and lack of work experience, as it is with most youth, but one where race has seemingly become an overriding factor relative to the overall issue of youth unemployment.

Hinckley's (1981) explanation of race as an important factor is borne out of his findings that, "... the mechanisms for providing a decent society for black youth are weak." He further states that, even industrial location (central city) is "heavily influenced by racism." When considering the fact that there are fewer black youth in the suburbs than in the city, Hinckley says, "even in suburban areas, unemployment rates for black youth are more than twice the rates for white youth" (1981:502). Concurring with Hinckley, Iden (1980:10) also states that, "... huge gaps in employment status exist between white youths and black youths regardless of location."

Hill (1980) and Osterman (1980b) also raise the issue of race in relation to the widening unemployment gap between white and black youth. There may be varied explanations regarding this gap such as location, skill, education, and job contacts. However, Hill and Osterman's research indicates that discrimination between black and white youth is an important factor. Additionally, in a study by Borus (1983:84-88), 21% of the black youth (16-22 years old)

versus 4% of the white youth thought that their race or nationality caused them some problems in securing employment.

One of the major factors which exacerbates black youth unemployment is employer discrimination. For example, some employers perceive the educational achievement and skills held by blacks in general, and black youth in particular, as not adequate enough for them to be productive employees. This perception, along with the lack of networks and family background, may not be the only factors which help explain the differing racial unemployment rates among youth, but are certainly overriding factors. Osterman (1980a) and Iden (1980) suggest that, even though employer discrimination is difficult to substantiate, the fact remains that white youth are hired more readily than black youth. This may be, according to Iden, because, "[d]iscrimination also plays a role, and existence can be more easily concealed by employers faced with many more job-seekers than needed" (Iden, 1980:14).

Another factor which helps explain youth unemployment in general, and black youth unemployment in particular, is education. According to popular belief, youth are not able to obtain employment because "many of them are school dropouts and lack work skills and knowledge." In Illinois the overall dropout rate in 1970 was 6.1% compared to 4.9% in 1983 (Testa and Lawlor, 1985:100).

However, the City of Chicago's dropout rate is quite high. By 1984, over half of the students who entered high school in 1980 did not graduate (Testa and Lawlor, 1985:99). The data is particularly alarming for minority students. "A high attrition rate is related to a high percentage of minority and low-income students.... The schools with the most dropouts averaged 92% minority and 72% low-income, substantially above the city averages..." (Orfield et al., 1984:148). Chicago's dropout rate for black youth who entered high school in 1981 was 53.7% male and 39.2% female (Table 1.1). The dropout rate for students who entered South Shore High School in 1983-84 was 10.5% (Robinson, 1959:52).

Table 1.1

Dropout Rate for Students by Race and Entering and Graduating Class 1980 and 1981

Gender	Race	Percent Entering		Dropout Rate Graduating Class	
		1980	1981	1980	1981
Male	Black	57.1	59.6	50.3	53.7
	White	23.2	19.5	36.2	48.2
Female	Black	63.0	63.5	35.5	39.2
	White	20.3	18.3	28.7	36.5

Although more black youth lack education than white, those who do have comparable educational attainments still experience greater rates of unemployment (U.S. Department of

Labor, 1983a). Research on the joblessness of black youth by Mare and Winship (1984) indicates that even where there is a convergence of educational equality between black and white youth, there is still a significant divergence in youth unemployment between the races. The relationship between race, education, and employment is clear. Therefore, Mare and Winship concluded that racial discrimination continues to have an impact on joblessness among black youth.

A high unemployment situation for youth in general, and for black youth in particular, does not bode well for society; the consequences of such high unemployment rates may, under some circumstances, be an increase in crime, juvenile delinquency and suicide. Data from a study by Testa and Lawlor (1985:83-86) focused on the issue of "youth's alienation" and how this affected their ability to achieve goals during their transition to adulthood. According to data from 1979 to 1983, Testa and Lawlor found that Illinois consistently had a higher rate of violent crimes committed by youth under 18 years of age than the United States as a whole. The City of Chicago's rate was twice that of Illinois and the United States. The rate of property crimes committed by these same youth (under 18 years of age) parallels the rate for violent crimes. Although, the Illinois property crime rate is very high compared to the United States, the City of Chicago's rate

was double that of the United States. Thus, the likelihood of obtaining a police record increases and a barrier to obtaining legitimate employment is created (Matthews, 1971).

This fear of crime does not lessen society's responsibility to address issues of justice. For example, it is more likely that black youth will be convicted and have a record than will white youth (Starr, 1986:341). This bias against black young men only compounds their problems regarding employment. In 1985, white youth (15-19 years old) accounted for 7.5% of the resident population while, black youth (15-19 years old) accounted for 9.6% (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1987:18). Notwithstanding the decrease in the number of youth in the population, young people confined to juvenile facilities has increased. For the same period (1985), the total number of juveniles held in public facilities totaled 49,322. Of that number, 29,969 (60.76%) were white, while 18,269 (37.04%) were black (U.S. Department of Justice, 1986:390). Thus, racial disparity becomes a concern for black youth when they take notice of their life chances and what the future portends for them.

Joan Petersilia (1983) found that racial disparities posed a unique problem for the criminal justice system. Her study showed statistically significant evidence of racial differences in the type of sentence imposed on persons convicted of a crime, with blacks having a greater chance of receiving a harsher sentence than their white counterpart.

Blacks who get into difficulty in their youth, face a rather bleak future. Young people are the future of society. They will represent this nation and chart the course for years to come. As such, there is a need for a more radical approach to structural changes in the market place. For example, strong and enforceable laws which would penalize businesses and the government for discrimination against young workers, particularly black youth. Additionally, schools must provide a socialization process which moves beyond the expectations of young blacks. Many times youth's expectations never get beyond their environment or role models. Schools can help provide the skills and motivation for youth to want to work, as well as encouragement and exposure to job opportunities.

In addition to crimes, the "self-destructive behavior" of suicide by youth 15-24 years old has become a major concern. "The rate of suicide for youth more than doubled between 1960 and 1980, from 5.2 to 12.3 per 100,000" (Starr, 1986:340). In Illinois, the number of suicides for youth under 20 years of age went from 24 in 1960 to 86 in 1980. During 1983, 67 youth under 20 years of age committed suicide. Of that number 48 were white males, eight white females, nine minority males, and two minority females (Testa, 1985:92). In 1985, 16 youth from Chicago committed suicide. Of that number nine were white males, four black males, and three females (Appendix 1.2). Society seems at a



loss to ameliorate the life-chances of youth, "the fact that so many young and healthy despair of life more than many older, more illness-prone adults constitutes a strong indictment of the life they are presented" (Starr, 1986:340).

For youth to be disconnected from the labor market diminishes their feelings of self-worth and deepens their feelings of estrangement. This is not to say that adults do not experience these same feeling or that youth unemployment directly causes crime and suicide, but the literature indicates that much crime is committed by youth who are out-of-work and out-of-school (Anderson & Sawhill, 1980:141).

Hopelessness, low self-esteem, and alienation must be ameliorated by economic and social measures that have meaningful, long-range and positive effects on present and future employability.

### Labor Unions

Labor unions have been another major obstacle to the employment of black youth. In certain trades such as carpentry, one cannot obtain work without certification by the union. Traditionally, unions have functioned as "old boy networks" and have not opened up their membership to all people who want to participate. The validity of this tradition was determined in conducting this research and certainly was a barrier to one of CREW's objectives - union membership. Participants in the CREW program had to secure

union membership in order to work as apprentice carpenters in Illinois. Upon completion of the CREW program and passing of the union examination, the participants applied to the Carpenters District Council for membership.

In 1972, the Carpenters District Council (Chicago) had approximately 35,000 members. Some of the carpenters became members via the non-apprenticeship route with the only requirements for entry into the union being four years experience and an oral examination. For those who gained entry through apprenticeship programs the requirements were two years of high school, a physical examination, and an aptitude test. These requirements have changed as of 1980 to include four years of high school, a physical examination, and an examination given by the Carpenters District Council in Chicago. CREW provides academic courses to its participants and helps those who do not have a high school degree, receive their General Education Diploma. It is hoped that this tutoring will help CREW graduates pass the union test.

The requirements imposed by the union present a special burden on minority youth. When you look at reading and mathematics scores for the City of Chicago alone you understand why youth in programs such as CREW have so much difficulty passing examinations. The American College Test (ACT) scores, which measure english, mathematical, social science, and natural science skills, show that the State of

Illinois ranked in the 50th percentile nationwide, while the City of Chicago ranked in the 23rd percentile. Of the high schools in and around the South Shore area, only Kenwood ranked in the 23rd percentile. Both South Shore and Harper high schools ranked in the 1st percentile, while Hyde Park high school ranked in the 2nd percentile (Banas and Houston, 1988b, Section 3, p. 6). These scores are reflections of the problems youth have in programs such as CREW, given their inability to pass tests which require high school mathematical and reading skills.

Minority group membership in the Council for 1970 was approximately 8.4% (Manpower R&D Monograph 39, 1975). Efforts to obtain current membership data from the Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprentice Training (Appendix 1.2) and the Carpenter's District Council's union coordinator were unsuccessful. According to one of the CREW carpentry instructors, the number of blacks in the union remains low. In his estimation, only 15% of the members are black.<sup>1</sup>

Although overall membership in the Carpenter's Union has decreased from 750,000 members in 1955 to 609,000 members in 1983, the unions still have a great deal of influence on the hiring practices in the private as well as public sector (Gifford, 1985). Therefore, union certification becomes a major factor for black youth who want to work in the construction industry. Some of the

barriers to this certification may be the youth's inability to get into an apprenticeship program because many of them do not meet the requirements for apprenticeship training and cannot get sponsorships from journeymen, or become unionized through the sponsorship of a journeyman. These obstacles are compounded for black youth, particularly since there are so few black journeymen compared to white journeymen.

According to the Comptroller General's Report to Congress (1979), an independent audit/monitoring agency reporting directly to the Congressional branch of the United States government, of the selected construction unions in seven cities surveyed, only 7.6% of the journeymen were black while 92.4% white. According to The Chicago Reporter, "... [although] building trade unions refuse to divulge minority membership figures, an EEOC survey of 1979 minority membership in 39 Chicago locals ... 9.2% were minority" (Wilfred Cruz, 1983:12).

Subsequent to the Comptroller General's Report to Congress report many pre-apprenticeship programs were developed to help minority youth meet the basic requirements to enter apprenticeship programs.

The development of pre-apprenticeship programs was a part of an overall attempt by community based organizations to provide training to minority youth and enhance their employability. Following the Comptroller's Report, the Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works

(CREW) program was developed. Among the reasons for developing the CREW pre-apprenticeship program was the need to provide training to minority youth in the South Shore community and the surrounding area. CREW was also developed in response to a perception by the unions that many of minority youth were deficient in the reading and mathematical skills necessary to become carpenters.

### Outline of Dissertation

In Chapter I Section 2 a description of the origin of the CREW program is presented. Details are given on how and why the coalition was developed as well as an historical overview of the AFL/CIO (union). The coalition consisted of CREW, a community based organization, a bank, the carpenter's union, and a public school.

Chapter II Section 1 analyzes the social and structural barriers which discriminate against youth and their effort to obtain employment. The two specific labor market theories which are considered for public policy legislation regarding youth are the human capital theory and dual labor market theory. A discussion of these theories provide insight to the varying concepts of youth unemployment.

Chapter II Section 2 gives a historical perspective of the governmental programs instituted for youth and the effect these programs have had on the problem of youth unemployment.

Chapter III details the methodology and research

design.

Chapter IV discusses the research findings and analyses of those findings.

Chapters V, VI, and VII are thematic chapters. Here the researchers describes the perceptions which are expressed by all who either affected or were affected by the CREW program. Chapter V speaks to the importance of family involvement in the educational pursuits of the participants.

Chapter VI describes the frustrations encountered by women in CREW and the construction industry in general. Lastly, Chapter VII addresses the problems CREW experienced in its effort to implement the program.

Chapter VIII contains the summary and conclusions.

## Notes to Chapter I Section 1

1. In 1988, The Chicago Urban League (CUL) filed a suit to obtain data from the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training on minority enrollment in Washburne Trade School and journeymen membership in the Cook County construction industry. To date, that information, according to James Lucien, (CUL), has not been obtained.

## Section 2: The Coalition That Developed CREW

### Introduction

In 1979, The Neighborhood Institute (TNI) designed a one-year pre-apprenticeship training program in painting, landscaping, and carpentry for youth in Chicago's South Shore community. TNI is a community based organization located in the South Shore community. It is a subsidiary of the Illinois Neighborhood Development Corporation (INDC). INDC's primary purpose is to assist the South Shore community in the development, improvement, and rehabilitation of housing. Additionally, TNI seeks to improve the income level of its residents by providing employment and training programs at its Career Education and Employment Center (CEEC). It was through the CEEC that CREW was designed and housed.

In 1980, of the total housing units (34,162) in South Shore 8% were vacant (Chicago Statistical Abstract, 1984:173). The Neighborhood Institute saw a need for housing rehabilitation in the community as well as employment. As a result, TNI's program, named Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works (CREW), was designed to involve the public and private sector and a not-for-profit community-based organization. Involved in designing the program were: The Neighborhood Institute, the South Shore National Bank, the Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, the Chicago Painting and



Decorating Joint Apprenticeship Committee (union), the Chicago District Council of Carpenters Apprentice and Trainee Program (union), the South Shore Housing Center (Sweat Equity Project), and the Painters District Council #14 Local Union No. 1332. It was hoped that this coalition would address some of the problems in the South Shore community. Although these linkages had a significant impact on the program, The Neighborhood Institute was, and still is, the linch-pin for the program and has played a pivotal role in the development and maintenance of effective social and economic programs in the South Shore community.

#### The Host Community

The Neighborhood Institute (TNI), South Shore Bank and the Community Rehabilitation Environmental and Maintenance Works (CREW) program are all located in the South Shore community.

The South Shore community, located on the southeast side of Chicago, Illinois, is bounded by 67th Street on the north, 79th Street on the south, Illinois Central Railroad/Kenwood/Kimbark/South Chicago on the west, and Lake Michigan on the east (Appendix 1.4).

According to the Local Community Fact Book (1984:117), only 2.7% of the housing units in South Shore were built after 1970 and 74.1% of the total housing units were renter occupied. In the early 1960's, South Shore was predominately white (90%), but by 1980 the racial

composition had reversed and the population was 95% black, where it currently stands (Local Community Fact Book, 1984:117). This transition was accompanied by the classical phenomenon experienced in urban areas with white flight: drop in property values, absentee landlords, tax delinquent rental properties and business disinvestment (Molotch, 1972:6).

As of 1980, the population of the South Shore Community was approximately 78,000 residents. The median income was \$15,969 for a family of four, while 20% of the residents were below the poverty level. At the same time there was an unemployment rate of 9% for persons 16 years and over (Chicago Statistical Abstract, 1984:173-175; Local Community Fact Book, 1984:116-119). Of the total unemployed in South Shore TNI estimated 35% to be youth between 16 and 21 years of age. This was an important consideration when TNI designed the CREW program.

The main business strips in the South Shore community are along 71st and 79th streets. When the racial transition in housing was taking place, many of the business establishments moved also. During the 1980's, a limited number of new businesses located here.

The Illinois Central Railroad (ICRR) provides transportation along 71st street to the downtown area. However, in the 1970's, while the business disinvestments and housing transitions were taking place, ICRR was

considering elimination of service because ridership had decreased. As a result, the South Shore Commission and community residents came together and prevailed upon ICRR to retain its service to the community. ICRR acceded to the community's wishes and, according to The Neighborhood Institute's former president, ridership has increased.

The South Shore Country Club, one of the most beautiful edifices in the South Shore community, served as the center of attraction for social activities in the community between the 1900's and the 1950's. The club was founded in 1906 by the many prominent residents in the community and provided amenities such as: private horseback riding, a golf club, and beaches (Molotch, 1972:42).

In the 1960's, when the community's racial composition began a rapid change from white to black the South Shore Country Club's original founders let the club deteriorate but continued to restrict its use to many of the former South Shore residents. By the 1970's, the South Shore Country Club was in financial difficulty and was bought by the Chicago Park District. According to the former president of TNI, the community together with the South Shore Commission began to organize a vigorous campaign and was able to save the South Shore Country Club from demolition by the Chicago Park District. While the "club" was undergoing rehabilitation, it was being used by community residents for recreational purposes and a place

where many cultural events were sponsored (Taub, Taylor, and Dunham, 1984:75).

While there were business disinvestments and threatened demolition of the South Shore Country Club, housing was the primary problem experienced by the South Shore community. The decline in property values, however, did not occur because blacks moved into the community, but because of views held by landlords and real estate developers. The South Shore community illustrates Molotch's dual labor market thesis. He conducted a survey to determine how landlords and realtors perceived changing neighborhoods. His findings showed that landlords and realtors viewed those changes in terms of race. That is, black and white markets. The real estate agents who responded to the study, said their decision to rent or sell to blacks was based strictly on economics. That is to say, blacks were willing to pay higher rents and more for housing, and whites were not (Molotch, 1972:22-37).

Deterioration in the South Shore community resulted from the unwillingness of landlords and business owners to maintain their property. According to the 1980 census, of the 31,367 housing units occupied, 80.7% were renter-occupied (Chicago Statistical Abstract, 1984:173). The decision not to invest in property maintenance is a reflection of historical stereotypic views held by many whites regarding blacks. That is, property values decrease

because blacks do not take care of property (Molotch, 1972:44). Along with the refusal by landlords to maintain their property, there was a concomitant exodus of owners. In 1960, 21.1% of the housing stock was owner occupied, compared to 17.7% by 1980 (Local Community Fact Book, 1984:117). White flight, transient rentals, and residents using governmental subsidies for rents, compounded the deterioration the South Shore community was experiencing (Taub, Taylor, and Dunham, 1984:53).

This assessment is based on the fact that properties in the South Shore community are structurally sound (Molotch, 1972:9). Further, the question of demolishing the housing stock never surfaced. The negative attitude held by landlords and business owners, along with their lack of maintenance, was exacerbated by the South Shore Country Club's threat to demolish its facilities. The gravity of these actions created a domino effect. The racial composition went from 89.6% white in 1960 to 95% black in 1980, educational facilities became overcrowded and in need of maintenance, the South Shore Bank attempted to leave the community, and the South Shore commuter line tried to eliminate service to the community.

By 1980, with persistent efforts by the South Shore Commission and the neighborhood residents, the South Shore Community's conditions began to improve. Confidence in the community increased as did investments. "The city ...

announced a program to improve conditions along one of South Shore's shopping strips ... the South Shore Bank ... announced the start of a 25 million dollar housing rehabilitation project..." (Taub, Taylor, and Dunham, 1984:75).

Given the revitalization efforts in the community, TNI and the community residents had hoped that the CREW program would provide an opportunity for employment and training for the youth in the area as well as assist the community with much needed low cost rehabilitation. This hope was based on a housing vacancy in 1980 of approximately 3,000 units and on youth unemployment statistics; and the hope was somewhat well-founded.

The Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works program is involved in rehabilitation projects in the South Shore community. As of 1983, according to the former TNI president, TNI had completed rehabilitation of two buildings containing 33 apartments. In 1986, with CREW's assistance, a 16 apartment building on 71st and Merrill Avenue was completely rehabilitated.

#### The Neighborhood Institute and the South Shore Bank

The Neighborhood Institute (TNI) is a non-profit development organization located in the South Shore Bank building at 71st and Jeffery Boulevard. A white paper prepared by the Woodstock Institute (1979:13), a private agency which concentrates on community revitalization and

reinvestment, indicates that The Neighborhood Institute is:

... established to engage in various community welfare activities which can improve the quality of life in South Shore thereby making the community a more attractive place for personal and institutional investment. One of its major responsibilities is to insure that low and moderate income persons currently residing in South Shore are the beneficiaries, rather than the victims, of the neighborhood revitalization stimulated by the bank [the South Shore Bank] and INDC [Illinois Neighborhood Development Company].

TNI demonstrates its commitment by providing programs and projects which focus on community development. Their primary thrust is in three areas: housing, economic development initiatives, and employment and training. The aim of each of these areas is the human capital/self-help approach, using the residents' skills and talents, which also gave birth to CREW. In order to improve the housing problem, TNI provides technical assistance to community residents such as seminars on all areas of housing development, ownership, management, energy conservation, rehabilitation, loan packaging, and a list of contractors. TNI utilizes the CREW program whenever possible to provide carpentry and rehabilitation services to buildings owned by them.

The South Shore Recycling Center is one of the economic development initiatives operated by TNI. In addition to providing some jobs for the residents it encourages community "clean-up". TNI indicated that residents must help themselves and invest time and effort to improve the quality of life in their community.

The Energy Loan Program, a joint effort with the City of Chicago and People Gas Company, utilizes TNI as the local agency in South Shore. This program delivers financial and technical assistance to owners of homes and buildings who wish to reduce energy costs, by such activities as insulating your windows, and installing storm windows and doors. The CREW program was allowed to provide some weatherization for buildings TNI owned.

Additionally, The Neighborhood Institute continues its efforts to attract businesses to the community. Among the incentives offered are joint ventures. TNI is having some success. Two businesses have located in the community and a major developer has begun construction of a mini-shopping mall. According to the CREW administrator, TNI had hoped that CREW would be able to work with the development company in the construction of the mall, however, CREW has severed its relationship with the carpenters union and the Washburne Trade School. Yet, he said that CREW is hoping to negotiate an arrangement with the construction company to sponsor its students. Their sponsorship would give CREW graduates carpentry apprenticeship status and allow them to work in construction.

Although The Neighborhood Institute is a community based organization, it is affected by the same political constraints as other organizations and communities. The politicians and the money lenders determine, to a great



extent, the direction and feasibility of projects. In other words, if they feel it is sound investment and/or a political asset then the machinery will be put in motion to make the project a reality. That sound investment can mean jobs for residents in the community.

The Neighborhood Institute provides a variety of employment and training programs for adults and youth. These programs are housed in the CAREER EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT CENTER (CEEC), located at 1750 East 71st Street. In addition to adult basic skills, clerical training and education, and vocational counselling, the center also offers:

**PAR (Placement and Retention)** - a program which assists residents who are unemployed or underemployed by providing job referrals, resume writing, and other appropriate job readiness skills.

**TRY-OUT EMPLOYMENT (TOE)** - a program geared towards in-school youth between the ages of 16 and 21 years old which teaches youth how to apply for employment and job referrals.

**WORD PROCESSING** - teaches word processing skills to participants and offers job services.

**GENERAL EDUCATION DIPLOMA (GED)** - offers classes for youth and adults who wish to acquire a high school diploma.

**COMMUNITY REHABILITATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL MAINTENANCE WORKS (CREW)** - trains economically disadvantaged unemployed youth and adults (16-26 years old) for entry into apprenticeship programs in carpentry.

TNI and South Shore Bank are both subsidiaries of the Illinois Neighborhood Development Corporation, the holding company for the bank. Since both of these entities are

housed in and service the South Shore community, the establishment of a cooperative, social and economic rehabilitation effort in the community is a natural venture.

South Shore Bank's primary responsibility is to ensure that financial assistance is provided to businesses, residents, and community organizations. The former president of TNI says that, TNI's primary responsibility is to "serve as a catalyst in the development and maintenance of effective social and economic development programs in South Shore." Accordingly, all of TNI's efforts, as previously outlined, are essential to the revitalization and improvement of the quality of life, both socially and economically, in the South Shore community.

While South Shore Bank now plays a prominent role in the stabilization of the community, it, too, had sought to leave. In 1970, when area businesses were disinvesting, the South Shore Bank petitioned the Federal Reserve Board to move. The South Shore Commission along with community residents organized and prevailed upon the Federal Reserve Board to deny the bank's petition. In 1972, the petition was denied by the Comptroller of Currency. By 1973, a group of minority investors and lenders from the Hyde Park-Kenwood area bought the bank. To date the bank is viable and vital to the South Shore community.

#### The Carpenter's Union and the AFL/CIO

The Chicago District Council of Carpenters Apprentice

and Trainee Program (union) is a local affiliate of the American Federation of Labor/Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL/CIO). This is the union with which the CREW program developed an agreement to test and secure placement for CREW participants in Washburne Trade School's carpentry apprenticeship program.<sup>1</sup>

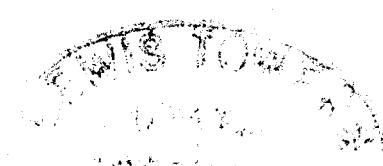
The attainment of academic and occupational skills in carpentry is important, but the ability to translate those skills into certification and subsequently a good paying job is essential. According to most of the CREW participants interviewed, the primary goal is to get a union card, begin apprenticeship training at the Washburne Trade School, and ultimately become a journeyman carpenter. The acquisition of this certification, however, is not as simple as it may seem. The academic and occupational skills acquired by CREW students were not sufficient to help them pass the examination to qualify for union certification. The reality for CREW students was, that from 1980 to 1986, only nine of the 48 graduates were admitted to the Washburne Trade School carpentry apprenticeship program, and thus received union cards.

No real commitment to CREW was evidenced by the union. The complaints expressed by the union coordinator were trivial and used as an excuse not to assist the program. He said that the carpentry instructors were unable to do "professional" work and expressed disdain for CREW students

because they did not come from a "good environment" like the regular students he admits to pre-apprenticeship programs. Additionally, he said community based programs, such as CREW, are programs used to keep youth off the street because they were "not capable of teaching carpentry like it should be taught."

From the inception of labor unions in the early 19th century to December 1886, when Samuel Gompers was elected president of the newly established American Federation of Labor, there were many other unions representing different crafts such as metal workers, carpenters, plumbers, and the like. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was organized to bring all of these trades under one "federation" and provide union autonomy (Taft, 1970).

Members of labor unions, a century ago as well as today, saw the mission of the unions as one devoted to job security, safety, arbitration, and other labor/management concerns. However, they have always had another purpose, no less important than the economic one, but one which involves social conditions and justice. That purpose includes housing, education, and the general welfare of the people. Some priorities have shifted over the years, but, according to the Chicago District Council of Carpenter's Apprentice and Trainee Program union coordinator, "The carpenter's union takes care of all its members' needs ... we are a family oriented union."



The concept of a "family oriented union" takes into account the history of union membership. Hill's (1985) research on the interrelationship between unions and ethnic groups shows that by 1900, of the 110 unions in the American Federation of Labor, 50 were headed by Irish males. He maintains that over the years these practices have continued and protected jobs for white males while excluding black men, women, and other minorities. Hill sees the construction unions as the most entrenched in their efforts to maintain dominance over the industry. Silver (1986:118), in support of Hill's argument, states, "... discrimination in the building and construction industry is institutionalized to the extent that opportunities for initial access and employment are channeled through structured microsocial networks." In other words, if you are not a white male ethnic, with friends in the industry, the possibility of entry into the union is made extremely difficult.

Although the CREW instructors are journeymen carpenters, they are having a difficult time assisting the CREW graduates in their effort to obtain apprenticeship positions with construction companies. The instructors are black males with marginal social connections in the construction industry. That is, they know a few developers and construction foremen but they are not close friends. According to one carpentry instructor, "we try as much as we

can to get our folks jobs but its hard. The union is supposed to help us but they don't. The construction companies downtown are tied into the union. So, we still have to look to the union for help. At this point, its not working out for us."

Many societal changes have occurred since the early 1900's. Women are able to purchase housing and work on construction projects, children are required to attend school, and the majority of Americans enjoy a higher standard of living. While these changes may be significant compared to 50 years ago, they have not brought parity to women and blacks in our society. For example, women are able to work on construction projects, but to what extent and at what cost to their dignity and mental health; the quality of education for blacks and minorities is questionable; and the standard of living for some, given the wage gap between whites and blacks, leaves much to be desired. Unions and politics, have, in many ways, exacerbated the problems and relationships between blacks and whites, in construction and education. The trade unions have shown a strong propensity, over the years, to deny equal access to membership in the organization.

The government gave the trade unions a tremendous boost in the 1930's when the Wagner Act of 1935 allowed them to collectively bargain with management. Under the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 the trade unions were able to

expand their power and membership by entering agreements with industries and "legally" demand that all employees become union members as a requirement of employment. This alone increased union membership from 4 million in 1934 to over 15 million by 1942. However, in 1975 membership began to decrease. This decrease was due, in part, to the economy and the way workers were beginning to feel about unions and their inability to obtain the kind of benefits which the workers were accustomed to getting (Carson, 1982:121-138). Plant closings and sectoral shifts also caused a decrease in membership. Consequently, labor unions are seeking to stem the tide of member losses by trying to attract managers, clerical staff, and paraprofessionals.

Like their parent organization, the AFL/CIO, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America experienced a membership decline (Gifford, 1985:51). In spite of the need to increase union membership, the historically strong white male domination of trade unions and their attitude toward minorities, precluded any significant increase in black, minority, and female membership. As of 1983, only 6.6% of the construction tradesmen were black while 1.8% were women (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1985:402-403).

Even so, the economic problems in the 1970's and 1980's of unemployment, underemployment, plant closings and/or moving to the sunbelt areas or overseas, two-tier wage structuring, and the like, began to affect the membership

and influence of the unions. The ripple effect of these conditions has been restructured benefits as well as lower wages, and mostly new jobs for which industries are now hiring and retraining certain workers. These jobs include computerized machinery and robots. Pre-fabricated housing, framed sections assembled in a factory and shipped to worksites, influences employment in the construction industry. Traditionally, these conditions impacted blacks and other minorities to a greater extent than whites, but whites are being affected as never before.

Historically, blacks have been denied admission into the building trades. Hill (1977) discussed the problems blacks encountered, as far back as the 1920's, when blacks tried to obtain employment, job training, and admission into the unions. Even though blacks were able to pass the required examinations, they were not able to obtain a union card.

Racial discrimination against blacks was most pervasive during World War II, despite the need for manpower. However, as Hill (1977:235) noted in his article on the construction industry:

Early in their attempt to regulate manpower supply during World War II, federal agencies such as the Office of Production Management signed 'stabilization agreements' with many craft unions in the construction industry. The government thus became a party to a series of closed-shop contracts with AFL affiliated unions that denied union membership and jobs to Negro workers. Since government-sponsored projects were the primary source of work in the construction industry during the war, Negro craftsmen in the building trades



suffered widespread unemployment and underemployment while there was full employment at unprecedentedly high wages for white workers.

The vast amount of overtime available for whites and their ability to bring family members into the trades exacerbated the already strained racial tension between the blacks and whites in the construction industry.

In 1955, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL/CIO) merged. The AFL/CIO and the workers felt that the merger of these two strong unions would bode well for them in terms of benefits and a more militant stance with the large corporation. Blacks began to feel that "our time has come" with this merger, and the discriminatory practices which they had suffered for so long would soon subside. But those companies that had government contracts refused to hire blacks in the construction trades. Using their support of the Civil Rights Act and Title VII as "proof" of their non-discriminatory practice, "the AFL/CIO in 1955 adopted an Ethical Practices Code and established an Ethical Practices Committee. The Committee's last meeting of record was in December 1959" (Hill, 1982:11).

Discrimination against blacks and women in the building trades continued into the 1960's and "One of the interesting facts of such discrimination is that it has occurred under the close surveillance of federal and local governments. Lucrative government contracts have sustained many

employers" (Rowan and Brudno, 1972:394). Only after much uproar and organizational confrontation with the government did the Department of Labor begin to address the issue of discrimination against blacks in the construction industry. Two plans, the Philadelphia Plan and the Washington Plan, were developed to assure blacks equal employment opportunities on construction sites which were federally funded or received any federal funds. Any noncompliance with these hometown plans would cause the government to forfeit funds allocated to the construction company (Rowan and Brudno, 1972).

Rowan and Brudno's (1972) study indicates the success of the hometown plans was minimal because the government was not truly interested and there was no monitoring of the projects to assure that employment goals were being met. In a 1979 report, The General Accounting Office, stated that it visited seven cities to ascertain the number of minority journeymen in construction craft unions. It found that from 1972 to 1976, in the 11 locals visited, there was only a 0.9% increase in minority journeymen and a 2.1% increase for apprentices (Comptroller General's Report to Congress, 1979:7).

According to the President of the Allied Workers International Construction Union (a black organized union) and the director of the Coalition for United Community Action, a pre-apprenticeship construction training program,

by 1988 approximately 15% of all journeymen construction workers were minorities. The coordinator of the Black Contractors United, a coalition of black and hispanic construction companies, concurs with this assessment but indicates that the small number of minorities in construction "still leaves a lot to be desired."

The Chicago District Council of Carpenters (union) works with the Washburne Trade School to coordinate entry of pre-apprenticeship carpenters. According to the CREW administrator, both the union and Washburne have been a source of consternation between the Board of Education and many community organizations. These strained relationships are, according to the CREW administrator, ongoing because of Washburne's poor record relative to entry, retention, and most importantly, graduation of minority students.

Washburne Trade School: Private or Public?

The Washburne Trade School is a Chicago Board of Education post-secondary apprenticeship and trade training school. It was founded in 1909 and is located on the near southwest side of Chicago. Washburne Trade School teaches skilled trades to youth who have, in most cases, completed their high school education or have a general education diploma (GED). There are two types of programs of instruction at Washburne Trade School. One program is called trade training, which includes: chef's training, upholstery, and vending machine repair. Trade training is

available to Chicago residents only. Students enrolled in the trade training programs are taught all of their skills at the Washburne Trade School. The training may take from six months to one year and students are not employed during that period (Carew and Preston, 1984:36-37).

The other program, the apprenticeship training program includes: plumbing, carpentry, and electrical work. This program, in contrast to the trade training program, is available to any Chicago metropolitan area resident. Students are usually enrolled in these programs for about four years. This difference in residential requirements may be due to the fact that Joint Apprenticeship Committees (JACs) and the Chicago Board of Education contribute to the Washburne Trade School. JACs are made up of contractors and unions. "In 1984, the Chicago Board of Education budgeted \$5.1 million ... Joint Apprenticeship Committees donated up to \$3 million, including supplies and in-kind services" (Carew and Preston, 1984:37-38).

Enrollees in the apprenticeship training programs spend at least one day per week at Washburne Trade School and four days at a job site. Apprentices receive on-the-job pay which is about 60% of the prevailing wages for journeymen. In 1987, a carpenter journeyman earned \$23.00 per hour. One of the carpentry instructors said that frequently, students wait from two to three years before they are called from the waiting list to begin their apprenticeship training, and by

that time many have transferred to other schools or have chosen other areas of interest.

The Washburne Trade School also admits students through pre-apprenticeship programs, such as CREW. The primary task of these programs is to prepare blacks, women, and other minorities for admittance to the Washburne Trade School.

The thrust of pre-apprenticeship programs is to provide tutoring in mathematics and reading comprehension in preparation for the entrance examination. The acceptable pass score is known only to the union coordinator. The CREW administrator expressed his displeasure at not receiving the examination grades. However, the union coordinator felt that it was not necessary to share the examination with CREW, and said that:

We really don't get into talking about the grades and levels to the instructors because the most important thing is that the carpenter is prepared.... These trainees that come around in these community programs, they don't have the same background that we give to the applicant, the ones that we [union] recruit through the normal procedures and ... like there was an aptitude test and then we create a pool and we select 80 and they start at Washburne for 12 weeks. During that time, in the 12 weeks, they get a good variety of carpentry, blueprint reading, and tools. In mean its a crash course in three months.... It is important to know the three basic reasons for carpentry, 1) mathematics, 2) the ability to reason, and 3) the layout. We teach that here [Washburne].

In order to restructure the curricula of a program and enhance the possibility of participants reaching the goals set for the program and students, one must continually evaluate the program. The CREW carpentry instructors feel

that it is impossible to improve the pass rate of their students unless the union coordinator shares with them the examination scores for CREW students. The test results are not given to the students in the program or sent to the program administrator.

Although minority enrollees increased from 18.2% in 1977 to 27.3% in 1983, Washburne Trade School was seen as a school excluding blacks, women, and other minorities (Carew and Preston, 1984:49). This feeling of discrimination mirrors the attitudes and history of the labor unions since the 1900's. The CREW administrator said that Washburne reacted to the pressures of community organizations and the federal government regarding admission of minorities and females by requiring all admittees, as of 1980, to have a high school diploma or GED. In his view, this requirement was another barrier to many disadvantaged youth which allowed the union coordinator to expand his recruitment to the suburban areas. The union coordinator believed that youth from pre-apprenticeship programs were different from other youth admitted to Washburne:

The difference between the people [CREW participants] out of the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training ... you must come from a disadvantage [sic]. You have to come from a family that have the income from a certain amount [sic], if they [CREW] accept him in this program to be trained under federal funds. Whereas, I deal with a high school graduate, from anywhere in the system. It might be a suburban family. You find mostly these people [CREW participants] that go through these programs are dropouts. But under the Mayor's Office, if they [CREW participants] do come into that program for a year, the Mayor's Office demands a GED

[before they graduate]. These [CREW] carpenter instructors, they are not professional teachers. That's number one... its a disability. They [CREW instructors] don't have the finesse to teach mathematics. We have certified [Board of Education] teachers at Washburne and they know the theory as well as the practical.

The union coordinator defines "professional teacher" as having academic training (a college degree), and the ability to teach the students reading and mathematical skills necessary to pass the examination to become apprentice carpenters.

The use of the phrase "professional teachers" is significant because it has a different meaning for the union coordinator and participants.

The participants, by contrast, define "professional teachers" as persons who are role models -- those who respect themselves and the students. Such persons refrain from using vulgar language and use their talents to teach them the (carpentry) trade. "Professional teachers" were also viewed as mature individuals who are diligent about their work, fair in their treatment of students, and secure enough not to behave as if they were one of the students.

In a 1986 Briefing Paper to Chicago Urban League's (CUL) Board of Directors, one of the problems found was the way in which Washburne uses the enrollment data to conceal what CUL perceives to be the facts. For example, CUL data show that there was an increase in the percentage of minority students enrolled in apprenticeship training

programs. In 1977, blacks accounted for 10.4% of the enrollees compared to 17.9% in 1983 (Carew and Preston, 1984:49). However, according to the Briefing Paper, there actually was a decrease; this "contradiction results from a precipitous decrease in student populations, rather than reflecting successful efforts on the part of the institution to increase enrollment" (Chicago Urban League, 1986:5). The numerical count of 210 black enrollees in 1977 compared to 193 in 1983, substantiates CUL's concern about the use of data (Carew, 1984:49). This concern, according to CREW administrator, has been expressed at Chicago Board of Education meetings by several community based organizations.

The question of whether the Chicago Board of Education "truly" has jurisdiction over the Washburne Trade School since it is "supposed to be" a part of the Chicago school system, remains unanswered. Seemingly, the unions are powerful enough to threaten the Board of Education by saying they will pull out of the system and move to the suburbs. The second question is, what will minorities and females do if the unions made good their threat? Other trades have left the Washburne Trade School and it is conceivable that more will follow.

On the other hand, Marciniak (1986) found that the Washburne Trade School has received high marks for its "excellent training." He notes that, because of the uniqueness of Washburne, some misunderstand the relationship



between the Joint Apprenticeship Committees, and the Chicago Board of Education, and the federal government. Although there are some allegations of racism and sexism against Washburne, reports submitted by the Chicago Board of Education indicate that enrollment of minorities has increased from 373 (11%) in 1970 to 460 (24%) in 1985. This increase is, notes Marciniak, "... a substantially higher proportion than the national average." The report further shows a 32% minority enrollment in the carpentry program at Washburne Trade School (Marciniak, 1986:25-29).

In spite of the difference in enrollment data reported by the Chicago Urban League and Marciniak, the fact that minorities and women are underrepresented in the construction industry cannot be overlooked. Enrollment in apprenticeship programs is quite different from graduation. Graduation is a better barometer of a commitment to minorities and women in construction.

### Conclusion

The coalition which developed CREW has experienced a great deal of difficulty in maintaining their relationship. The Neighborhood Institute and the bank continue to enjoy a good working relationship and have supported each other in revitalizing the South Shore Community. One of their major accomplishment is the present construction of a mini-mall. However, smaller businesses have moved into the area and several buildings have been rehabilitated.

On the other hand, as discussed later, CREW's affiliation with the union has ceased. This situation has been problematic for CREW students since all construction, and most rehabilitation work, in Chicago requires union certification. It is difficult for blacks to get into the carpentry union unless they have completed the Washburne Trade School's training or have been sponsored by a construction company. Given the limited number of major minority construction companies in Chicago, the latter is not a viable option for blacks.

Presently, there is no effort to reestablish the collaboration between CREW and the union. The CREW administrator is optimistic about their plan to develop relationships with construction companies. It is hoped that these companies will allow CREW students to fulfill their apprenticeship training at their construction sites. Thus far, according to one of the instructors, only a few students have been accepted by a construction company. His feeling is that the construction companies would prefer to have students from Washburne and do not wish to antagonize the union.

Notes to Chapter 1 Section 2

1. The union's carpentry program, originally housed at the Washburne Trade School in Chicago moved to the suburban city of Elk Grove Village, Illinois in September 1987.

## CHAPTER II

### YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS AND LABOR MARKET THEORIES

#### Section 1: The Youth Labor Market

##### Introduction

Youth unemployment is a complex problem, and the solution is as complex and varied as the problem itself. Factors which impact upon youth unemployment range from specific structural barriers encountered by youth to discrimination and current economic conditions. Various theoretical concepts such as, human capital and dual labor market, have been used to uniform policies which different governmental administrators hoped would ameliorate youth unemployment. These policies have done little to reduce the scope of the problem. The Department of Labor's Manpower Report to the President, as valid today as it was when written in 1972, warns that:

High teenage unemployment, particularly among black youth, is one of the country's most critical manpower problems... The impact of unemployment on black youth is one of utmost urgency for the nation... The seriousness of such high proportions of youth (black) with job-finding problems can hardly be overstated... The level of unemployment among black youth is the highest reached in any year since information of this type was first collected in 1954... It was of course affected to some extent by the recent economic slowdown.

This warning is supported by the statistics on youth unemployment (Appendix 2.1). In 1975, for example, the

unemployment rate for black youth (16-19 years old) was 39.5% compared to 17.9% for white youth. For black youth (20-24 years old) the rate was 24.5% compared to 12.3% for white youth. By 1982 the unemployment rate for black youth (16-19 years old) was 48%, more than double that (20.4%) for white youth. For black youth 20-24 years old the rate was 30.6%, almost triple that (12.8%) for white youth.

Table 2.1

Unemployment Rates for Selected Years by Race and Age

Year	White		Black	
	16-19 years old	20-24 years old	16-19 years old	20-24 years old
1973	12.6		33.0	
1974	14.0		35.0	
1975	17.9	12.3	39.5	24.5
1976	16.9		39.2	
1977	15.4		41.1	
1978	13.9		38.7	
1979	14.0		36.5	
1980	15.5	9.9	38.5	23.6
1981	17.3	10.4	41.4	26.4
1982	20.4	12.8	48.0	30.6
1983	19.7	12.1	45.4	31.4
1986	15.6	8.7	40.2	24.5

Source: U.S. Dept. Commerce - Statistical Abstract of the United States 1984, 1987, 1988; Council of Economic Advisors, 1985:271.

Four years later, 1986, the unemployment rate for black youth (16-19 years old) was 39.3% nationally, 58.0% in Illinois, 59.5% in Chicago SMSA, and 61.1% in the City of Chicago. The rates for their white cohorts were 15.6%

nationally, 14.9% in Illinois, 12.0% in Chicago's SMSA, and 18.8% in the City of Chicago, respectively (U.S. Department of Labor, May 1987). For the same period, the estimated number of unemployed persons in Chicago's South Shore Community (where CREW is located) was 6,691 (17.3%), the second largest in the City (Table 2.2). According to the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training (MET), youth unemployment for 1988, in the South Shore area, is estimated to be around 43%.

Table 2.2

Chicago Community Areas With the Largest Estimated Number of Unemployed Persons

Community Area (Number)	Number Unemployed	Rate of Unemployment
Austin (25)	10,807	18.3
<b>SOUTH SHORE (43)</b>	<b>6,691</b>	<b>17.3</b>
West Englewood (67)	6,107	26.4
West Town (24)	5,449	14.5
Auburn Gresham (71)	5,413	17.3
North Lawndale (29)	5,373	26.2
South Lawndale (30)	5,373	18.0
Roseland (49)	5,132	17.8

Source: City of Chicago - Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, 1987.

While the overall unemployment rate (13.1%) for the City of Chicago has declined since 1983 (Table 2.3), the rate for the South Shore community's general population (Table 2.2) remains significantly higher (17.3%) than the city as a whole.

Table 2.3

Annual Average Unemployment in the City of Chicago

Year	Number Unemployed	Unemployment Rate
1983	218,000	16.8
1984	193,000	14.5
1985	203,000	14.7
1986	180,000	13.1

Source: City of Chicago - Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, 1987.

Labor market information data differ depending on the sources referenced and survey methodologies used. Despite these differences, all data support the conclusion that unemployment among black youth is disproportionately higher than among their white counterpart. Most of the data used in labor market studies are gathered by the Current Population Survey (CPS) and the National Longitudinal Surveys (NLS).

The Current Population Survey usually interviews the parents or heads of household, while the youth-based surveys, such as Health and Human Services surveys, National

Longitudinal Surveys, and National Crime Surveys, always interview the youth. This accounts for the differing estimates of youth employment in these and other official reports. Overall, the youth-based National Longitudinal Surveys tend to show a higher rate of labor force participation, employment and unemployment than do the non-youth based Current Population Surveys (U.S. Department of Labor, 1978:15-34).

One of the greatest deficiencies of both surveying groups is the failure to account for "discouraged workers" among their subjects. Discouraged workers are those who want to work but have given up looking because they have not been able to find jobs. The black youth population can be assumed to have a major number of discouraged workers as well as unemployed. Those who are unskilled, lack education, and are from poor families, are more likely to drop out of the labor market altogether. Over the past two years (1987-1988) 950,000 people are listed as discouraged workers (U.S. Department of Labor, 1988b:3).

Officially, the discouraged worker is not counted as unemployed (Hill, 1978). Because they are not counted in the labor market data, national, state and local policies and budget allocations cannot fully address all the needs of the labor force. For example, when programs are developed for job training, funds are allocated based on the official number of unemployed persons. If those persons who are



considered "discouraged workers" are not counted as unemployed, the loss of funds by the affected community can be devastating.

The successes achieved by some middle-class blacks in the labor market notwithstanding, the unemployment problem facing black youth remains chronic and the consequences cannot be overstated. Douglas Glasgow (1981) confirms in his book The Black Underclass, that future employment, economic and social mobility, and familial stability depend greatly upon the training, work experience, and exposure received at an early age. He says that chronic unemployment begins a "cycle of entrapment, these underclass men must have steady work, for employment not only provides money and its accompaniments ... but has much to do with building one's sense of self worth" (Glasgow, 1981:71-72).

#### Structural Barriers to Youth Employment

Many young people are unemployed, not because they do not want to work, but because of limited job opportunities. As Ryan (1971) points out in his book Blaming The Victim, society imposes systemic barriers to opportunities for those who are poor. This includes youth below the poverty level and the powerless. Gottlieb (1979:103) concurs and points out that institutions must change and assume some responsibility for the "training, employment and formal schooling" of our youth. This is significant because as of 1980, 16.8% of the families in Chicago were below the poverty

level. Of that total, 28.5% were black and 23.3% of the families in South Shore are below the poverty level, while 24.13% of South Shore's families are on welfare compared to only 8.34% in 1970 (City of Chicago, 1982).

Additionally, poor black youth compared to all white youth, are more affected by lack of employment in their formative years (Testa and Lawlor, 1985:33-43). Accordingly, Gottlieb advises that factors such as: "shrinking job opportunities; increased competition in job entry; a reluctance on the part of employers to hire the young, particularly those who have not completed high school, and those who are black ..." must be addressed (Gottlieb, 1979:103).

Labor market needs have changed over the years. According to William B. Johnston (1987), the demand for different skills will be on the rise by the close of the 20th century. He makes distinctions among the three levels of skills: high, medium, and low. High skill jobs are the province of professionals, including lawyers, engineers, teachers, and scientists. Medium skill jobs include sales workers, construction workers, secretaries, computer operators, and clerks. Low skill jobs include janitors, laborers, machine operators, and farmers. Alan Otten (1987:56) predicts that by the year 1995 low skill jobs will account for only 12% of the job growth and high skill jobs will account for 23% of the job growth, while the total job

growth rate for all jobs will be 15%. These predictions are somewhat supported by a 1987 University of Illinois white paper (Table 2.4). The construction industry alone accounted for a 5.7% decline in employment between 1986 and 1988. If this trend continues, the implication is that programs such as CREW will not do much good.

Table 2.4

Illinois Employment Projections Year-End Employment

(thousands)

	1986	1987	1988	% Change 1986-1988
Private non-farm	4,077	4,103	4,133	+1.4
Manufacturing	938	917	896	-4.5
Mining	23	21	21	-8.7
<b>CONSTRUCTION</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>-5.7</b>
Utilities and Transportation	268	265	262	-2.2
Finance	353	365	376	+6.5%
Wholesale and Retail Trade	343	349	356	+3.8
Services	1,129	1,161	1,196	+5.9%

Source: University of Illinois 1987 Illinois Economic Outlook. In Crain's Chicago Business, March 2, 1987.

According to a Chicago Tribune article by John McCarron (1987) the Great Lakes area is suffering a high proportion of

job losses with Chicago being a special problem area. "Chicago, the largest metropolitan area on the lakes, lost more manufacturing jobs, 269,000, than the second biggest loser, Detroit, which lost 99,000 'metal bending' jobs from 1979 to 1985" (McCarron, 1987:Section 4, p. 1). This amounted to a 32% decline in the available industrial jobs for the City of Chicago, according to the study. With a high unemployment rate of 13.1% in 1986 for Chicago compared to a lower overall unemployment rate of 8.1% for the State of Illinois, Their projections indicate that job opportunities will continue to decrease in Chicago compared to other parts of Illinois.

These labor market projections are important to this case study because they will have a significant effect on the job opportunities available to CREW participants. If the prediction for construction work is correct, that is, a 1% job growth by the year 2000, the outlook for CREW graduates will be dismal.

Changing labor market conditions always have an impact on youth, particularly black youth. The structure of local labor markets is antagonistic to young blacks seeking employment. Three factors which affect the number of jobs available to black youth according to Osterman (1980a:110), are:

- a decline in the availability of youth jobs,
- an increase in competition by other groups, and

- an increase in suburbanization of jobs.

Freeman and Wise (1982:7-8), generally concurring with Osterman, suggest that "the strength of the economy, broad demographic conditions, and partly, individual characteristics of the youth," affect the employability of youth.

Upon further review, other factors emerge. First, due to technology inevitable increase in high skill jobs, which by definition are inaccessible to youth as entry level workers. Second, there is increased competition among social groups for the jobs that are available. This hypothesis is particularly supported by studies regarding the entry and/or reentry of women in the workforce. Third, the relocation of many industries/firms to suburban areas poses a special hardship for city youth in general and black youth in particular, since most black youth reside in urban central cities. However, unemployment rates for black youth, even in the suburban areas, are more than twice the rates for white youth. The movement of industry from the Midwest/North to the Sunbelt obviously decreases the total number of available jobs.

According to an article in *The Chicago Reporter* by Ben Joravsky (June, 1982:2):

The suburbs displaced Chicago as the major employer in the metropolitan area. Between 1972 and 1978, the number of private sector employees in Chicago plummeted by 118,000 to 1.2 million, according to the Illinois Bureau of Unemployment Security. The number of employees in the suburbs, however, shot up by 229,000 to

about 1.3 million. At the same time, unemployment in some depressed inner city communities has skyrocketed as high as 28 percent.

Additionally, Commonwealth Edison Company's data reflects a 3.9% decline in industrial city customers from 95,000 in 1979 to 91,300 in 1982 with an 7.4% increase of suburban industrial customers from 135,000 in 1979 to 145,000 in 1982. This movement of industrial service can be interpreted as implications for increased job opportunities in the suburbs (Joravsky, 1982:2).

Further, the trend of industrial relocation leaves cities with a decreased tax base (which supports educational institutions), and a loss of blue-collar jobs. There has been a concomitant increase in white-collar jobs in Chicago for which white and black youth must compete. These jobs, however, usually require more education, skills, and work experience than black youth possess or have acquired.

Along with the relocation of industry to suburban areas, is the increase in residential construction in those areas. This trend further complicates the employment opportunities for black youth such as CREW participants. Many of these youth do not have, nor can they afford to purchase, an automobile to get to suburban jobs which are 20 to 30 miles from Chicago.

These labor market trends, both nationally and locally, have a greater effect on blacks in general, and black youth in particular, than on non-minority youth. Between 1990 and

1995, the rate of youth participation in the labor market is expected to increase. According to Fullerton (1985:22), "a greater proportion of the youth population is projected to be minority. To the extent that minorities live where there are fewer jobs, their participation or at least their chances of employment could be lower than one would expect, even if there are openings for youths elsewhere." In response to the perception of the problem stated, there have been initiatives such as self-help projects intended to equalize opportunities for minority youth. However, how skills are learned, and the necessity to validate skills, in some instances, have been impediments to those efforts. For example, carpentry is a skill which does not require formal training. However, in order to secure carpentry jobs in Chicago, one must be certified by the union before getting a union card. The union card is a prerequisite for working in the construction industry.

Governmental involvement, whether direct or indirect, in occupational licensing and/or certification, e.g. peddlers, carpenters, electricians, practical nurses, and taxi drivers, make it problematic for some who might work "hard enough" without this intervention (Sowell, 1983). The implications, in the case of this study for example, is that the carpenter's union can create a barrier to young blacks who may otherwise be able and willing to work. CREW graduates must take an examination before they can become apprentice

carpenters. The licensing examination for unionizing apprentice and journeymen carpenters, is developed, administered, and graded by the Carpenter's Union whose officers are predominately white males.

While "licensing allows occupational incumbents to maintain some control over labor skills" (Kalleberg, Wallace, and Althausser, 1981:659) usually those incumbents have tenure, are white, and males; they also have power. Sowell (1983) sees the licensing criterion as an economic barrier for some minorities who have the skills and would work hard, but for whatever reason are "not eligible" for certification. This licensing is a barrier for CREW graduates. But, the fact of the matter is that politics and the union's tradition, continue to have control over who is employed in the construction industry.

As a result of whites being gatekeepers for many licensing occupations as well as unions, minorities run a disproportionate risk of being denied opportunities when compared to whites. This unequal distribution of power, according to Geschwender (1977), results in racial stratification ... another form of social stratification.

Writing in 1977, Geschwender projected that the black movement (struggle for economic equality) would continue to expand so long as there remains racial stratification and an expanding economy. Comparative data on black and white youth unemployment reveal that the state of the economy has had



little or no impact on narrowing the gap between the two groups (Table 2.1).

The "economics of discrimination" in the labor market continues to be debated, specifically as it relates to minimum/sub-minimum wages for youth. Although secondary firms such as, fast food restaurants, retail stores, and small businesses, provide the bulk of the jobs for young black workers, there has been no collective agreement on what effect lower minimum wages would have on the rates of employment of black youth relative to white youth. The significant increase in youth unemployment over the past ten years has been argued by some to be caused by the minimum wage laws (Banfield, 1974; Sowell, 1983; et al.). They conclude that youth, and more importantly black youth, would benefit from a lower minimum wage because there would be "elasticity" in the economy, thereby, creating additional low-skilled jobs for which youth, particularly black youth, would be eligible. The minimum wage, according to the opponents, actually discriminates against youth, especially black youth, because they lack experience, skills, and in many cases, have received a poor education. However, they would be hireable at subminimum wages.

On the other hand, proponents of the minimum wage law (Hill, National Urban League researcher; Jordan, former President of the National Urban League, Levitan et al., 1980) believe that employers would not expand their firms but would

create competition between adults and youth for unskilled jobs. If a subminimum wage is imposed. In an analysis of working youth, Michael Borus (1983) found that approximately 60% of the youth 14-15 years old would be willing to accept lower wages, however, this "willingness to accept low minimum wages" diminished for 18-19 year old. Additionally, Borus found that although black youth tried to find certain types of jobs (washing dishes, factory work, cleaning, etc.), they were more willing to accept lower wages than white youth. "The probable effects of a two-tier minimum wage division of jobs between youths and adults and among youths and the question as to whether low-income youth would benefit cannot be ascertained from our data" (Borus, 1983:179).

The minimum wage debate continues even today. This wage, \$3.35 per hour, has not changed since 1981. In spite of the fact that the cost of living has increased since then, the conservative wing of the Republican Party and President Bush continue the political debate. They, like Banfield (1974) and Sowell (1983), feel that jobs will be lost if the minimum wage is increased. On the other hand, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, including Senator Kennedy, the Labor Committee Chairman, feels that an increased minimum wage will benefit the disadvantaged and minorities. This in effect will give this group increased buying power and help the economy.

Michael Reich looks at discrimination in the labor

market from a wage differential point of view. His econometric view suggests that "racial economic inequality" is more a function of the rich white capitalists as a class rather than whites in general. He concludes that, "... income distributions is determined by the conflictual exercise of power between workers and capitalists, and racism benefits capitalists while hurting most white workers" (Reich, 1981:310). In other words, if this society were not so prone to capitalism and racial inequality and conflict, the labor movement would be more effective and thus provide a more equitable wage structure. Racial inequality, according to Reich, has historical roots in that it has persisted over the years in spite of what seems to be more and better opportunities and an expanding economy. This discrimination not only prohibits upward/career mobility for the minority but no real benefits accrue to the majority group either. Given this perspective, it seems that most black youth, particularly the unskilled, cannot expect or hope to move into the mainstream of society (Reich, 1981).

Some employers are willing to pay higher wages and segregate their workers, or have what Becker (1965) argues is "a taste for discrimination," rather than have an integrated workplace whereby the expectation would be equal pay for equal work. For example, "... discriminating white employers ... would hire black workers only if they worked at lower wage than white worker ... Under employee "tastes for

discrimination," white workers would have to be paid a higher wage to work with black workers (Chiswick, 1985:27). This, in effect, creates an environment in which overt discrimination is not necessary.

### Social Barriers to Youth Employment

Freeman and Wise (1982:13) have analyzed the defacto disadvantaged situation of black youth in the job market in some detail. They wrote, "we find it implausible to explain the decreased employment in terms of discrimination of the traditional type, particularly in view of increased legal and other pressures placed on discriminators. Perhaps other factors having to do with social conditions in inner-city slums have worsened and have contributed to the weakened employment situation of blacks. No empirically verified explanation presently exists" (Freeman and Wise, 1982:13). Although direct overt discrimination may not be the cause of a black youth's unemployment, certain social and economic patterns may greatly affect their employability. Among them, historical and stereotypical perceptions by employers regarding the quality of schooling blacks receive compared to whites, the socialization process in the homes of blacks, and the continuing earnings gap between blacks and whites in general.

Historically, blacks have experienced instances of racism and discrimination. Therefore, there maybe an increased likelihood of lowered aspirations as children are

socialized in the home. A youth's expectations are more in line with what he/she may believe attainable. They may see alternative aspirations as only a dream.

While the black middle class population in the Chicago suburbs has increased by 85% and their home ownership has tripled (Larson, 1987:2), the fact that discrimination in housing and redlining for mortgage money is still prevalent means that most minority individual reside in central cities while jobs move to the suburbs.

In a 1984 study of trends in Illinois from 1970-2025, it is projected that County's population "will continue to decline as it did from 1970 to 1980", while the state's population and employment increases (State of Illinois, 1984). Further, Chicago's population is becoming increasingly black and hispanic. Detailed surveys and data support the "inequality/discrimination" thesis which indicates that black youth are impacted by discrimination in housing and education as well as employment (McCarron, 1987; Doeringer & Piore, 1972; Glasgow, 1981; Gordon et al., 1972; Williams and Kornblum, 1985).

For some youth, unemployment is due to family necessities, such as: caring for the family, ill health, keeping house, and attending to other home responsibilities. For all youth, the transitional period to adulthood could be useful for personal development in that it would allow them to gain experience in job search techniques and "adjust to

the realities of the labor market and make career choices" (Adams and Mangum, 1978).

The preponderance of evidence indicates that black youth want to work. In a survey conducted by the Department of Labor in 1979 (Employment and Earnings, January 1980), 27% of black youth (16-24 years old) compared to 18% of the white youth (16-24 years old) "want a job now." The survey further indicated that even though youth may "want a job now" some reasons for not looking for a job were: school attendance (57% white compared to 51% black); home responsibilities (13% white compared to 16% black); think cannot get job (8% white compared to 13% black). Borus' (1983) study corroborates these findings. Of the 3.5 million youth (16-22 years old) interviewed, 53% of the black youth stated that they were looking for work because they need money, and 52% desired full-time employment and 48% part-time employment (Borus, 1983:61-67).

A youth's feeling of discrimination may be a factor in his expectation of getting hired. Michael Borus' survey of 25.5 million youth (16-22 years old), on "Discrimination by Race or Nationality" found that 21% blacks, 18% hispanics, and 4% whites felt that discrimination by race or nationality had caused them employment problems (Borus, 1983:86-90).

Alienation, a feeling of estrangement or disconnection from society, is another factor experienced by youth, particularly among poor and minority youth, and especially

among those who have never held a job.

Additionally, family status is likely to determine the need for black youth to be employed. Low-income black youth are likely to live in poverty areas and likely to have parents who are not working or are underemployed. This family problem may necessitate an income for the youth to meet their needs as well as those of the family.

In the transitional period from youth to adulthood it is important to integrate responsibility as well as social supports, and to create an environment in which the young person's future can be both productive and meaningful. If youth are unable to acquire work experiences, they may develop a cynicism and estrangement from the system. The result could range from engaging in criminal activities to committing suicide. The likelihood of the former result is more prevalent among black youth while the latter is more prevalent among white youth (Testa and Lawlor:90).

Without the "connections" (networks) that many white youth enjoy, many black youth find themselves in inferior positions if there is a great deal of competition for scarce jobs. This in itself is another form of discrimination, whether contrived or inadvertent. When a youth seeks a job and does not have the "appropriate" introduction (contact) and is subsequently denied employment, the effect is not only an unemployed youth but one who may have a sense of hopelessness which may portend future social problems for the

youth and society. The whole matter of "connections" extends itself well into many jobs and professions where credentials are required. In other words, connections often serve to waive or facilitate the credentialing process.

In order for CREW graduates to obtain apprenticeship status, they had to be employed by a construction company four days a week while attending the Washburne Trade School one day per week. Many CREW graduates experienced difficulty getting jobs in construction because they lacked the connections to secure those jobs. Additionally, the union was not helpful in recommending them for jobs. According to the union coordinator, "it is up to the CREW program to help their students get jobs." These social barriers are analyzed by reviewing labor market literature.

Most labor market studies examine two theoretical approaches to understand the persistence of black youth unemployment. One is human capital and the other dual labor market.

#### Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory proposes to explain differential wages of the secondary and primary market and why primary sector workers are not terminated as readily as secondary sector workers. The former usually have more experience, more education, and can make a greater contribution to the firm. Hence, firms invest more to retain them for fear of losing them to the competition. Secondary sector workers, on

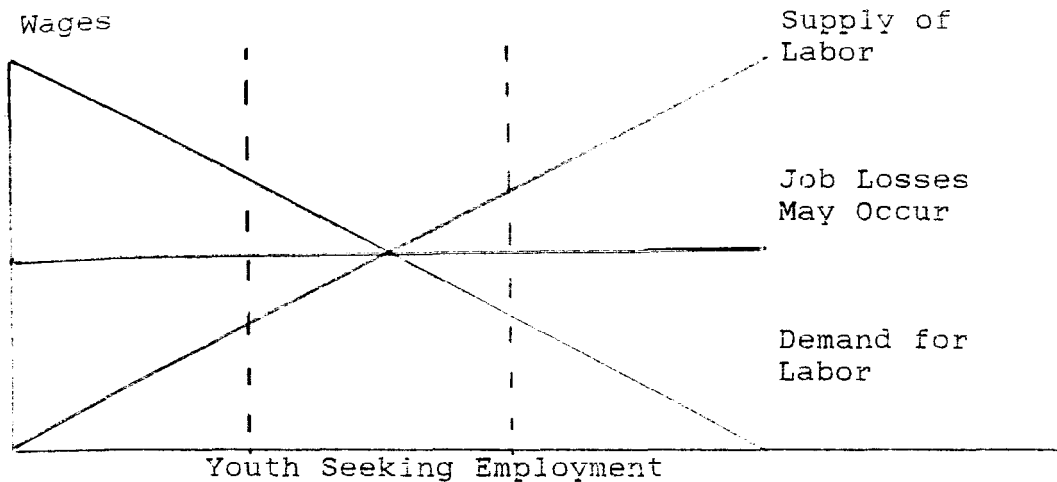


the other hand, are easily replaced.

Adam Smith wrote in 1776 that the labor an individual expends should be compensated with equal value as a return on his/her investment (Smith, 1965). As a result of Smith's insights into the economy and politics of nations over two hundred years ago, a whole theory of "human capital" has been developed. Economist Gary Becker, is a current developer of this theory. Becker wrote in his book, Human Capital (1975), that when people are investing in education, training, etc., they look to the future for a return on that investment. Those benefits may be a good job, health insurance, paid vacation, prestige, and higher wages.

Human capital theories treat youth unemployment as a phenomenon caused by the employees insufficiencies. With very few skills (human capital), the demand for their labor is very low. Therefore, as the number of youth seeking employment increases the demand for their labor decreases at the point where they intersect and may actually lose jobs (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1

Effect of Youth Seeking Employment

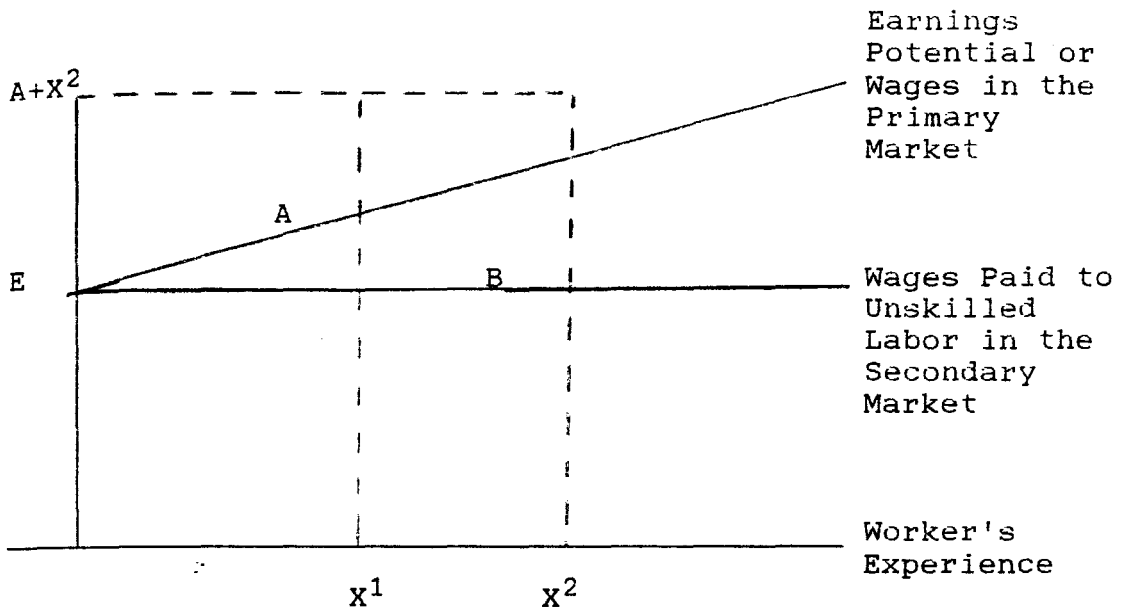
However, human capital theorists argue that youth should use the secondary market to minimize the cost of acquiring human capital. They can get experience and gain knowledge on the job without having to go to school, at least on a full time basis.

For other proponents of the human capital theory, the essence of maintenance and/or revitalization of the economy depends upon the level of investment that society, both in the public and private sectors, is willing to make in its human resources. According to Thurow (1969), workers who are unskilled or have low productivity receive wages and have working conditions commensurate with their human resources. The working conditions are: unstable employment, low wages, and menial jobs. However, the human capital literature indicates that over a span of time, an individual's

experiences increase thereby an increase in rewards should follow (Tuma, 1978). These rewards would normally manifest themselves in independence for the worker, because the worker is now able to take the skills they have acquired to the marketplace and negotiate for better wages and benefits.

As between primary sector and secondary sector workers there is a long term disparity between earning increases. As noted, in Figure 2.2, the wages of those people hired in the secondary sector (B), more than likely will remain flat (factoring in the cost of living and assuming they gain experience by staying with the company). However, the earning potential for a person hired in primary sector (A), at the same time as those in sector (B), increases significantly as that person gains experience and tenure on the job. Further, when workers in the primary sector gain this experience and tenure (A+XxX) they become even more valuable to the employer because they now provide the company with expertise and knowledge, and the company no longer has to invest in their training.

Figure 2.2

Earning Potential of Primary and Secondary Sectors

Because a job (whether employment or self-employment) is the means to independence in America, the human capital theorist embraces the notion of using low paying, low status jobs as steps to higher paying jobs. This experience would allow the worker to go to other firms and receive better wages and benefits because the firm would not have to invest in job training (Becker, 1975:25). The human capital theorist sees jobs in terms of their "potential value" to the worker, including the benefits of self-esteem and a sense of dignity which gives that worker some control over his/her social and economic life.

Thomas Sowell, an economist and political conservative, is a proponent of the Reagan (former President)

administration's policies of drastically reducing government intervention or welfare assistance. His position is that groups of minorities should use the skills and talents they have to increase their socio-economic status and not look to the government for maintenance programs. Sowell and Reagan believe that most of the former social programs, such as CETA, were detrimental to the advancement of the people they were intended to help. According to Reagan and Sowell, people must take advantage of their skills to help themselves and their families. Their philosophy is one of "pulling yourself up by your bootstrap" - without providing the boots.

In The Economics and Politics of Race, Sowell (1983:201) speaks to the issue of discrimination. Sowell identifies the overachievers' and the underachievers' human capital by the amount of "work" a particular group expends. According to Sowell, affirmative action has benefited blacks who really did not need it (specifically well-educated blacks) and firms who could be overly selective (in comparison to white selectivity in employment) in hiring only those blacks who have a "proven" track record, and degrees. He further states that:

While government pressures to hire from designated groups created an incentive for employers to include representatives of such groups among their employees, continuing government scrutiny of their subsequent pay, promotion, and discharge patterns made it especially risky to have employees from these groups who did not work out well.... More generally, the proportion of all black income going to the top fifth of blacks increased, while that going to each of the bottom three fifths all declined (p. 201).

Affirmative action laws and guidelines are not panaceas for solving the problems of youth unemployment and racism in the job market. Employers use laws and guidelines to their benefit, which in turn excludes those black youth who do not have a high school diploma or enough work experience.

Sowell agrees that discrimination and racism do exist, but, for him, what matters are economic skills and group cohesion. According to him, blacks have skills which are useful to the black community and it does not matter that much if other people, meaning the white establishment, do not acknowledge those skills. He feels that other ethnic groups have advanced from poverty to affluence, and blacks can do the same, even if they have to do so within their own community. Using one's culturally transmitted skills, such as farming, carpentry, painting, small business ownership, and sewing/tailoring, along with hard work and frugality, Sowell presumes, could make the difference in economic accomplishments for blacks (Sowell, 1983).

Sowell's views are echoed by Robert Hinckley (1981) who observed that the mood of the present national government does not recognize social programs as a priority. Rather, it prioritizes the need for people to help themselves. Therefore, Hinckley proposes black economic development via community development. His suggestions include skill development, rebuilding and renovation of the local community, local manufacturing of some items and materials,

and agricultural endeavors.

The call for black self-help is not a new idea. As far back as 1895, Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute (now University), advised the "Negro" to "cast down your bucket where you are" in reference to gaining economic security. Washington felt that industrial training, the primary mission of the Institute, was essential to becoming marketable in the labor force as well as in the community. Likewise, the black church, which has been and continues to be the mainstay of the black community, has always advocated self-help. However, as well meaning as Washington may have been, the political reality is that self-help is an incomplete approach to individual and community development, without public policies which ensure full equality of opportunity and "justice for all."

On the other hand, the liberal political ideologues take a centrist view of self-help. The contemporary call for black "self-help" by Rev. Jesse Jackson, President of the Rainbow Coalition, John Jacobs, President of the National Urban League, Marian Edelman, President of the Children's Defense Fund, and others, is somewhat different from Sowell's and Hinckley's. While the former argue against any government intervention, Jackson, Jacobs, and their colleagues, see self-help as an implementation of the human capital approach, with governmental assistance to disadvantaged minorities. They feel that because minorities

and the disadvantaged face complex and unique social and economic problems, programs such as affirmative action, educational development, and childcare, must be maintained and enhanced.

An implicit human capital theory was the impetus for many youth programs such as CREW. One purpose of the CREW program is to provide the participants with the education and skills necessary to get a "good" job. That is, one which provides good wage and benefits. It was hoped, according to the CREW administrator, that, "CREW students [would] learn a trade [carpentry] that [would] help them become self-sufficient and provide long-term employment; even if they have to be self-employed carpenters." Regrettably, this expectation was not realized. Most of the CREW participants did not receive the training and skills required to become carpenters. During the period 1980-1986, of the 92 CREW participants studied, 9.8% became carpenter apprentices. This represents 18.75% of the 48 graduates, during the same period.

CREW attempted to incorporate the self-help approach in its development. Nevertheless, according to the CREW administrator, the reality of factors such as racism and discrimination precluded their ability to implement the program in ways which would be most beneficial to its participants.



## Dual Labor Market Theory

Responding to the human capital theory that "skills" are essential to employment stability, DiPrete (1981:288) advances the notion that:

... relevance of this argument to minorities is diminished by two phenomena. The first is that, according to segmented labor market theories (e.g., Piore, 1975), competent performance is attainable in low-skilled jobs after such a brief period of training that employers essentially have no incentive to hold onto their workers. Secondly, minority workers find it harder to obtain high-quality jobs because of discrimination. These difficulties can multiply over their career.

The dual market/split labor theory defines the economy in terms of two distinct markets ... a primary sector and a secondary sector. The primary sector is where the elite and/or privileged workers participate in the labor force as doctors, lawyers, and computer technologists, for example. This labor market has job security, upward mobility, better wages, and relatively good working conditions. Additionally, workers who hold jobs in this sector are seen by most employers as having positive characteristics and personality traits such as; loyalty, trustworthiness, willingness to receive job training, and discipline.

On the other hand, the secondary sector is where most minorities, women and youth are employed. Jobs in this sector are found in factories, retail sales, and fast-food restaurants. This sector provides little job security, has low wages, no upward mobility, little or no job training, and poor working conditions. Most employers feel that workers in

the secondary sector are undisciplined, unreliable, have high rates of absenteeism, and a lot of turnover in most industries (Doeringer and Piore, 1975; Wachtel and Betsey, 1975).

Edna Bonacich (1972, 1976) emphasizes "ethnic antagonism" between blacks and whites (and more recently, women), in her interpretation of the split labor market theory. In her view split labor markets make a difference in the cost of labor between two or more groups of workers, holding constant their efficiency and productivity. She further suggests that there are not merely two groups of workers receiving differing wages for the same job, but that there are three key classes with conflicting interests which worsen the conflict: business, higher paid labor, and cheaper labor. Business "aims at having a cheap and docile labor force as possible to compete effectively with other businesses." Higher paid labor "is threatened by the introduction of cheaper labor into the market, fearing that it will either force them to leave the territory or reduce them to its level." Cheaper labor is used by the employer "partly to undermine the position of more expensive labor, through strikebreaking and undercutting" (Bonacich, 1972:547-559).

Bonacich uses the term "ethnic" rather than "racial" antagonism because she feels it is more inclusive and descriptive ... and "antagonism is chosen over terms like

prejudice and discrimination because it carries fewer moralistic or theoretical assumptions" plus, ethnic antagonism has occurred between members of the same race who represented different ethnic groups (Bonacich, 1972, 1976). Bonacich's theory however, does not address, to any significant degree, the role the employer plays relative in discrimination as compared to profit making. In many instances employers benefit from discrimination. Therefore, by remaining "silent" when there is friction between black and white workers, employers play a significant role in the perpetuation of unfair labor practices.

Former Secretary of Labor, Ray Marshall, stated in 1978 that in the competitive labor market many teenagers have high turnover jobs because of the attitude of the employer. This view is shared by those who contend that discrimination's "existence can be more easily concealed by employers faced with many more job seekers than needed" (Iden, August 1980:14).

The secondary sector of the economy is where most youth tend to receive their work experience. Examples of secondary firms are service stations, fast-food restaurants, retail stores, and factories. One finds most youth, blacks, and women employed in these firms sometimes as a result of employers prejudices and discrimination in the labor market (Wachtel & Betsey, 1975). Some of this may be due to the fact that the economy has changed, the increased influx of

women in the labor market, and the fact that many of the primary sector jobs have moved out of the urban areas where most of the women (who must work) and youth reside. Also, many blacks are disproportionately located in cities where there is little or no potential for jobs for which they qualify. Given these realities, it is expected that black youth will suffer a higher level of unemployment compared to white youth in the secondary sector of the economy (Osterman, 1980b).

Between 1981 and 1986, of the 92 CREW participants, 48 graduated while 44 terminated their connection with the program (voluntarily or involuntarily). Eighty-three of the 92 participants were unable to get jobs as carpenters because they did not meet union requirements. This is an important fact because these youth will, more than likely, find themselves in the secondary labor market. Lacking education and/or training, and union certification, CREW participants will probably find themselves in the very situation they hoped to avoid, jobs which do not have good benefits, good wages, and upward mobility. Additionally, since 92.4% of the participants are black, it is expected that they will suffer not only age discrimination but racism.

Section 2: A Brief History of Measures Employed to Solve the  
Problem of Youth Employment

Introduction

In the 1960's and 1970's some research raised concerns about the conditions of the poor and disenfranchised were used in the formation of manpower programs in the 1960's and 1970's. The works of Michael Harrington (The Other America, 1962), Edgar May (The Wasted Americans, 1964), and Oscar Lewis (The Culture of Poverty, 1965) were most notable.

Michael Harrington's study raised the question of conscience regarding the inability and/or unwillingness of the affluent to address the devastating condition of the poor in society. Harrington argued that the health and welfare of the poor, as well as their personal well-being, was affected by the lack of justice and full participation in our society. For him, the only way to provide an equitable standard of living for the poor was to have the will to do so and the total commitment of the federal government to allocate dollars to carry out the mandate.

Edgar May's research examined public welfare programs and the social worker, and the systemic barriers which kept these programs from being successful, particularly as they relate to children and needy families. May believed that the social worker in many ways was as trapped by the system as the welfare recipient. He said that the social worker was tied down by bureaucratic paperwork while the welfare

recipient was tied down by bureaucratic guidelines.

Lewis argued that there are many positive attributes of the poor, and these ought to be looked at in light of one's culture and how the poor see themselves in the scheme of things. The poor, according to Lewis, were trying to cope in a society which viewed them negatively and refuses to serve their needs. He felt that the government ought to focus more on the slum community in which people find themselves and not on the individuals.

On July 28, 1967, President Lyndon Johnson established the National Commission on Civil Disorders in reaction to the racial disorders which began in Newark and Detroit earlier that month. In 1968, the Kerner Commission (Commission), as it came to be known, in its investigation of civil disorders, provided clarity to some of the problems experienced by blacks relative to employment; namely, the drastic impact underemployment, unemployment, low status, and low pay, has on the black community (World News Digest Index, 1968). In many ways, this investigation supported the previous studies by Harrington, May, and Lewis, and provided an additional framework for social policies directed toward blacks.

The social ills which pervaded the black community, culminating in the "riots" that took place in the Watts section of Los Angeles in 1965, were in many ways the forerunner of the disorders of 1967. These "riots" were really a demonstration of the frustrations and alienation the

community of Watts felt toward the government.

The high rate of national unemployment, as shown in Table 2.5, was one of the concerns addressed by the Commission. It felt that employment was critical to the well-being of a person and his/her family. In order to address the employment problem as well as the problems of police/community relations, housing, education, and welfare, the Commission had to first explain what actually happened and why it happened. The Commission was then charged with the task of identifying measures to prevent such acts from recurring.

Table 2.5

Unemployment Rates from Selected Years by Age and Race

Age	Black				White			
	1954	1964	1969	1977	1954	1964	1969	1977
16-17	13.4	25.9	24.7	38.7	14.0	16.1	12.5	17.6
18-19	14.7	23.1	19.0	36.1	13.0	13.4	7.9	13.0
20-24	16.9	12.6	8.4	21.7	9.8	7.4	4.6	9.3

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Report of the President, 1982 and Employment and Earnings, January 1984.

The Commission found (World News Digest Index, 1968:80) that:

Disorder did not erupt as a result of a single 'triggering' or 'precipitating' incident. Instead, it was generated out of an increasingly disturbed social

atmosphere, in which typically a series of tension-heightening incidents over a period of weeks or months became linked in the minds of many in the Negro community with a shared network of underlying grievances. At some point in the mounting tension, a further incident in itself often routine-became the breaking point and the tension spilled over into violence.

Fear and rumor further exacerbated the tension between the police and the community, and lead to shootings and looting which otherwise may not have occurred.

In the World News Digest Index (1968:81) the question is raised, "Why Did It [civil disorders] Happen." These disorders had a lot to do with the long history of racism and segregation inflicted upon black people over many years. The Commission pin-pointed "three of the most bitter fruits of what racial attitudes" as:

- 1) Pervasive discrimination and segregation in employment and education and housing...
- 2) Black in-migration and white exodus have produced the massive and growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in major cities...
- 3) In the black ghettos segregation and poverty converge on the young to destroy opportunity and enforce failure. Crime, drug addiction, dependency on welfare, and bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular are the result.

Another question addressed in World News Digest Index (1968:82) was, "What Can Be Done [to prevent civil disorders]." The Commission acknowledged the fact that the conditions and problems which precipitated the riots were cumulative. In order for the community to work with the law enforcement agencies and stop civil disorders the Commission recommended several remedies:



- 1) City governments need new and more vital channels of communication to the residents of the ghetto;
- 2) they need to improve their capacity to respond effectively to community needs before they become community grievances; and
- 3) they need to provide opportunity for meaningful involvement of ghetto residents in shaping policies and programs which affect the community.

Ryan (1971) took issue with the Commission's report because of what he sees as a "blame the victim" ideology. He believed the recommendations proffered by the Commission did not get to the heart of the problems in the community namely, the lack of community control and unjust treatment by law enforcement agencies.

Twenty years following the Kerner Commission Report, this society is still plagued with racism and discrimination. This is not to minimize the post-report attainments of some minorities nor the effects of a changing economy, both positive and negative. But, the increasing number of poor minorities, blacks and women, represent a real dilemma for the system in terms of its inability or unwillingness to provide suitable employment opportunities. According to a "new Kerner report" (The Commission on the Cities, 1988), the problems of segregated housing and education, and loss of manufacturing jobs have had a devastating affect, particularly on Blacks and Hispanics. These factors, according to the report, have served to exacerbate other problems experienced by minorities and the poor.

Over the past two decades, various programs have attempted to address the specific problem of youth

unemployment. In the 1960's the "hue and cry" was for institutional reforms which would alleviate the socioeconomic problems experienced by youth. This period ushered in a plethora of programs under the War on Poverty umbrella. Programs such as Job Corps and The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) were an outgrowth of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The Jobs Corps, generally acknowledged as a successful training program (Taggart, 1980; Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, 1984), was established in 1964 to help some of the most disadvantaged youth, high school dropouts, most of whom were black, whose families had low incomes. The Jobs Corps was modeled after the Civilian Conservation Corps had (CCC) of 1933. The Civilian Conservation Corps provided employment for young unmarried men in national parks, helping with forest fires, planting trees and helping install telephone wires (Benenson, 1983).

### Jobs Corps

The Job Corps was a highly structured program which had a very high dropout rate. This high rate, according to some of the proponents of this program (Levitan, 1980; Sullivan et al., 1982; Taggart, 1980) was due to the fact that many of the youth who participated were undisciplined and had many family or personal problems which affected their ability to actually participate in such a rigorous program.

Even those who were favorable toward Jobs Corps, such as Whitney Young, former executive director of the National

Urban League, and Joseph Califano, special assistant to president Johnson, felt the program was too regimented, especially for those who should be in the program. Many disadvantaged youth, especially black youth, have never been away from home. To be in a situation which calls for strict supervision; over their time, work and bedtime hours, as well as when and what food was served, was not well received by youth who were not accustomed to such restrictions.

However, those youth who elected to remain were given a comprehensive and intensive program that included basic education, counselling, and skills training at residential centers in cities and rural areas.

The Jobs Corps increased its enrollment from 42,600 participants in 1970 to 48,900 in 1978. Most of the youth who enrolled in the program were high school dropouts. Thirty-eight percent had an arrest record, (National Commission for Employment Policy, 1979:158-165).

Retention for the CREW program was also problematic. While 47.8% of the enrollees in CREW dropped out of the program before completion, 46.7% were high school dropouts. Unlike Jobs Corps, a training program in residential centers, CREW is a pre-apprentice training program with no residential training centers. Job Corps had several positive outcomes such as "... increases in labor force participation, full-time employment and weekly earnings. Arrests are markedly reduced during and after participation" (Taggart, 1980:5).

In spite of the successes of Job Corps, conservative officials such as Congressman Russell Long (D-Louisiana) and Congressman John Byrnes (R-Wisconsin), felt that the program was too costly (\$10,253 per Corps participant) and that dollars allocated for youth employment could be spent more efficiently. These criticisms gave rise to the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) which incorporated Jobs Corps under a new umbrella, entitled -- CETA-IV programs for youth (Benenson, 1983:226). This consolidation enabled educational institutions to administer these programs and provide more academic support for training programs. President Nixon along with leaders from both parties, Senator Robert Taft, Jr. (Republican-Ohio) and Senator Gaylord Nelson (Democrat-Wisconsin), agreed that manpower programs needed to be better coordinated, provide job training programs, and allow for more state and local control (Orfield, 1986:37).

Since the Nixon years, the Jobs Corps is basically the same except reduced in scope. Though some centers in urban areas were added to accommodate city youth the total amount expended on the programs is relatively the same for 1988 (Goozner, 1988:6). In 1976, two significant training opportunities became available in the Job Corps: the inclusion of more women in training programs and greater collaboration and cooperation with unions in vocational training. Training centers became coeducational and offerings of nontraditional opportunities were made available

to women. The unions increased their program slots by 400 which had the effect of including women in the construction trades as trainees (U.S. Department of Labor, 1977:55-57). Even with the added incentives, as of 1988 the Job Corps is approximately 66% male. This imbalance is due to the fact that many of the eligible women need child care assistance in order to participate (Goozner, 1988:6). The CREW program was also affected, in its recruitment efforts by the lack of child care provisions.

An analysis of Job Corps by Benenson (1983:225) indicates that the Corps has been able to overcome a lot of criticism, "The concentration on underprivileged, unskilled, often troubled youths contributed to the high dropout rate, which in turn made doubters question the effectiveness of the program." However, Sullivan (1982:226) points out that, although the cost per participant was over \$10,000.00, had it not been for this program many young people may have turned to undesirable behavior and/or criminal acts.

Sullivan supports his premise by citing data from Job Corps officials which shown an "80% employment rate for those who participate in the program for a year or more, [and] 60% for those who stayed in less than three months" (Sullivan, 1982:229).

Bassi and Ashenfelter (1985) corroborated Sullivan's findings. Their research showed that Job Corps' participants who "stayed" in the program returned 96 cents for every

dollar extended, "if returns are defined as output during program participation, increased tax payments on postprogram income, reduced transfer payments less criminal activity, and reduced use of other federally provided services" (1985:14-15).

Bassi and Ashenfelter (1985:15) further state that:

The severity of employment programs among youth - especially blacks - has directed attention to the programs designed specifically for them, notably the Job Corps, which has been continuously in operation since 1965. Studies of it have found strong effects in increased employment and earnings, reduced welfare dependence, lower unemployment and criminal activity, and fewer out-of-wedlock births. Emerging results from the Youth Employment and Demonstration Act of 1977 also indicate the benefits of some interventions for youth.

Five years prior to the Bassi and Ashenfelter research,

Taggart (1980:5) concluded that:

... Job Corps enrollees experience statistically significant increases in labor force participation, full-time employment and weekly earnings. Arrests are markedly reduced during and after participation... Residential mobility for economic reasons is increased. Welfare and social insurance dependence declines. The current value of these benefits exceeds social costs under conservative methods of estimation. In other words, intensive relegation for youth is a profitable social investment.

For fiscal year 1976, Job Corps placement rate was approximately 92% (U.S. Department of Labor, 1977:15). That rate was 80% for fiscal year 1978. Placement statistics reflect those participants who remained in the program over 15 months (National Commission on Employment Policy, 1979:162).

Funds allocated for Job Corps have increased by 63%

since 1976 (in constant dollars), from \$140.6 million in 1976 to over \$225.6 million in 1986 (Orfield, 1986:69). The number of Job Corps slots allocated for youth have declined slightly, from 20,700 in 1976 to around 40,500 in 1987 (National Commission on Employment Policy, 1979:159; Goozner, 1988:6). Table 2.6 displays the increase in federal dollar allocations as well as the slots available and participants enrolled. However, the federal obligations in Table 2.6 are not adjusted for inflation.

According to the Accounting Office audits for fiscal year 1986, of the participants who remained in the program over six months, 84.8% had positive outcomes. That is, 72.7% got a job and 12.1% went on for additional training (Goozner, 1988).

In addition to the Job Corps, the federal government developed the Neighborhood Youth Corps to address the needs of youth in-school and out-of-school who, with some assistance will be able to remain in or return to school.

Table 2.6

Federal Obligations, Enrollment Opportunities and New Enrollees, FY 1970-78; Partial FY 1986-87

Fiscal Year	Federal Obligations (millions)	Enrollment Opportunities (thousands)	New Enrollees (thousands)
1970	169.8	21.7	42.6
1971	160.2	22.4	49.8
1972	202.2	24.0	49.0
1973	192.8	17.7	43.4
1974	149.6	20.9	45.6
1975	210.0	20.7	45.8
1976	134.0	20.7	43.4
1977	254.7	22.2	52.6
1978	376.5	22.2	48.9
1986	656.0	na	na
1987	690.0	na	na

Source: Employment and Training Report, selected years. In National Commission for Employment Policy (1979:159; Gozner, 1988:6).

Neighborhood Youth Corps

Varying from the Job Corps, a training program, is the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) which was primarily a work experience program. This program provided part-time and summer employment for in-school and out-of-school youth. Some of the objectives of the Neighborhood Youth Corps were to encourage youth to stay in school, to get dropouts to return to school and/or increase their employability by providing some work experience and supplementary income, and provide work-study grants for some poor college students. This program had three major areas of concentration: In-



School Work Experience which provided part-time work, at minimum wage, while students remained in school; Out-of-School Work Experience which provided employment for youth over 16 years of age who were not in school; and, Summer Work Experience which provided summer employment for youth during the summer months so that they would have something constructive to do, earn a little money, and, hopefully, return to school (National Commission for Employment Policy, 1979:146).

The amount of dollars allocated in 1967 for the In-School Program increased by over 30% from \$67.4 million to \$88.6 million in 1974. This occurred while the number of available opportunities declined 2.5% from 139,000 to 136,000 youth for the same years. Dollars allocated for the Out-of-School Program decreased by over 20%, from \$147.8 million in 1967 to \$113.7 million in fiscal year 1974. This occurred while the employment opportunities declined by 20% from 61,700 to 41,200 for the same years. Federal obligations from 1967 through 1978 varied greatly over the three youth programs (National Commission for Employment Policy, 1979:138). These dollar allocations are not adjusted for inflation and may reflect no real increase in expenditures.

The dollars allocated for summer youth programs increased by over 450%, from \$133.3 million in fiscal year 1967 to \$459.5 million in 1974. The number of first time enrollees increased by over 100% from 227,000 in fiscal year

1967 to 557,100 in fiscal year 1974 (National Commission for Employment Policy, 1979:143).

Taggart (1980) and the report of the National Commission for Employment Policy (1979) agree that there is value associated with participation in youth programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps. They feel that this value manifests itself after a participant has matured and had experiences in the world of work such as: punctuality, appropriate dress, employer/employee relations, income, and responsibility.

Adams and Magnum (1978:32-33), on the other hand, saw little value on the future employability of youth who participated in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. They felt that the income and structured activities would be beneficial in the short-term. But the long-term benefits that were lacking, were good jobs.

Concurring with Adams and Magnum, Ginzberg (1980:31) discovered that, "[T]here is surprisingly little evidence on the relative merits of different types of training programs." He concluded that the success of the Neighborhood Youth Corps was limited because improved earnings and employment were not realized in the long-term due to lack of skill training.

Gary Orfield (1986:25) found that the general view of the Neighborhood Youth Corps was that it was an ineffective program, particularly for minority youth who needed programs which could provide long-term as well as short-term benefits.

He cited the following studies to support his findings:

Robin (1969) found that part-time work disrupted the academic performance of some less able youth (Taggart, 1986). The Sommers and Stromsdorfer study found enrollees actually had less of a chance of graduating than did their controls.

The Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), signed into law in 1962, was originally designed to "provide institutional retraining for adult workers who had been displaced by technological advances or had not recovered from the severe 1960-61 recession" (Hill and Nixon, 1984:51). During the Nixon administration (1969) the President began to enact his "New Federalism" and the Manpower Development and Training Act was subsumed under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (Hill and Nixon, 1984:51-52).

#### Comprehensive Employment and Training Act

By 1973, the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps were placed under Title IV of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. Both programs are still operating but the work-study programs are administered mostly through educational institutions.

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), signed into law December 28, 1973, was the largest single program developed to assist economically disadvantaged, unemployed and underemployed persons. CETA was to decentralize many of the programs and use "prime sponsors" in local areas to implement programs.

Prime sponsors are agencies, usually local governments,

who assume responsibility for the allocation, monitoring, and evaluation of monies received by human service agencies and community based organizations who provided employment in their locale. There were seven entitlement programs in which the States could participate (Appendix 2.1). Titles I, II, III, and VI provide employment and training services for disadvantaged youth and adults, and persons with "limited English-speaking ability." Titles IV, V, and VII are the administrative provisions for the program.

The 1970's ushered in federal manpower programs, administered under the Youth Employment Demonstrations Projects Act (YEDPA) of CETA, which were designed to focus upon youth unemployment problems. Sullivan (1982:229-230) describes these programs as follows:

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAM (YETP) - a job training, remedial education and placement program. Another feature of this project was the support service, which were made available to participants to enhance their employability, such as; classroom training, general education development (GED) to qualify for high school equivalency certificate, and labor market information and placement.

YOUTH COMMUNITY CONSERVATION AND IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS (YCCIP) - a program which provided jobs on community rehabilitation projects, mainly to high school dropouts. This was an effort to coordinate job placement between the employment agency and the educational institution, and encourage dropouts to return to school.

YOUTH INCENTIVE ENTITLEMENT PILOT PROJECTS (YIEPP) - provide part-time employment during the school year and full-time employment in the summer, to encourage students to stay in school.

Many researchers (Bassi, 1983; Gilder, 1981; Orfield, 1986) saw CETA programs as "income transfer" programs which

had no demonstrable value. Lynton (1978) in his research on youth programs noted difficulties such as participants with negative behavior having a bad influence on other participants. This negative behavior, seen as unacceptable in the labor market, caused many employers to view the programs with suspicion.

Taggart (1980), a proponent of CETA, contends that well-run programs can produce good "outcomes." For example, learning to write a resume, an opportunity to improve one's interpersonal skills, understanding the importance of arriving at work on time, and learning to deal with supervision. These outcomes may not be measurable, Taggart stresses, but they do provide experience and income which will help improve the probability of employment over the years. His contention is supported by an evaluation report by the Center for Employment and Income Studies (1981). This report indicated a fairly substantive increase in employability for youth who had not been employed before they entered the program.

Although there were positive outcomes, such as, learning how to fill out applications, interacting with other employees and supervision, the long-term benefits associated with training and skill development were lacking. These "outcomes" did not include training and skill development which provide marketable skills geared toward future technological demands.

The Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects (YIEPP) program, which was subsumed under CETA, began in Spring 1978. Early findings disclosed that in 1978, 48.3% of the participants in YIEPP were employed most of their eligible time. This program was one of the youth programs which had some supervisors who were thoroughly trained and gave close supervision to the participants which was needed and may account for a high retention rate of participants on jobs (Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, 1979). Supporting Borus' (1983:74-78) research regarding youths wanting and willing to work, the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (1984) also found that disadvantaged, low-income youth want to work, and will accept employment at a minimum wage, even if there is a compulsory school attendance eligibility requirement to be in the YIEPP program.

Federal funding for the youth programs, Youth Community and Improvement Projects and Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects, increased from \$383 million in 1975 to \$1.86 billion in 1980 (Table 2.7). At the same time that there was an increase in budgeting for youth programs there was a decline in participation. Orfield (1986:105) suggests that increased EER's (entered employment rates) in 1978-79 may have something to do with the "relative economic expansion." He also suggests that when there are fewer trainees in the youth programs there is usually a higher rate of youth

entering employment. However, according to Orfield, some youth who graduate from training programs chose to return to school, go to the service, or enroll in another program rather than seek a job.

Table 2.7

Federal Expenditures, Number Participants, and Entered Employment Rates for Youth Programs

Year	Current Dollars (million)	Participants	Rate
1975	\$ 383	77,239	21.8
1976	475	99,944	19.6
1977	575	68,855	27.3
1978	1,195	62,632	42.0
1979	1,668	52,473	42.7
1980	1,860	51,923	31.5

Source: Gary Orfield (1986:66, 99).

Among the major complaints about President Nixon's programs of the 1970's were: that local governments were not allowed the flexibility necessary to gear training toward their local market; that there was too much red tape which hindered effective implementation; that programs lacked specific skill training; and that the programs were being abused by local and area politicians (Benenson, 1983:226-227).

Orfield's (1986:36-40) study also shows the mass confusion emanating from decentralization of the CETA program. That is, the uncoordinated methods of administering the employment programs statewide and the fact that some programs were funded directly from Washington, others received funding from the (former) Health, Education and Welfare Department or the Secretary of Labor. For example, "the laws allowed the Secretary of Labor to use his discretion in making changes concerning the distribution of money for programs, even in the middle of a fiscal year" (Orfield, 1986:37). These complaints and inconsistencies did not bode well for social programs by the 1980's when President Reagan was considering employment policies.

#### Job Training Partnership Act

The federal manpower programs of the 1970's, based on the aforementioned complaints and inconsistencies, were not seen by the new Reagan administration as acceptable and workable for the 1980's. For President Reagan, privatization was the most effective way to move the economy and provide employment for those who want jobs. This meant that every effort was made to involve the private sector at all levels from providing professional services, postal services, and prison service. This shift, according to Reagan, would remove excessive government regulation from the lives of Americans to the greatest extent possible. This strategy, in his estimation, would also reduce the cost and size of the



government and would allow people to be more responsible for their lives.

Nonetheless, politicians -- among them Senators Edward Kennedy (Democrat - Mass.) and Dan Quayle (Republican - Ind.) and Chicago area Democratic representatives Charles Hayes, Cardiss Collins, and Gus Savage -- wanted to retain some employment programs. This desire was based on first-hand knowledge of the plight of those affected most by unemployment and poverty. The latter represent districts with predominately minority constituents and with high unemployment. Accordingly, they drafted legislation which provided for input by the private sector. This new legislation brought into being the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). While there was some initial reluctance on the part of the Reagan administration to "continue a social program that had a debatable record, [it] later embraced and now extols the virtues of JTPA" (Benenson, 1983:227).

Unlike the earlier years of CETA during which budgeting increased about 500%, Federal funding for youth programs under the Reagan administration decreased by 225% (Table 2.8). According to Orfield (1986:73), these cuts will not affect everyone equally. Those who need and benefit most from the youth programs, poor youth with very high unemployment rates, will be most affected by the decline in funding for youth programs. The major emphasis of JTPA, along with private sector involvement, is limited training

for disadvantaged and income transfer for living expenses (Focus, 1984).

Table 2.8

Federal Expenditures, Number Participants, and Entered Employment Rates (EER) for Youth Programs

Year	Current Dollars (million)	Participants	EER Rate
1981	\$1,828	52,317	33.2
1982	1,097	47,813	38.0
1983	855	58,461	31.6
1984	688	14,707	64.2
1985	755	30,583	52.7
1986	775	N/A	N/A

Source: Gary Orfield (1986:66, 99).

The politics of youth programs demands that the number of positive outcomes, that is program graduates and job placements, must be commensurate with the dollars spent for those programs. The perception of what those acceptable numbers are, changes relative to the administration. However, the affect of a decrease in funding could result in "creaming." That is, accepting only those youth in the programs who have a high probability of retention and completion, in a "reasonable" time. This in effect, precludes those high risk youth from the opportunity to be

trained for long-term employment.

The Job Training Partnership Act's funding for support services, such as stipends, transportation, and day care, is limited to 15% of the total funding for JTPA. This also limits the number of poor who can participate and presents a special problem for women who have children and need or want to receive job training.

The positive aspect of the program -- vis-a-vis this research -- is that 40% of its efforts must be directed toward youth between the ages of 16 and 21 years old. Unlike CETA, JTPA has five titles which provide the basis for its implementation. Title I focuses on the administration of the program; Title II outlines the training requirements and allocates programmatic funds; Title III addresses the problems of dislocated workers by empowering the States, along with Private Industry Councils' input, to provide special programs; Title IV allocates funding and establishes criteria for federally administered programs, such as Jobs Corps, research, and evaluation; and, Title V explains amendments and other provisions related to training.

## CHAPTER III

### CREW - CASE STUDY DESIGN

#### Introduction

The Community Rehabilitation Environmental and Maintenance Works (CREW) program is located in the South Shore community of Chicago and has been in existence since 1980. It prepares young adults between the ages of 16 and 26 for admittance to an apprentice program in carpentry at the Washburne Trade School. It is one of several programs sponsored by The Neighborhood Institute, a subsidiary of the Illinois Neighborhood Development Corporation.

This study examines experiences of youth in CREW from 1980 to 1986. It examines those institutions which were directly or indirectly involved in the program's development and implementation.

The unit of analysis in this study is the program itself with particular attention to whether the program met its stated goal and objectives (Appendix 3.1).

A second area of investigation is on the relationship among the agencies that collaborated to design and help implement the project, i.e., the sponsoring community organization, the cooperating union, a neighborhood bank, and a public vocational school.

### Methodology

A bi-method case study approach was used to look at both the qualitative and quantitative data of this project.

One aspect of this case study was an in-depth and detailed search into the effectiveness of the CREW program using a qualitative approach. Program effectiveness was analyzed from the interviews submitted to by the participants, in which they freely expressed how they were affected by the program. Additionally, program effectiveness was analyzed from the interviews submitted to by those who administered, assisted, or otherwise affected the program in some way.

Another aspect of this case study was the use of objective measures to determine if the program met its goal and objectives regarding the number of participants admitted to the program, as well as the number receiving carpentry-related jobs upon completion. Compilation of these data resulted in a demographic profile of program participants.

The principal site for the research, begun in July 1985, was The Neighborhood Institute's Career Education and Employment Center (CEEC) at 7500 South Crandon Avenue (moved to 1750 East 71st Street in 1988), located in Chicago's South Shore community. This facility houses the CREW program along with several other programs for youth.

Data regarding CREW participants were obtained from a review of personnel records of those enrolled during the

period studied. The records contained information on age, sex, education, and race (Table 3.1). They also contained data on matriculation status, termination information (voluntary or involuntary), and on placement (Table 3.2).

Table 3.1

Profile of CREW Participants (At Program Entry)

	1980- 81	1981- 82	1982- 83	1983- 84	1984- 85	1985- 86	Percent Total of Total	
Participants	23	15	12	9	17	16	92	100
Sex: Male	19	13	10	9	16	11	78	84.8
Female	4	2	2	0	1	5	14	15.2
Age: 16-19	15	12	12	4	9	9	61	66.3
20-21	8	3	0	4	2	1	18	19.6
22-26	0	0	0	1	6	6	13	14.1
Education:								
H.S. Dropout	12	3	7	4	11	6	43	46.7
H.S. Graduate	9	12	5	5	5	10	46	50.0
Post H.S.	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	3.3
Race: Black	23	15	12	9	17	9	85	92.4
White	0	0	0	0	0	3/2	5	5.4
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	2/0	2	2.2

Source: Participant's Personnel File.

Interview Procedures

Initially, 37 calls were made to randomly selected participants. Among the results were: calls to numbers that were "no longer in service," participants moved but left no forwarding addresses or telephone numbers, and participants "unavailable." Some were repeat calls. Eight interviews

were conducted as a result of these calls.

The second effort consisted of sending 84 letters (Appendix 3.2) to program participants. This effort yielded positive responses from

Table 3.2

Status of Former Participants

	1980- 81 <sup>2</sup>	1981- 82	1982- 83	1983- 84	1984- 85	1985- 86 <sup>3</sup>	Total	Percent of Total	Percent of Total
Parti- cipants	23	15	12	9	17	16	92	100	100
Graduates: <sup>1</sup>	6	8	5	4	11	14	48	52.2	52.2
Employed in Field/ Washburne	4	1			4		9	18.8	9.
Employed in Field (Laborer)	1		1		5	5	12	25.0	13.
Employed in Related Field					1	1	3	6.3	3.3
Entered Other Program					1		1	2.9	1.
Unemployed						3	3	6.3	3.3
Status Unknown		7	3	4		5	19	39.6	20.7
Entered Service			1				1	2.9	1.1
Terminations	17	7	7	5	6	2	44	47.8	47.9
Employed in Related Field				4			4	9.1	4.3

Table 3.2 (continued)

	1980- 81 <sup>2</sup>	1981- 82	1982- 83	1983- 84	1984- 85	1985- 86 <sup>3</sup>	Total	Percent of Total
Entered College	1		2				3	6.8
Entered Other Program					1		1	2.3
Poor Attendance			1		1		2	4.5
Employed Refused to Continue					1		1	2.3
			2				2	4.5
Deceased	1						1	2.3
Medical				1	1		2	4.5
Entered Service		1					1	2.3
Family Care					2	1	3	6.8
Status Unknown	15						15	34.1
Did Not Meet Program Standards						1	1	2.3
Exceeded Monetary Limit		6	2				8	18.2

- Notes: 1. Must have H.S. diploma or GED to graduate.  
 2. 1980-81 program included.  
 3. Students did not take Washburne examination because of differences between the CREW program and the union coordinator. Subsequently, Washburne carpentry program has moved to the suburbs (June 1987) and severed their relationship with CREW as well as the Chicago Board of Education.



and interviews of seven participants. Twenty of the 84 letters were returned because "no forwarding address(es)" were on file (Table 3.3).

A second letter (Appendix 3.3) was sent to 63 participants, who did not respond to the previous letter or to the telephone call. Five participants responded to this effort.

Table 3.3

Interview Procedures

Efforts Compared to Interviews				
Effort	Number Attempts	Contact Method	Interview Yield	Interview Yield as % of Total Population (N = 92)
1.	37	telephone	8	8.7
2.	84	letters	7 (20 returned)	7.6
3.	12	telephone	1	1.1
4.	63	letters	5 ( 2 returned)	5.4
5.	50	telephone	2	2.2
			23	25.0

After six months, an additional 50 telephone calls were made to those participants who did not respond to either letter (Table 3.3). At least one telephone attempt was made to reach each participant in this group. In most cases two telephone calls were made. Despite these efforts, only two

interviews were obtained.

In an effort to increase the number interviewed, calls were made to relatives and friends of participants. These telephone numbers were obtained from either the participant's personnel folder or former participants. The program counselor also assisted.

Some participants listed their telephone number and/or that of a relative. Only eight (8.7%) of the 92 participants listed no telephone numbers. Of the 93 available numbers 39 (41.9%) were either disconnected or wrong numbers (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4

Program Participants' Telephone Numbers by Class and Availability 1986-87

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	Total
Participants	23	15	12	9	17	16	92
Listed	16	8	15	12	20	22	93
Not Listed	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
Disconnected/ Wrong Number	10	2	11	6	4	6	39

Of the 84 letters sent to the participants 22 were returned because the "addressee [was] not known" or had "moved [and] [left] no forwarding address." These 22 returned letters represent 23.9% of all efforts to obtain an

interview (Table 3.5).

In addition to sending two sets of letters and making numerous calls, the researcher attempted to maximize the number of responses by offering a stipend of \$10.00 to each interviewee. This was made possible by two grants, totaling \$600.00, from the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago. The grants were earmarked for stipends and to assist with costs for tapes and transcribing. Since the grants were not available when the research began, letters (Appendix 3.4) were sent to the first eight interviewees informing them that they would receive a check for the interview. However, when they called they were told that the checks would be delivered because a receipt was required (Appendix 3.5). This additional visit afforded the researcher time to follow-up on some questions which needed clarifying and to seek their assistance in getting other former participants to grant interviews. The aggregate efforts yielded 23 interviews.

Of the 23 participants interviewed, 43.5% elected to be interviewed in their homes, with 20% electing the morning, 40% the afternoon, and 40% the evening. Twenty-six percent were interviewed at the CREW center, of which 17.7% came in the morning, and the remaining 83.5% coming in the afternoon. The 21.7% who chose Chicago State University as their interview site came in the afternoon. Telephone interviews were conducted with the 8.7% who did not chose a site. The

telephone interviews were conducted in the evening.

Table 3.5

Data From Interview Efforts

	1 1980- 81	2 1981- 82	3 1982- 83	4 1983- 84	5 1984- 85	6 1985- 86	Total Parti- cipants	Percent of Total
Participants	23	15	12	19	17	16	92	100
Interviewed	2	1	0	1	13/1	4/1	23	25.0
Moved Letter Returned	11/2	0	5/1	1	0	2	22	23.9
In Armed Forces	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.1
Refused Interview	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1.1
Deceased	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.1
VO Response	5/1	4/2	5/1	6	3	5/4	37	40.2
VO Corre- spondence Sent	0	6/1	0	0	0	0	7	7.6
Graduated	6	6/2	4/1	4	11	10/4	41/7	52.2
Terminated	14/3	6/1	6/1	5	5/1	1/1	37/7	47.9
	20/3	12/3	10/2	9	16/1	11/5	78/14	100.0
	23	15	12	9	17	16	92	

Note: \*Names and addresses were not available for 1981-82.  
Initially, personnel folders were available and telephone numbers were recorded. Later, the personnel folders were lost.

male/female = sex distinction.

It was found that 16% of the participants interviewed during the day were employed either part-time or full-time. Four had jobs as carpenters, seven held carpentry related

jobs, one was self-employed as a painter, one was self-employed as a landscaper, one worked at a fast food restaurant, and two worked at a food store.

A related finding was that 21.7% of the daytime interviewee's parents and relatives were also at home during the interviews. This was in consonance with the income level required for participation in CREW; that is to say, income below the poverty level.

The interviewee's residences were neat and well-kept. In the homes where there were children (17.4%), the children were very active but not disruptive. All family members were cordial with some initiating discussions about the CREW program and life in general. (These discussions are reported in Chapter V).

#### Interview Process

Between January 1986 and September 1987, efforts were made to contact all participants who had enrolled in CREW from 1980 through 1986 (Appendix 3.6). Participants were told that the interviews could be conducted at a time convenient for them and at a place where they felt comfortable. They were also told that the interviews would be strictly confidential and conducted in private.

Twenty-three, one to two hour, individual interviews were conducted asking participants questions ranging from their experiences to their expectations as a result of participation in the CREW program (Appendix 3.7).

Between July 1985 and July 1987 twenty group sessions were held with program participants. These informal and unscheduled discussions were held during lunch, rest periods, and after class. They were conducted at either the center, an area restaurant, or in the building where the practical work was taking place. Among the areas of inquiry were the importance of the program, reasons for entering the program, their assessments of the sessions, and their overall experiences. These discussions are not reflected in Table 3.3.

In an effort to further analyze the program, it was important to include others in this study. The data and other information gathered in this process are interspersed through the remaining chapters.

Accordingly, 22 one to three hour interviews were conducted with people who were directly or indirectly associated with the program (Appendices 3.8-3.10). These included three carpentry instructors, the program administrator and his assistant, the former program director, the former program monitor, the counselor, the program secretary, the union coordinator, a former Washburne Trade School instructor, the president of the community organization, the director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, and nine relatives of participants. Most of them (excluding the relatives) elected to be interviewed in their office, or place of employment, during the morning and

afternoon hours. Only one, the instructor from Washburne, preferred to talk over the telephone.

To enhance the research perspective, the researcher was a participant-observer during a two-week orientation period (Appendix 3.11).<sup>1</sup> The participant-observer approach has been used by many noted researchers. Among them are Whyte's (1955) study of an Italian slum society, Blau's (1963) study of the competitiveness of government agencies, Becker's (1961) study of how medical students were affected by their training, Liebow's (1967) study of Negro street corner men, and a study by Kornblum (1974) looking at the cohesiveness of a blue collar community.

The orientation period in which the researcher participated began on Monday, July 29, 1985 and ended on Friday, August 9, 1985. The sessions were from 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., Monday through Friday, with from 30 minutes to one hour for lunch.

The first three days were spent observing program activities; however, students engaged in informal discussions with the researcher during the lunch period. Much of these discussions centered around the researcher's participation, what that meant, and whether or not they thought the researcher's participation could help either them or the program. Most of the participants felt that the researcher could have a positive impact on how the program was run because of the first-hand knowledge gained.

During the last seven days the researcher actively participated in the written and reading class assignments and in some of the physical assignments. When not participating in the physical assignments, the researcher worked with students on other assignments; this afforded an opportunity to pursue study-related areas which were significant to the scope of the research.



Notes to Chapter 3

1. Two weeks were spent by the researcher as a participant-observer, however, more than 30 days, through 1986 and 1987, were spent observing and interacting with participants and instructors.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

The Neighborhood Institute's (TNI) decision to establish the Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works (CREW) program grew out of the need for housing and business rehabilitation and repair in the South Shore community, as well as the need for blacks, women, and other minorities to have an equal opportunity to gain entry into the construction industry.

According to the program administrator, CREW represents "an effort by The Neighborhood Institute (TNI) to come up with a creative approach to train unemployed youth in one of the areas that we felt would provide them with training as well as long term employment." That is a collaborative approach which would involve using community residents, a community-based organization, and the community bank to address the housing problem in the community.

The Neighborhood Institute's Vice President and Director of Employment and Training stated that CREW was initially funded as a pilot program by the State of Illinois' Department of Commerce and Community Affairs (DCCA). DCCA received its funds under the federal Comprehensive Employment

and Training Act (CETA). The CREW grant of \$425,000 was designated for administrative services to train 15 youth in carpentry, painting, and maintenance, and, where necessary, provide basic education for passing the General Education Diploma (GED) examination. The grant also included student stipends equivalent to the minimum wage.

Following its successful pilot year (1980) and until 1986, funding was provided by the City of Chicago's Mayor's Office of Employment and Training and private funding sources. Average funding was \$350,000 per year. Among the private funding sources were the Amoco and MacArthur foundations. Federal Community Development Block Grant (C.D.B.G.) provided the funds for the city's support.

The ultimate goal of the CREW carpentry program is certification of its graduates. The initial step is helping them to pass an examination administered by the Washburne Trade School. If participants successfully pass the examination, the next step is for them to register at Washburne to fulfill their apprenticeship training. This usually takes at least four years. After the four year apprenticeship, students are certified. To accomplish its goal, TNI collaborated with Washburne and developed a plan to insure that CREW participants would be allowed to attend the school after passing the examination. Of the 48 CREW graduates between 1980 and 1986, 30 were able to take the Washburne carpentry examination, one graduated from the

landscaping program and one from the painting program. During 1986 there was, according to the union coordinator, pending litigation between Washburne Trade School, the union, the Chicago Board of Education, and community based programs such as CREW. The CREW administrator stated that, "because of the strained relations with the union and the litigation our 1985-86 class (16 graduates) will not be able to take the Washburne carpentry examination." Of the 30 students who took the examination nine students (less than one-third) passed and were admitted to Washburne's apprenticeship carpentry program.

According to the director, benefits which accrue to CREW participants include:

1. Educational and personal counseling, testing, monitoring and evaluation.
2. Classroom training in reading and mathematics.
3. PLATO (computerized learning system) supplementary educational training.
4. Pre-employment and Career Planning seminars.
5. Occupational skills building at Washburne Trade School.
6. Occupational classroom training.
7. The provision of a marketable skill through apprenticeship training.
8. Hands-on experience at the 7500 South Crandon building where CREW is housed.

9. Hands-on experience at two of The Neighborhood Institute's "limited equity" cooperative housing projects.

10. Personal Development Seminars.

11. The provision of employment within the private sector.

12. The attainment of the GED certificate, where needed.

These benefits parallel those found in most vocational training programs. This combination of benefits, according to the National Commission on Employment Policy (1979:117), is intended to have a positive influence on the success rate of participants in programs such as CREW. It provides for a balance of academic and occupational (job readiness) preparation with practical experience.

#### Recruitment and Program Orientation

Potential participants in the Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works (CREW) program are usually referred by other agencies, recommended by youth who have been in the program, recommended by family members, or just "drop in" to the center to get information. According to the administrator, those who "drop-in" usually say they didn't have anything to do and saw people "coming and going and wanted to see what was going on in the building." Many of the participants interviewed in the orientation session concurred with the administrator.

Each potential program participant must complete an

intensive two-week orientation (without stipend). Although this is a hardship for potential participants, the program guidelines require what one carpentry instructor described as, "an investment for future earnings." During the first week of orientation, the potential participant is interviewed by the teacher counselor and the journeymen instructors. The potential participant is asked to give some history about his or her schooling, family background, and desire to become a carpenter. Additionally, a series of tests is given in reading/comprehension, mathematics, and vocational trade aptitude. Potential participants must be able to pass the reading/comprehension and mathematics tests at an eighth grade level and have minimal knowledge of carpentry-related tools. If they do not meet these requirements they are eliminated from the pool of eligible participants.

Those selected to participate in the program whose mathematics and reading/comprehension levels are below the tenth grade receive intensive remedial work along with the required classroom work and practical work.

During the second week of orientation, the potential participants complete all pertinent Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) forms and eligibility documentation, review program policies and procedures, and attend a series of workshops which outline schedules, career orientation. They are also given an overview of The Neighborhood Institute.

Following the orientation period, the staff selects those students who they feel are the best 15 for participation in the program. The selection criteria include interviews, the test scores, economic status, and assessed capacity to perform carpentry work.

The latter criterion is very subjective. For example, according to one of the instructors, several male participants were rejected because, "they don't look tough enough for this job." One woman, he continued, was rejected because she was wearing jewelry and a dress which indicated to them (the instructors) that she had no sense of what a carpenter's work and the environment are like. When queried about the subjectivity, one instructor responded, "I have been in the business [carpentry] long enough to be able to look at a person and tell if they can be a carpenter or not. Plus, she [the woman who was rejected] looks like she may be hard to deal with. She acts like she knows too much for me." The woman did ask several relevant questions; such as what would be expected of her and what she could expect from the program. She also wanted to know how she would be treated by the men in the program. To which one carpenter replied, "like everyone else in the program."

The carpentry instructors make the final recommendations for admittance to the program to the director. According to them, the director always approved their recommendations, without question.

Once the economic status and academic requirements are met, their basis for selection is strictly personal. That is, if the instructors "like" the person and they respond to questions in a way which they feel is appropriate. Although there were physical tests to assess one's dexterity, from all indications, this was not a major factor in the selection of participants for the program. For example, two men and one woman were admitted to the program even though they were not able to pass the two physical dexterity tests.

### Sex

The CREW program lacked female enrollment in the early stages of its implementation. In the 1980-81 class, women represented 17.4% of the total enrollment. However, by the class of 1985-86, women constituted 31.3% of the total enrollment (Table 4.1). The latter enrollment represents achievement of the program objective regarding female participation even though the total enrollment decreased.<sup>1</sup>

### Age

The major objective of the CREW program is to provide youth between the ages of 16 and 26 with an opportunity to gain skills as a carpenter. In 1980, 65.2% of the CREW enrollees were between the ages of 16 and 19 years old, 34.8% were between 20 and 21 years of age, with no students 22 to 26 years of age. Of the 23 participants interviewed, 34.8% were between 16 and 19 years old, 47.8% were between 20 and 21 years old, and 17.4% were between 22 and 26 years of age.



Table 4.1

Program Participants by Sex 1980-86

	1980-81 %	1981-82 %	1982-83 %	1983-84 %	1984-85 %	1985-86 %	Total %
Male	19 82.6	13 86.7	10 83.3	9 100	16 94.1	11 68.8	78 84.8
Female	4 17.4	2 13.3	2 16.7	0	1 5.9	5 31.2	14 15.2
	<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>92</u>

During the last three years studied, more older students were enrolled. While from 1980 to 1983, there were no students aged 22 to 26 enrolled, from 1983 through 1986 there were 13 in this age range (Table 4.2). The program administrator stated that a conscious effort was made to recruit and enroll older students because they had more success with them than the younger students. When questioned about the rationale for this decision, the program administrator stated:

We felt that those people [older students] were more mature and responsible. Some of them even though they may not be in the union are still doing carpentry work. Some of them, could open up their own thing and do a lot of side work.

The administrator's decision to direct more attention toward the older student in no way addresses the problems encountered by the 16 to 21 year old. This raises a serious question about CREW's initial concern about youth unemployment in the South Shore community. Is this new policy intended to address that problem or for purposes of survival? That is, a higher success rate.

#### Education

The educational level of participants was another factor examined. Table 4.3 reveals that 53.3% of the total enrollees (92) were high school graduates. Of the 23 enrollees interviewed, 34.8% were high school graduates. The remaining 65.2% were admitted pending completion of the General Education Diploma (GED).

Table 4.2

Program Participants by Age (At Program Entry) 1980-86

Age	1980-81 %	1981-82 %	1982-83 %	1983-84 %	1984-85 %	1985-86 %	Total %
16-19	15 65.2	12 80.0	12 100	4 44.4	9 52.9	9 56.3	61 66.3
20-21	8 34.8	3 20.0	0	4 44.4	2 11.8	1 6.5	18 19.6
22-26	0	0	0	1 11.2	6 35.3	6 37.5	13 14.1
	<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>92 100</u>

Table 4.3

Level of Education at Program Entry 1980-86

Level of Education	Total Population	Sample
High School Graduates	49 (53.3%)	8 (34.8%)
High School Drop-outs	43 (46.7%)	15 (65.2%)
	92	23

Findings also indicate that of the 23 program participants interviewed, 75% of those who had completed high school, graduated from the program, compared to 67% of those who were high school drop-outs (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4

Graduation Status of Sample 1980-86

Level of Education	Graduated Program	Dropped Program	Total (N=23)
High School Graduates	6 (37.5%)	2 (28.6%)	8 (34.8%)
High School Drop-outs	10 (62.5%)	5 (71.4%)	15 (65.2%)

As indicated in Table 4.5 enrollment in CREW by educational level at entry has fluctuated. However, it is interesting to note that the number of high school graduates who enrolled in CREW increased dramatically from 1981 to 1985. This may be due to the difficulty youth in general have in finding employment, in addition to those who elect

Table 4.5

Education Level at Program Entry by Class Year

Education Level	1980-81 %	1981-82 %	1982-83 %	1983-84 %	1984-85 %	1985-86 %	Total %
H.S. Drop-out	12 52.2	3 20.0	7 58.3	4 44.4	11 64.7	6 37.5	43 46.7
H.S. Graduate	9 39.1	12 80.0	5 41.7	5 55.6	5 29.4	10 62.5	46 50.0
Post High School	2 8.7	0	0	1 5.9	1 5.9	0	3 3.3
	<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>92</u>

vocational training rather than college.

### Graduation

Another objective of the CREW program is to retain its participants through graduation. From 1980 to 1986, 48 (52.2%) of the enrollees graduated compared to 44 (47.8%) enrollees terminating (Table 3.2). The use of the term terminating is defined as leaving the program voluntarily or involuntarily. For example, a voluntary termination could be illness or found a job. Of the 23 participants interviewed, 16 (69.6%) graduated, while seven (30.4%) failed to graduate.<sup>2</sup> The last two years of the program accounted for 56.6% of the graduates in the sample compared to 52.1% of the graduates in the total population for the same period.

Women accounted for 14.6% of the graduates, while they totaled 15.2% of all the participants over the six-year period studied (Table 4.6). Additionally, 50% (7) of the total females enrolled in the program graduated compared to 52.6% male graduates (Table 3.5).

### Program Assessment

Many of the participants said they entered CREW because they saw it as an opportunity for upward mobility, independence, and a source of pride. Other participants said they enrolled to get away from some of the negative elements in their community such as gangs and the "drug traffic".

Since students in the CREW program were intimately involved in the program, it was important to ascertain the

Table 4.6

Program Graduates by Sex

	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	Total
Male	6 (100%)	6 (75%)	4 (80%)	4 (100%)	11 (100%)	10 (71.4%)	41 (85.4%)
Female	0	2 (25%)	1 (20%)	0	0	4 (28.6%)	7 (14.6%)
	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>48</u>

their perceptions of the program. It should be noted that two of the interviewees are cousins of the instructors, and always gave positive responses; a fact known to the other students.<sup>3</sup> Both young men passed the Washburne examination and were admitted to the school as apprentice carpenters. Three of the participants who were in class with the cousins, felt that they were given special assistance by the instructors (their cousins) to assure a positive outcome.

One of the questions asked of the interviewees was their willingness to participate in the program again. The results indicated that 69.6% of those interviewed would be willing to participate compared to the 30.4% who would not (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7

Willing to Participate in Program Again - By Sex

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%
Male	15	71.4	6	28.6	21	91.3
Female	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	8.7
Total	16	69.6	7	30.4	23	

The female student (black) who responded "no" stated that she would definitely not return to the program, because she felt discriminated against, and was very displeased with the instructors. She also felt that one of the instructors was sexist and extremely vulgar, but she found her fellow students congenial and helpful--"sometimes too helpful."



However, she did state that she would have remained in the program had she not become pregnant, because she tries to follow-through on any endeavor she undertakes.

This type of frustration and discrimination experienced by women, particularly in construction, has been documented in several studies. Reskin (1986:90-91) found that, although construction contractors were supposed to ensure that women would not face sexual harassment, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) did not follow through on anti-discrimination enforcement policies. Accordingly, "... enforcement was not uniform and that staff lacked procedures for uncovering discrimination."

Berch's (1982:84-86) research indicates that women are not only subjected to the usual sexual harassment in occupations traditionally dominated by men, but, [they] "may wonder is it worth the struggle." The fact that the carpentry instructors in CREW are black men, and the female student discussed above is black, did not preclude these men from discriminating against her. Ironically, the other woman in the program, who happened to be white, felt that she did not experience sexism while matriculating through the CREW program.

The other female (white) interviewee who responded in the affirmative when asked if she would be "Willing to Participate in Program Again," said:

I don't regret going to CREW, but I would take a safer path. One where I could be sure of getting union

admittance to the Washburne Trade School. I was very disappointed and discouraged at first because CREW did not let us know about the problem they were having with Washburne and the union. CREW was an OK program in commonsense areas. But, it was not as technical or professional as it could have been. Not detailed in their lessons. A little too much play, by both the instructors and students, and not enough practical experience.

While the union coordinator and CREW's relationship has always been strained, by 1985 it had just about dissipated. The ability of CREW to provide adequate training was in question. The union coordinator felt that CREW was not doing an adequate job of training the students to pass the Washburne exam. The CREW administration felt that the union coordinator was not giving them appropriate feedback on test results so they could help the students. Accordingly, the union coordinator refused to give CREW students the Washburne examination. This denied students the opportunity to qualify for certification and subsequent membership in the union. The union officially severed its relationship with CREW in 1987.

Another question (Table 4.8) which gives some insight into some of the former students' feelings about their experiences, deals with their willingness or unwillingness to recommend the program to a friend. These responses are consistent with those to the previous question (Table 4.7).

Table 4.8

Willing to Recommend Program to Friend - By Sex

	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Male	15	71.4	6	28.6	21
Female	1	50	1	50	2
Total	16	69.6	7	30.4	23

Program effectiveness was another question asked of the students. This researcher posed the question as follows: "In what way or ways was this program [CREW] effective or ineffective in preparing you for employment opportunities?" Table 4.9 shows a larger percent (73.9) of the interviewees giving a positive response to program effectiveness. This is significant when compared to the 69.6% graduation rate (Table 4.4) for this same sample group. Of the 23 interviews, four are in carpentry, while seven are doing carpentry-related jobs.

Table 4.9

Program Perception Effective Program?) - By Sex

	Yes	%	No	%	Total
Male	16	76.2	5	23.8	21
Female	1	50	1	50	2
Total	17	73.9	6	26.1	23

Although all of the interviewees' stated goal (during orientation for admittance to the program) was "to become a carpenter", 17 thought the program was effective even though 13 did not become unionized carpenters. For example, 11 students felt that CREW kept them off the streets and was a way of making money, while two stated that it motivated them and taught them to interact with other people. Three indicated that the program helped them learn how to do some carpentry and work with their hands, while only one said the program was effective because it specifically helped him to do carpentry, "especially for family and friends." The fact that they could make new friends, and had a secure and non-threatening place to be while still earning money, was a welcomed outcome.

The black woman thought the program was ineffective and discriminated against women, while the white woman thought the program was effective but felt that she was going to make it because she was mature. The perceptions expressed by women in the program take on a special significance in Chapter VI. Much was divulged in the participants personnel folders and during the interviews.

Those respondents (26.1%) who felt that the program was ineffective, were very vocal and expressed their dissatisfaction with program structure and operation. Many of the students had multiple concerns about the program and its inability to address those concerns. Four of the

interviewees (plus seven who thought the program was effective) questioned CREW's inability to work with the Public Aid Department to develop a policy whereby program participants would not be cut-off from aid benefits, such as food stamps and medical care, while enrolled in the program. The program director and the carpenters expressed concern for this matter as well. The director stated that he was trying to work with caseworkers on an individual basis but was not very successful. The only thing he was able to do for a couple of students was to convince the caseworkers to allow the students to remain on public aid for one month after they entered the program.

Two respondents wanted to have more practical experience in carpentry because they felt they would have to have it (experience) to get a job. Most of the "practical experience" observed by this researcher, included tearing down walls and windows, removing debris from the work site, removing and replacing windows, and installing locks. In other words, labor. The instructors felt that the training the students received was invaluable because it helped them (students) understand "all aspects of the carpentry trade."

All 23 of the interviewees were distressed about having to use their stipends to buy lunch and expensive tools, in addition to paying transportation costs. The students received minimum wages (\$3.35 per hour) while attending the program. The director and the instructors were sympathetic,

but felt there was no way they could resolve the issue. However, one instructor felt that if the students were serious about becoming carpenters they needed to invest in their future by making sacrifices. The fact is that the students grossed an average of \$450 per month. Of that amount; taxes were deducted, an average of \$80 per month was spent on books and tools, plus the costs for transportation and lunches. Additional expenses incurred by some students included, childcare and financial assistance to the family. Sacrifices are a way of life for families who are on public assistance. For the instructor to make such a statement reveals a level of insensitivity which is not helpful in motivating and encouraging students who receive public assistance or stipends of comparable amounts.

A recurring issue expressed by the program participants was staff qualifications. Many of the students, as well as the union coordinator, felt that instructors lacked the necessary academic preparation to teach in the carpentry program. This perceived lack of training caused the students and the union coordinator to feel that the students were not given the kind of professional assistance they needed to pass the Washburne examination. The program administrator admitted that the carpentry instructors:

[H]ave no formal training. What I try and look at now in the journeymen is maturity, people who have children and family that they have to deal with ... I am looking for an older or mature person who has had to deal with trials and tribulations.

The administrator's resolution to the problem of academic preparation was cavalier. To think that just being a mature person could provide for the special needs, both academic and social which the students have, suggests the same lack of understanding and sensitivity demonstrated by the instructor.

Failure to reach the goal of getting into Washburne accounted for much of the negative program assessments among male participants. One 23 year old male student was very distressed about the fact that he would not be able to go to Washburne Trade School and become a carpenter. He said:

I'm really mad about not getting into Washburne. I'm having a very hard time now because I'm engaged and was looking forward to being a carpenter. I haven't received any help from CREW. They keep me coming back and still can't give me any help. I really don't want to talk about them because they aren't worth it.

Understandably, those program participants who did not realize their goal to attend Washburne were not pleased and blamed the instructors and CREW for their failure to pass the Washburne examination. A sample of student assessments includes:

- There was poor instruction. The teachers were unable to explain the bookwork.
- Not enough real carpentry on-the-job training. Mostly clean-up work.
- Not enough material or projects to keep you busy.
- Did not tell the truth. We were supposed to go to Washburne but about half-way through the semester they began to say they didn't think they could send us there.
- Program caused a lot of frustration and shallow hopes.
- Used street-type people. Not a professional or educational atmosphere.
- I think it was a flop.
- They don't teach you enough given the length of the

program.

These assessments do not bode well for the program. The apparent lack of honesty and appropriate instruction by CREW led to the damning remarks made by the students. The fact that participants did not pass the Washburne examination, was seen by some as one more rejection and failure by a program which was intended to help them. The negative effect of this failure could manifest itself in low self-esteem, isolation, estrangement, and return to the very environment they hoped to escape.

The union coordinator acted as the liaison between the CREW program and Washburne Trade School. He initially assisted in the development of the program and the selection of carpentry instructors. Later, he scheduled the certification examination for students and processed those who passed into Washburne. The union coordinator also expressed concern about the ability of instructors in pre-apprentice programs. When asked about communication between the union and the CREW program instructors regarding the success rate of the participants, the union coordinator responded:

I believe ... if it's my memory, it's not really [sic] ... perhaps it's because these instructors, you know, they are not professionals. They are tradesmen, but they are not professional to, you know, to teach, but to project it. What's the procedure, you know, you have got to have a lesson plan and then you got to tell ... to spell out what you are going to do. First of all what your objective is ... what tools are required and the material. And then the step by step procedure of what you are going to do. To put that in writing and



say okay students here is our lesson plan, this is what we are going to do. Or utilize the book of carpentry and say okay, Chapter 17. Now let's go over this. We are going to talk about the installation of a window. There may be a demonstration on the board as to what you are going to do. Then to your lecturing and your teaching and then the key to it is go do it. He's not going to be an expert at it but at least, hey, I got my fundamentals and I know when I get to a job I got a reason. This isn't the same opening that I have at the school, but damn'it I know what to do.

On the other hand, the carpentry instructors felt that the pass rate for program participants could be significantly improved had the union provided CREW with feedback on the areas in which the students needed special attention.

#### Conclusion

The data reveal that the CREW program did not achieve its goal of training at least 10 students per year to pass the carpenter's examination for admittance to Washburne Trade School's carpentry apprenticeship program. This researcher found multiple reasons for this failure, including a breakdown in communication and cooperation between the union and CREW, lack of academic training of instructors, no advocacy for participants who were receiving public aid, and lack of funding for equipment and tools.

One of CREW's goals, "providing basic education to all of its enrollees" was met for those who graduated. According to the director, all students are required to attend basic education classes to increase their mathematical skills and reading comprehension. Those enrollees who are high school drop-outs are required to take and pass the General Education

Diploma (GED) before graduating from CREW.

The perception of CREW and how it affected the lives of the students is an important factor. It did make a difference for students and their families, as reflected in Chapter V.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. The lack of local employment opportunities for women and minorities in the construction industry, and pre-apprentice programs specifically, is being addressed by the Chicago Board of Education and other community organizations.
2. While it is always desirable, in such research, to have a larger percent of interviews, the age, mobility, and change in marital status of the population studied militated against doing so.
3. Although the other students seemed to respect them (the cousins who were participants), they stated that they felt the instructors were going to make sure their relatives' best interests were served and that the other students' were secondary.

## CHAPTER V

### FAMILY INVOLVEMENT

#### Introduction

The families of CREW participants, like most other families, are intimately involved in the welfare of their children. Although families generally provide the emotional support so crucial to growth and development, the "extended family" provides the additional support needed to be productive (Rogers-Rose, 1980:125-144). In order to give the family the balance it needs to be successful, blacks include in their extended family churches, neighbors, and the community. These institutions are a particular mainstay for black families (Scanzoni, 1977).

Throughout the socialization process, the interconnection between the family and the children affects the maturation and direction of the children. This relationship and bonding constitute the responsible challenge young people face as they go through their "rites of passage." How they make the transition to adulthood and the world of work is usually associated with the level of family support received (Scanzoni, 1977; Willie, 1981).

Also, the extended family and institutional linkages are important to the socialization process of black families.

For example, the Opportunity Industrial Centers (OIC) in Philadelphia, which has construction training programs for youth, was founded, guided, and to some extent supported by Reverend Leon Sullivan and his church, Zion Baptist Church. The success of the OIC's, according to media statements by Reverend Sullivan, has been a direct result of the coexistence, cooperation, love, and understanding between black institutions.

Family support is the emotional, psychological, and moral underpinning which gives each member the impetus and courage for survival, particularly in difficult times. Although the need for family support is essential for all youth, it may be greater for those with problems associated with being from low socio-economic backgrounds. Some of these problems result from poor education, unemployment, lack of good health care, racism, discrimination, and lack of funds. When these problems are present, family support from the standpoint of confidence becomes a critical need when looking to the future of our youth.

In their book Black Rage, Grier and Cobbs (1968:130-153) discuss how the expectations of the parents are critical to the development of their "son". According to them, "... what is less obvious, but more important, was the parents' excessive concern that their son not be stupid." Here, according to Grief and Cobbs, you have a situation where, unfortunately, the parents cannot see beyond their own

experiences and lack of education. Hence, if, the school counselor said the child was "not bright", he must have a problem. Family members of CREW participants expressed their hope and concern for them. In spite of their economic condition, all of the family members interviewed were supportive of their relatives.

One of the requirements for participation in the CREW program is that the family receive public aid or have an income below the poverty level. Nevertheless, the vocational aspirations and economic expectations of the 23 interviewees studied and their families were high. Despite the lack of income, several children in the family, illness in a couple of the families, and other societal frustrations, the relatives of the CREW interviewees were vicarious program participants and supporters. They provided material things such as a home and meals for the participants while they attended the CREW program. The relatives were looking to the CREW program to raise the family's standard of living, in most instances, by providing the youth with a "good" job. This "good" job would provide security, benefits, and a wage of about \$15.00 per hour. If everyone in the family who can has a "good" job, they could have, what Willie (1981:191) calls "multiple wage earners." Thus, by pooling the earnings of the working members, the standard of living for the whole family will be raised.

Family members encouraged participation in CREW (Table

5.1). A review of 77 available participant personnel records and the interviews revealed that 14 (15.2%) were referred to the program by an immediate family member, and 37 (40.2%) by friends. However, results from the 23 interviews indicate that eight (28.8%) were referred to the program by an immediate family member, while 9 (39.1%) by a friend. There are some inconsistencies between information in the personnel files and information gleaned from the interviews regarding how participants were actually referred to the CREW program. This suggests that participants may have lumped relatives and friends together when filling out forms. The inconsistencies notwithstanding, it is noteworthy that families were aware of CREW and interested enough to refer their relative/s to it.

Ninety-three percent of the CREW participants are black (Table 3.1). Family member, in the black culture, includes those persons who feel responsible and have some positive impact on the developmental process of family members. These persons are in the church (the major institution of influence in the black community), are parental friends, and neighbors. When this concept of "family member" is taken into consideration, 74% of the referrals to the CREW program would be cited as family members.

Table 5.1

CREW Recruitment Efforts Per Personnel Files and Interviews

How Referred	Participants' Personnel Files 1980-1986		Participant Sample Per Records		Participant Sample Per Interview	
		%		%		%
Mother	5	5.4			2	8.7
Father	3	3.3			2	8.7
Grandfather	1	1.1			1	4.3
Brother	3	3.3			1	4.3
Cousin	2	2.2			2	8.7
Friend	37	40.2	17	73.9	9	39.1
Drop-in	3	3.3	3	13.0	3	13.0
School	8	8.7	3	13.0	3	13.0
Agency	9	9.8				
None Indicated	6	6.5				
Folders Unavailable	15	16.3				
N =	92	(100%)	23	(100%)	23	(100%)

Family Perceptions

An interesting dynamic of this study was the interview process itself. While waiting to interview the participants, family members voluntarily and spontaneously began to discuss their perceptions of unemployment and how their families were affected by the general economy. These unsolicited comments by family members of interviewees provided insights into the impact participation in CREW would have on the family. The comments also highlighted the involvement and level of expectation of the extended family.

This information from and involvement by family members suggest frustration, yet hope. The frustration with their



own economic status on the one hand while using the researcher for a sounding board. On the other hand, their hope was that the CREW program would give their child, as well as the family, an opportunity to fulfill their dream of upward mobility. Specifically, the ability to have a family income which could provide a nice place to live, an automobile, and adequate and nutritious food for the family. One of the participants was adamant about doing better for his family.

The drug scene was the environment in which Hugo found himself. He was 24 years old when he entered the CREW program, having dropped out of high school after two years. He said he got in with the wrong crowd and began to have problems at home. He had been influenced by his peers who dropped out of school, were selling and taking drugs, and staying in trouble with the law. By the time he was 20 he was married and by age 24 had two children. He said he decided that he needed to do "something constructive"; thus, he enrolled in the CREW program. Hugo seemed to have felt an urgency to do something which would have a positive impact on his family. He wanted a secure job paying good wages, and an opportunity to "make up to my parents for the trouble I caused them."

Hugo presently resides in Florida and was interviewed while home for a visit with his family. While awaiting his arrival, his mother, father, brother (around 12 years old),

and his cousin (around 14 years old), began to talk. Hugo's mother was engaged in baking for a sick neighbor. She provided insight into the importance of the extended family:

We try to be close in this neighborhood because we have to look out for each other. My neighbors always helped me with my children and I helped them with theirs. She [her neighbor] needs our help now so we must do what we can. I can remember when Hugo was in so much trouble. I don't know what we would have done if it hadn't been for me neighbors. I just cried all the time because I want so much for our children.

Hugo's father interjected his sentiments:

She [his wife] did cry a lot but we still tried to talk to our son. I'm glad he's not in trouble no more. I do mechanic work and sometimes when he's [Hugo] home we work on cars a little bit.

The comments of Hugo's brother and cousin centered around what they were doing. They talked about their sports activities. Hugo helps them with their model airplanes and boats whenever he comes over. They said he is good at working with his hands and woodwork. These youngsters admired Hugo and saw him a positive role model.

Sam, a high school graduate, and his ailing mother live in a nice bungalow in a residential middle class neighborhood. He was referred to CREW by his mother because:

[She] was always concerned about Sam. He is rather shy... He's always been like that. I'm proud of him because he was determined to make it through carpentry. And he did. I was proud at his graduation. He was one of the two or three who passed the test to go to the [Washburne] trade school. I worry about my son because so many people take advantage of him. He's quiet. But the program did bring him out a little bit. I was concerned about his first job. That was a racist company. He was only allowed to do the labor while the other white apprentices could do some carpentry along with the labor part. That helped them [the white

apprentices] improve their carpentry skills.

While Sam's mother was realistic about her son's perceived passivity, she was very supportive, optimistic and aware of the present economy and how it affects them:

... but we are blessed. I told Sam I don't care what they say. He's a good carpenter and be proud and do good work. He's been at another job these past few months. It seems to work out fine. He likes it. When I get a little better I'm going back to work and it won't be so hard on Sam. It's just the two of us. We'll be OK.

Sam's mother's assessment of her son was echoed by one of Sam's instructors. He observed that "although Sam was rather shy, he was bright, skilled, and determined to do a good job." Not only did Sam see himself as passive, that is, quiet, shy, not wanting to argue with or say anything to hurt anyone, but his mother saw him that way also. He was an introvert. However, these personal traits did not deter him from doing what he set out to do in the CREW program. That is to graduate, attend Washburne, and get union membership. Sam was successful in fulfilling his goal. While some of Sam's classmates teased him about being so studious, they respected his abilities and asked him for assistance on many occasions.

Ronald's situation was somewhat different. At the time of the interview he was living with his mother and stepfather in a lower-middle class deteriorating community. The stepfather stated that he was recovering from a heart attack and was hoping to return to work soon. "Things are a little

rough along here, but I hope Ronnie can get himself together. I keep telling him he's got to go to school."

After interviewing Ronald, his mother came in from the bedroom. She said that she too had been ill and was recuperating from surgery. Her concern was Ronald's lack of initiative:

Ronnie's trying to get his act together. He needs to get some direction in his life. He's rather hostile. Why I don't know. He needs to understand nobody's gonna give him anything. He has to get out there and struggle for it. I keep telling him life is rough. My husband and I haven't been too well. But those are the breaks. It happens sometimes when we never expect it. God has given us a pretty good life. It's just that along here times are not too good. We just can't afford to take care of Ronnie. He's a man now. We want him to learn something.

Ronald admitted that he was hostile but says he's learning that hostility is not helpful. He said he realized that his parents were right and he needed to change. He also said his brother has been talking to him and he is "going to make the whole family proud of him." Ronald said that he was in the process of moving in with his brother and hoped this would help him become more responsible.

Ronald was admitted to the CREW program in 1984, at 18 years old, right after graduation from high school. He said he left the program, for the Navy, after six months because he needed some place to stay and expense money so he could be on his own. However, he remained in the Navy only five months. According to him, he asked to leave because the "racism was totally unbearable" and was granted an "entry

level separation" after he had discussed the fact that he could no longer cope with the Navy with the Chaplain.

"Hostile" and "[ir]responsible" were characterizations which Ronald did not want his family to feel about him. He wanted to please his family and gain their confidence. He's 20 years old now but, according to his mother, lacks maturity and direction. Although he wants to be independent, he has chosen to move in with his brother. Again, family support, both emotionally and materially, is drawn upon.

John is a 26 year old unmarried father committed to providing for his family. He lives with his girlfriend, who is the mother of their three year old son. They live in a 20 apartment building in the South Shore area. John was referred to the CREW program by his cousin who is also one of the carpentry instructors. He said the status of his family and his relationship to the instructor were his incentive to enroll in the CREW program:

My girlfriend and I weren't getting along and we have a little boy and things were kinda shakey. I knew that my unemployment status had something to do with it, if not a lot, and those three basic factors: good money, girlfriend, and son. I decided that I was going to apply and if accepted, I would definitely make it.

A different kind of family involvement was experienced by Jose. Jose's father went to The Neighborhood Institute (where the CREW program is housed) in order to enroll in the General Education Diploma (GED) program. It was then that he learned of CREW and referred his son:

I'm not from here [he's Mexican] and did not get my

education. Jose dropped out of high school. So we went to get our diploma together at the Institute. I know how important a job is so I told Jose to go with the carpentry program CREW. He can get a good job. We can do work together. My work is not steady but we can work together. The people in the program seem nice. Jose is a smart boy. I know he can do it. My wife says he's a good boy but just needs a chance. I think so too. I'm glad because we can work together. I like that.

Family members of the female students were also concerned about their [students] success in the CREW program. An example of this concern was expressed by the mother of Shirley:<sup>1</sup>

Shirley has a small son and I try to help her by keeping him during the week while she looks for a job. I wanted her to do good in that program [CREW] but she complained about the teacher bothering her about bed stuff [sex]. I don't like that place she stays at but she say she's trying to do something for herself. That child can't do nothing for herself without schooling. Do you think that school [CREW] was bad? Why would they bother her like that? She needs schooling where she can learn and get a job. I pray God will take care of her.

While none of the male participants experienced difficulty with child care, this is a very important issue for women in general and black women in particular, trying to enter the job market or continuing their education. Rodgers-Rose's (1980, pp. 15-25) historical account of the black woman indicates a strong commitment to the love, care, and nurturing of children. Shirley's mother is indicative of the black woman who is concerned about the welfare of her daughter and her grandchild.

Shirley's mother cites another problem facing women entering the job market - harassment. Shirley, as her mother stated, was harassed by one of the CREW instructors. This

problem reflects the attitude many men have when women are hired in jobs usually held by men, particularly in construction and unskilled areas (Andersen, 1988, pp. 132-135; Reskin, 1986, pp. 40-41). The frustration of trying to go to school and being subjected to sexual harassment, is an indictment against programs such as CREW.

### Summary

Earning an income is an urgent matter for all families but for poor families the urgency is even greater. Many poor families suffer from underemployment, unemployment, and/or lack of sufficient income from public aid. This may mean that youth in the family are expected to work and contribute to the family support. Youth in the CREW program were expected to do no less. All of the family members seemed genuinely interested and concerned about the future of their relatives. Perhaps the most significant factor was the concern expressed by the adult members of the families. They felt an urgency about the implications for their relatives if they could not get through the CREW training program, or any other program, and then be able to obtain a job.

A top priority for participants and their families was the education, job training and security they believed the CREW program would provide. Their concerns and comments coincide with Wilson (1978), that education is an important factor for the economic advancement of blacks. In a poll conducted by Ebony magazine (1988) of its readers, 36%

responded that: "Better educational opportunities is the key" to economic success. Clearly, the families of the participants were very involved, concerned, and supportive. In spite of the fact that a couple of participants had some difficulties, the families remained steadfast in their encouragement. They refused to give up on them.

Non-familial friends and community institutions are seen as the significant other in the life of black families. These role models and support systems are part and parcel of black life. They provide the emotional and material support so necessary to the family. They impact the whole of black life. For example, black churches, the corner tavern, the beautician and barber, the neighbors, and the neighborhood school. Some participants saw the CREW program as a place which provided a familial setting. One of the students said, "It was like a family, and it was fun." Another student said the program gave him self-esteem and pride, especially during the graduation ceremonies. For him it was a joyous occasion:

... I knew I had come a long way. I was really happy. It was real nice. I had a lot of my family there, a lot of friends, and the CREW stuck together ... we knew we had made it and the family and friends were there. You could see a lot of the family members were really proud. They [his family] were behind me ... they were there. There were times when I was just tired and I got a little extra nudge from them.

Many times, just this "extra nudge" can be the difference in a young person making it or not.

When families lack income they experience anxiety and stress. They look to institutions such as family, church,



friends, and community, for emotional and psychological support and assistance. Many times their aspirations are fulfilled as a result of these familial ties. Starr says, "For youth, [one of] the keys to a successful transition to adulthood [is] ... a family support of their initiative and autonomy ..." (Starr, 1986:325). Families expect the outcome of their participation in programs such as CREW to lead to economic independence and job security for the youth and financial assistance to the family. Some people attribute failure to their own shortcomings and success to family support. For families of CREW participants, and the participants themselves, success is graduation from the program, passing the Washburne examination, and becoming a carpenter.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Shirley lives in a large converted hotel. It is a dingy dilapidated building in what has been described as a gang and drug den. Shirley did not keep her interview appointment nor did she call back.

## CHAPTER VI

### WOMEN IN CREW

#### Introduction

Throughout American history, social distinctions between men and women have permeated the workplace. Because of tradition and socialization women, even though they have worked very hard in and out of the home, have not been accorded the same rights and privileges as men. In particular, women find it extremely difficult to obtain jobs in what is traditionally called "jobs for men" or "men's work." These jobs include executives or professional careers in banks, corporations, and universities; and blue collar jobs as, chefs, machine operators, laborers and construction workers (Andersen, 1988; Kanter, 1979).

The women who entered the CREW program encountered the same difficulties as they attempted to matriculate through the male dominated and controlled program in carpentry. Getting through a pre-apprenticeship program mirrors the many social and economic barriers women experience when they are perceived, generally by men, as entering job areas which are traditionally reserved for men. Experiences women have in CREW are a microcosm of the problems women endure in today's labor market. For example, the problems of sexism,

harassment, and disrespect encountered by women in CREW are the same problems, and more, women encounter in the construction industry as well as some other industries. Some of the other problems have to do with wage differentials, inequitable benefits, unstable employment, and lack of respect by employers as well as employees (Andersen, 1988).

Most women do not have the human capital, training and skills, to do construction work. This is, not because they do not want to do the work but because they have been denied entry. However, those women who possess the skills and training are not rewarded in the same way as men. Women, like blacks, usually find themselves in the secondary sector of the dual labor market. Unless the construction industry changes its attitude toward women and minorities, and ceases the sexism and racism which permeate the industry, the acceptance of members of these disfranchised groups will remain difficult.

#### Recruitment and Supportive Services

From 1980 to 1986 the Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works (CREW) program admitted 92 youth into its pre-apprenticeship program. Of those admitted, only 14 (15.2%) were women. Of the 14 women who entered CREW, nine were referred by a friend, three were referred by the Midwest Women's Center. Referral sources for the other two women were not available (Table 6.1). According to the program director, special efforts to enroll

more women were not successful until 1985 (Table 4.1).

Recruiting methods before that time, he said, had included seeking referrals from other agencies and schools. One of the instructors said:

We even stop young women on the street and ask them if they are working. If they are not working, we tell them about our program at The Neighborhood Institute and ask them to come over for an interview and enrollment.

However, the findings indicate that none of the women were referred to the program by anyone from CREW (Table 6.1).

The Midwest Women's Center, which is located in Chicago, was founded in 1976. The Center is a nonprofit organization which was developed to alleviate some of the economic and social ills which plague women in today's society. It provides job training, counselling, and placement services for women, and has had a particular focus on non-traditional jobs for women. The Center also acts as an advocate for legislative changes which affect the economic and social well-being of women.

The former CREW director, who served from the program's inception in 1979 through 1981, is a black female. According to her, youth were recruited into the program via advertisements on the radio stations and in the local newspapers, and via personal referrals. She said she used many of her personal contacts to recruit women. This was a successful method for the first year (1980) because four women were accepted into the program. During the first year of the program, three options were offered: painting,

Table 6.1

Characteristics of Women in CREW at Entry 1980-1986

											Retention Results
1.	P	1980-81	S	B	18	0	Parents	GED	8.6	8.0	Friend Left- Pregnant
2.	L		S	B	18	0	Parents	GED	9.1	7.7	Friend
3.	L		S	B	21	0	Parents	GED	8.1	7.3	Friend
4.	P		S	B	19	0	Parents	H.S.	10.8	9.7	Friend Left- Back to College
5.	C	1981-82		B							N/A Grad
6.	C			B							N/A Grad
7.	C	1982-83	S	B	18	0	Parents	11/2 Coll	12.9	10.2	Friend Grad Back to College
8.	C		S	B	19	0	Parents	GED	8.4	7.3	Friend Left- Refused to Con- tinue
9.	C	1984-85	D	B	23	1	ADC	GED CREW	10.4	9.1	Friend Left- Pregnant
10.	C	1985-86		W	19	0	Friends	H.S.	10.0	9.7	MWC Left- Needed Job
11.	C			B	19	0	Parents	GED	9.0	9.2	MWC Grad
12.	C			B	19	1	ADC	H.S.	9.3	8.4	MWC Grad
13.	C			W	26	0	Parents	H.S.	10.4	9.2	Friend Grad
14.	C		Sep	B	26	2	ADC	H.S.	11.8	10.2	Friend Grad

Records unavailable for 1981-82.

S = Single, D = Divorce, Sep = Separated

MWC = Midwest Women's Center

P = Painting Program, L = Landscaping Program, C = Carpentry Program

CRJ = Construction Related Job, NJ = Needed Job

landscaping, and carpentry. Two of the women entered the landscaping program and two entered the painting program.

According to the former director, subsequent recruitment of women for the carpentry program was not successful. She did have one young woman who expressed an interest in carpentry and had, according to the former director, excellent manual skills and potential. However, the young woman, who admitted to the former director that she is a homosexual, felt that the stress of fighting historic discrimination against homosexuals and sexual harassment in the construction industry, was too much to handle. Therefore, the young woman elected not to attend the CREW program.

Recruitment efforts since 1981 have been somewhat different. CREW recruits by referrals, contacting schools and, until its closing, from the Sunbow organization. The Sunbow organization was a pre-apprentice program which trained women in the construction trades and prepared them for entry into the Washburne Trade School.

One of the difficulties experienced by CREW in its recruitment of women was the lack of supportive services.

CREW provides no child care services or health benefits for families. Initially funded by the State of Illinois as a pilot program, CREW provided free medical benefits for the program participants and allows for any changes which were needed to make the program operational and successful.

These medical benefits made it possible for all the participants to have some assurance of medical care if the need arose. Since 1981, the program has been funded by the City of Chicago. The City does not provide medical benefits for the participants and the Illinois Department of Public Aid will not allow participants to retain medical benefits because they receive "wages" (minimum wages) while participating in the program. This denial of benefits is a real barrier to participation for many women because they cannot afford to be without medical coverage for their children. Additionally, Public Aid does not allow for a child care allowance for female participants in CREW.

Another impediment to attracting women to CREW is their perception that they are not welcome; this perception was developed during the orientation period. Two of the women felt that the instructors were sexist and condescending toward women. These women were seeking admission to the program, but claimed that the instructors were not serious about having women in the program. It seemed as if the instructors went out of their way to curse at the women and made examples of them during physical exercises. One such exercise was carrying two large buckets of water along a 50 foot straight line without spilling the water. When queried about their perception, one instructor justified his actions this way:

... when these girls get on real jobs they will be talked about, cursed at, flirted with, and whatever. So



I try to prepare them for the real world when it comes to working in the carpentry field. Some of these girls are so cute and dainty, I don't think they will make it any way.

The female participants who complained about the instructors said that the male students were more supportive of them in the orientation sessions than the instructors. The men in the orientation said that they (men and women) were in the same boat, that is "trying to get into the program," and were not "affected by [the presence of] the women." The instructors, on the other hand, seemed distracted by the women and not able to deal with their presence. According to the staff, one woman refused to continue in the program because the instructors were continually making sexual advances and pressuring her because she would not submit to their wishes.

One of the many problems women face when they are attempting to enter or maintain jobs traditionally held by men is sex discrimination. These non-traditional jobs, such as carpenters and plumbers, are those which are traditionally held by men (Silver, 1989:115-119). According to Silver:

... there is a much greater under-representation gap in such trades as carpenters, electrical workers, plumbers, and operating engineers. Essentially, it is possible to speak of patterns of inequality of access as resulting from the interrelationship between individual-level racism and sexism and the social structural characteristics of the localized market.

Discrimination in the construction industry against women is pervasive.

### A Profile of Women in CREW

Women in the CREW program from 1980-1986 represented 15.2% of the total participants (Table 4.1). Most of the women in the program were single. While half of them graduated from high school the other half received their General Education Diploma (GED) while attending the CREW program. The reading scores for the women upon entry into the program ranged from 8.1 to 12.9, with an average score of 9.5. The math scores ranged from 7.3 to 10.2, with an average score of 9.2 (Table 6.1).

The majority of the women in CREW were black, living with their parent/s, and were between 18 and 26 years of age (Table 6.1). According to the participants' personnel file and interviews, their common program expectations were to acquire a skill, a good paying job, and become somewhat independent. Independence for these women meant being able to support themselves and their families.

### Discrimination

The former director of CREW felt that discrimination toward women in the construction industry in general and the CREW program in particular was relatively the same harassment and sexism. Her personal experiences in the CREW program were both positive and negative. She was a part of the development and implementation of CREW and was liaison to the union. According to the former director, the union coordinator was very receptive to her plans for CREW and

"helpful" in the assignment of carpentry instructors to the program. In other words, the union coordinator agreed to allow her to interview and select instructors for the program. However, the union stipulated that union carpenters would be hired from the local union and CREW would pay the wages, benefits, and union dues for the instructors.

This arrangement did not give CREW complete control of the program. For example, the union provided the curriculum, book list, and certification examination for the program.

On the negative side, the former director had great difficulty supervising the carpentry instructors. She attributed this to chauvinism and their "feelings that because I made \$8,000 less than they did I was not in a position to supervise them." The point is, the carpentry instructors belonged to the union and the union had jurisdiction over them. As long as the instructors paid their dues and were good carpenters the union stood by them. The carpenters knew that their formal relationship was with the union and now with CREW.

However, because of her "relationship" with the union and instructors at the Washburne Trade School, the former director said she was able to obtain a copy of the carpenter's examination. She felt that because she had such good rapport with the union coordinator, she was able to talk and reason with him. She said that she explained the need to have access to the examination in order to improve the pass

rate of the participants. Although they (CREW) were not supposed to have the examination, the former director said it helped her and the instructors to prepare the students better to pass the examination. Yet only four out of 23 students in the 1980-81 class passed the Washburne examination (Table 3.2).

Since the former director left the program the then and current administrator of the Center has not been able to get the examination or the scores of the students who took the examination. According to the former director, the administrator and the union coordinator always had a strained relationship. As a matter of fact, she stated, "the administrator told me when I first started that I would not be unable to get along with the union coordinator because he [union coordinator] was never very pleased with the community based training programs." The administrator said that he was very frustrated by the union coordinator's lack of sensitivity to the needs of the CREW participants.

#### Men as Helpmates

The women in CREW had mixed feelings about their relationships with the men in the program. Some saw their experiences with men in CREW as negative and disruptive to their lives. One woman saw her experiences in CREW in relationship to her goal of becoming a carpenter. That is, "do what you have to do and take whatever comes along because the goal is what matters."

Another women felt that her experiences were very positive, particularly with the instructors. She graduated from CREW, is black, 26 years old, the mother of two children, and has had two years of college. Although she never responded to the researcher's letters or calls, she gave the instructors high marks in a letter which was sent to CREW:

I must take this time to say that The Neighborhood Institute has given me the opportunity to meet two of the best instructors I have had in my years of education. Their learning techniques have enabled me to grasp a clearer working knowledge of the trades.

Another woman, named Susan, also graduated from CREW and is now employed in the carpentry field. She is white, 28 years old, single, and a high school graduate. Susan seemed very assertive and confident. She expressed her experience as somewhat positive:

CREW was OK for men. As a female I had no problems in the program. None with the instructors or other students. If you came in with earrings and necklaces and tried to be cute you would have problems. But if you came in serious and dressed appropriately for the job there was no problem. You know, it wasn't difficult for me because I was more mature when I entered the program. I was 26 years old. I'm 28 now. But I made it plain to the instructors that if they had a problem with me they should call me to the side and talk to me. They seemed to respect me for that.

In spite of Susan's positive relationship with the instructors, she felt that the instructors treated the other participants as children. The instructors were always yelling and "talking down" to the other students as if they were "dumb and stupid," she said.

One factor which cannot be ignored is that both of the women who expressed very positive feelings in relationship to the instructors were older (26 years old), confident, and more mature than the other women participants. They also expressed no difficulty with their fellow classmates or their own identity. They seemed not to be threatened by the program itself (construction) or the instructors.

The other interviewee, Linda, terminated the program due to pregnancy. She is black and was 23 years old when she entered CREW. Linda expressed different feelings about her treatment and felt that the instructors treated her badly. One incident which made her very angry dealt with one instructor assigning her to place telephone calls to solicit funds:

And then one time he [instructor] had this big money making idea about any woman on the school's student council. I was part of the student council. He said, 'Linda you get on the phone and make these telephone calls and see if they can supply us with this, this and the other.' I said, well why should I get on the phone. He said, 'well you know how to do these things better than all us men up here.' I said, well I don't believe you are asking me this and that is very sexist.

Even though Linda protested, she acquiesced to the demand of the instructor.

Another incident which Linda perceived as discriminatory dealt with a session the class had on the use of tools. The students were required to learn the proper use of a hammer:

They [instructors] were hell bent on me using my right hand. I'm left handed. One of the instructors told me that you have to learn how to use your right hand because you know you might have to be over here and

cannot reach over there with your left hand.

When the researcher asked if the left handed male students had to learn how to use the hammer with their right hand, Linda answered, "... matter of fact there was a guy. He was left-handed, and he did not have to learn to use his right hand." According to one instructor, they (instructors) do not try to make participants use any particular hand. "As a matter of fact," he said rather smugly, "it's better if you can use both hands."

She felt that the instructors were making it difficult because she is a woman. Silver (1986:116) shows that this form of harassment drives women from the field:

... women apprentices can easily find themselves discouraged by the treatment they receive on the job ... it is very likely that many decide to leave the industry on account of the prejudice and discriminatory behaviors they experience.

Men in the class seemed more sensitive to the women than did the instructors. One of the students said he believed that Susan was one of the best carpenters in the class and that she was very helpful to the other students. He was quick to point out that:

[T]he instructors don't mess with her. She does her work and she's good. I think they know not to mess with her. Sometimes they [instructors] give the other girls a hard time, but not Susan.

Another student said that they tried to help Susan whenever she needed it and she didn't seem to mind, but she seldom needed any assistance. According to Susan:

The instructors wouldn't let the fellows help the women

because they [instructors] said they won't get any help when they get to the jobs. It seemed kind of silly to me but like I said I got along with the instructors and the other students. We helped each other when we had to [men and women].

Linda's experience with her fellow classmates was quite different. When listening to Linda one gets the impression that she was a little uncomfortable being in the class and at times unable to readily accept help from the men in the class. One student said he understood why Linda was reluctant to accept help:

It was all right, you know, she didn't really like it because you know how the men are ... they really try [sic] help and she didn't like being helped. You know, she used to get on us about that. She's just like one of us and she said we ought to treat her like everyone else.

Another classmate added that he felt:

[Linda] tried hard ... she was very smart ... I liked her ... she was accepted but sometimes the guys would ... they would joke and joke around, I would say too much ... she accepted it, but she felt, I suppose she felt singled out or something by being the only woman there.

Yet, another student expressed his overall concern for the lack of respect for the women in the class. He felt that the language and name calling by the instructors was unnecessary. He said:

There was screaming and name calling ... All kinds of disrespectful things. And the young lady I felt sorry for her because a lot of the things they [instructors] would say, I would say there's a lady here, but that wasn't heeded.

Silver's study (1986:117) indicated that he:

... witnessed less gut level resistance to female apprentices. In fact, many male workers were quite



solicitous and helpful. The obvious reason is that they tend to find the presence of women less threatening than that of Black or Hispanic men. It is possible that part of the explanation is that men can find a measure of security in their interactions with inexperienced female trainees. Having women act as gofers or instructing them in the skills of the trade, allows men casually and comfortably to assert a dominant role.

Several of the male students in CREW conducted themselves in the same manner. They were very helpful and supportive when physical demands were made of women in the class. For example, during the orientation session the men in the class would tell the women that they could carry the pails of water without spilling it if they would watch how they (the men) do it and then walk slowly. Whenever the women had to perform a physical task the men would clap and cheer them on. Notably, there was no cheering section for those men who were having some difficulty doing the same task. It was as if men were expected to be able to perform any task assigned. Such expectations can cause identity crisis for both sexes. (Men as macho and women as feminine.)

This identity crisis certainly became real for Linda. She felt that she always comported herself as a "lady" but now she found herself doing some of the same things the men in the program were doing:

I didn't like it ... I hated it and a lot of times I worried because I actually got tough ... I said [to her boyfriend] I'm losing my femininity ... look at my hair, listen to the way I talk ... I use more foul language. It was around me ... Yeah, it bothered me because I had never thought of myself as wanting to be in. I have always been a leader and here I was following and that really bothered me and I said I'm just not myself anymore and what am I going to do. I don't know if this

program is right for me.

How one perceives his/her identity in the workplace is crucial to one's ability to perform. As Linda questioned her lack of femininity, so did the potential recruit who did not enter the program because she was uncomfortable with her homosexuality. Although men may not necessarily want a woman to work in construction, at times, as Silver points out, they will help them (1986:117). Although there is no evidence to substantiate this, if a woman is a known homosexual and works in construction, men may have a tendency to feel that she is trying to be one of them, resent her presence more than an effeminate woman, and be less tolerant of her. Accordingly, men may expect her to do everything they have to do.

In 1960, women 16 years of age and older constituted approximately 38% of the labor force. By 1980, women were over 50% of the labor force (Berch, 1982:7). Despite the latter fact and the reality that women are continually moving into non-traditional jobs, male dominated socialization still exists. This factor alone creates a stressful, emotional, and psychological effect on women who desire the supposedly "non-traditional jobs" (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986:41-42). Not only is it difficult to get these jobs but for those women who do get them, the wages they receive, generally, are not commensurate with what men earn in the same position. Data collected by Rytina (1982) in 1981 supports this statement. Of the craft occupation groups studied, 23% were

men earning \$360 per week, while 2% were women earning \$239 per week. In other words, \$121 per week difference for the same job.

Plus, women, in most instances, cannot command the same respect and status as men. Although the affect of socialization regarding social roles, for men and women, has changed somewhat over the years, the acceptance of women in construction jobs has been slow. As MacKinnon explains (1979:235): men continue to keep women in subordinate roles because they are usually able, by virtue of their position of authority, to determine a woman's upward mobility, access and opportunity for jobs.

Women want to be seen as women who happen to enjoy doing a particular type of job, whether it's the traditional kind of job women hold or men hold. The stigma of being seen as lesbian or not feminine presents many problems for women as well as men, particularly in social relationships between men and women. Although the liberal view "encourages us to say, that lesbians are entitled to live as they please [however] heterosexuality is institutionalized in this society and, thus, is made compulsory for all except those who are deviant ... lesbianism is tolerated as a deviant choice, but it is not seen as a positive alternative to the patriarchal control of female sexuality" (Andersen, 1988:317).

Most women work out of necessity. The growth in the number of women participating in the labor force is partially

the result of an increase in the cost of living, an increase in the divorce rate, women graduating from college, and women electing to have fewer children. Because many women need to work, they seek it for the same reasons as men. These include: job satisfaction, good wages and benefits, and acquisition of experience. Given that many women are heads of households, high paying jobs such as those in the construction industry seem very attractive to them. The women in CREW said they were attracted to carpentry because of the pay and the independence they could acquire with the trade. For example, going into the construction business or being employed as an independent carpenter. However, continued sexism militates, to a great extent, against the equal opportunity which women seek.

#### Job Referrals

One of the objectives of the CREW program is to place students on carpentry related jobs. Susan got her first carpentry job on her own initiative. She applied to the City of Chicago for an entry level carpentry related position and was called to come to work as soon as she graduated. Around the same time, she had also applied to Stevens retail store for a job. Susan was hired for the city job but only worked one day before she was called to work at Stevens. The city job was with the Washington Development Center. This Center helps rehabilitate Senior Citizens' homes. According to Susan:

It was only a nine month program funded by the city. I only worked there one day. I knew I needed a steady job or at least one I knew would last more than nine months. I left there and went to the Stevens store. It was a better opportunity even though I was in the retail area. The manager knew I had gone to school for carpentry and he now lets me assemble shelves, put up fixtures, displays, and make a few other things.

Although Susan welcomed the opportunity to be directly involved in all phases of carpentry with the City job, the most important thing for her was job security. She lives with her parents but wants to get her own apartment. She said that she was too old to continue to depend upon her parents, "they have been very supportive of me but I have to move on." The job at Stevens was not specifically a carpentry job but the manager allowed her to use her skills on projects which required knowledge of carpentry. Susan felt that the job had promise and the manager told her that she would be doing more carpentry related jobs.

Susan said she felt that the instructors were really not that interested in placing her because she was a woman. According to Reskin and Hartmann (1986:51) networking, called "the old boy network", is crucial to one's ability to obtain a job. Susan said she was told about the Stevens job by one of the counselors:

Mr. [the carpentry instructor] was working very hard to get the Stevens job for a man who had graduated a couple of years ago but the Stevens store wanted a woman for the job because it was a retail store for women and they felt that I would be better for the store as a role model. I pretty much created my own position by using skills learned at CREW. I do some carpentry. I really like my job.

According to the personnel records and interviews, Susan was the only woman who entered the program who was referred to a job in the carpentry field. She was referred to Stevens only after the employer insisted on a woman. Even then, the instructor refused to refer her, the counselor did. Susan said the counselor told her that the carpentry instructor was still trying to convince the employer to hire a man who had been a student the year before she came. This is one example of how the "old boy network" may come into play.

In spite of the fact that the instructors and administrator said they wanted to recruit more women into the program, a young man was being given preference over Susan. "Women's exclusion from informal networks in which information is shared ... has [negative] implications ... women seem to be stuck in sex-segregated networks ... that put them at a professional advantage" (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986:55). Had it not been for the counselor, who happens to be a man, Susan may never have heard about or been referred to a carpentry job. This action by the instructor is in direct contradiction to his high praise of Susan's competence and the quality of her work. The Susan scenario is an excellent preface to a review of the retention of women in the CREW program.

### Retention

Between 1980 and 1986, 14 women entered the CREW Program. Of this number, 50% graduated. Two women in the

1981 class and one in 1982 graduated and took the Washburne exam but did not pass. Four women in the 1985-86 class did not take the Washburne examination because CREW no longer had a relationship with the union and the Washburne Trade School.

Only one of the women who graduated is employed in the carpentry field and she was in the 1985-86 class.

Two of the women terminated from CREW due to pregnancy. Two women returned to college. Two women terminated the program without giving any reason. One woman refused to continue in the program.

Of the seven women who graduated, one obtained a job in the carpentry field while three obtained non-construction related jobs. One graduate went to college. Records were not available for the other two graduates.

Recruitment and retention of women in CREW is very much tied to the perceptions women have about the CREW program in particular and the construction industry in general. Cavalier attitudes and discrimination experienced by women in the program retard the growth and success of the program. Negative behavior on the part of the instructors can and does have, an emotional affect on women. It may cause them to "clam-up", become introverted, feel intimidated, experience health problems, and drop-out of the program.

One of the men in CREW indicated that his girlfriend was in the program. She wouldn't agree to an interview because, according to the boyfriend, she was "so disgusted" with one

of the instructors that "she didn't want to hear CREW's name." She also felt that whatever she said could hurt her boyfriend's chances for future employment or referrals from the instructor.

The program administrator did express his concern about the issue of retention of enrollees, particularly the women:

The journeymen [carpentry instructors] set up the rules and regulations for the program. The thing that we have to be concerned about with the participants is that most of them have not realized successes, that's why they are here. We don't want to push them out. We do have an attendance requirement. But I try to get the journeymen to look at each student individually and the circumstances that surround. For example, we just had a young lady who was probably out for three weeks. Normally, she would have been dropped. And I asked them [the journeymen] what was their decision. They said according to her attendance record, she should be dropped. I asked, how was she otherwise? She was an excellent student. We looked at the circumstances surrounding why she was not here and she was having some extreme personal problems. There was no need for us to add to that. We talked to her and she still wanted to be in the program. She just needed to get rid of the pressing problems.

The administrator had no formal control over the carpentry instructors. They are journeymen in good standing and are therefore supported by the union. According to the union coordinator, only in an extreme case would they replace an instructor. He said they (instructors) have seniority and are qualified as carpenters. However, if the union coordinator had developed the program, he would have instructors with degrees and teacher certification like the faculty at Washburne Trade School.



### Summary

Many of the women who entered the CREW program were not prepared to go into non-traditional jobs. The program offered no sensitivity training to the instructors as it relates to special problems women face in the construction industry. Nor did the program offer counselling to women regarding their expectations and the problems they would face in the construction industry.

Social support for women within the CREW program is nonexistent. From statements made by the administration and instructors "no real planned effort" was developed to attain the administrator's stated goal of "at least 30% female participation" until 1985. Because male bosses and co-workers often perceive women who enter non-traditional jobs as either lesbian, unfeminine, bisexuals, or trying to be like men, some women may be reluctant to enter the trades (Silver, 1986:116). These negative attributes may, in some instances, be planned to exclude women in jobs which are traditionally held by men such as construction. However, most women, when offered work, will accept employment.

Additionally, women in this society are still expected to be responsible for the raising of children, however, those support systems so necessary for them to be gainfully employed in certain sectors are not there. Child care services and health benefits are but two essential systems. For women who may wish to return to school, particularly

unemployed women, single parents, and those on public aid, the lack of support services and medical benefits are barriers to their full participation in the labor force. CREW lacks supportive services for its participants. They do not provide child care services or medical benefits. All of the participants' income is at or below the poverty level and many are on public assistance. When the participants enter the CREW program are on public aid, their medical benefits as well as public aid ceases. A serious problem for the very group it is supposed to help and who need help the most.

## CHAPTER VII

### IMPLEMENTATION AND RELATED PROBLEMS

#### Introduction

The success of social programs is directly related to the impact the program has on the constituency it is intended to serve. The primary goal of the Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works (CREW) program is to train young adults between the ages of 16 and 26 years old in the field of carpentry. The students are given practical experience in carpentry related jobs, such as rehabilitating apartments in property owned by The Neighborhood Institute. Additionally, they receive classroom training in reading comprehension and mathematical skills. These services are intended to prepare the students to pass an examination, which is a prerequisite for entry into the Washburne Trade School's apprenticeship program, and to receive certification as an apprentice carpenter.

In order to achieve its primary goal of carpentry training and placement, CREW employed several strategies. One strategy was to develop a linkage between CREW and the AFL/CIO Chicago District Council of Carpenters (union) which would facilitate the articulation of at least ten CREW students into the Washburne Trade School's apprenticeship

carpentry program. The union coordinator was to provide a pool of eligible carpenters for selection by CREW as instructors, provide curriculum guidance relating to carpentry, and proctor the Washburne examination. CREW's program director was charged with the responsibility of collaborating with the union coordinator to accomplish this end.

Another strategy, conceived by the program administrator, was to develop a construction company which would give CREW students an opportunity to gain practical experience as well as business acumen regarding the construction industry. Any money generated by the company would provide additional equipment and tools. To accomplish this objective the program director was to work with the South Shore Bank to secure the financial backing essential for the establishment of the construction company.

Selection of carpentry instructors was assumed by the program director with assistance from the union coordinator. The union coordinator would refer candidates to the program director. The program director felt that because the union coordinator was familiar with the carpenters and the quality of their work his assistance would yield the best instructors for the program. The carpentry instructors, with the approval of the program director, would be responsible for interviewing and selecting students for program admittance. According to the instructors, the program director's approval

was pro forma because "she really didn't know what to look for in a carpenter."

This chapter looks at the problems of implementation which CREW encountered throughout its first six years, 1980-86. These difficulties are expressed by people who were directly affected by or were responsible for effecting the implementation process. Although there were problems of money, administration, and record-keeping, there were also questions of attitude, perception, and feelings of racism. These differences of opinion are expressed by the administrator, the union coordinator, the carpentry instructors, and the students.

#### Administration

According to the administrator, the ability to fully implement the CREW program was hampered from the program's inception. One objective of CREW's plan was to develop a construction company. Accordingly, the initial budget of \$425,000.00 included \$100,000.00 for the development of the company.<sup>1</sup> However, according to the administrator, \$65,000 of the allocation was spent for a consultant and a bookkeeper who were not helpful to the program. It was hoped that the consultant would design a business plan to include: objectives, timetable, and outcomes. The bookkeeper was to set-up an accounting system for the construction company. The administrator said that neither a completed plan nor an accounting system were ever submitted. When asked why he

paid for consultant and bookkeeping services when they did not receive a finished product, the administrator said, "we just wanted to move on and put that behind us."

The remaining \$35,000 was paid to skilled carpenters to rehabilitate a building owned by the Housing Department. The initial plan was to allow the CREW students to help rehabilitate the building, which would have provided them with practical experience. However, the administrator said that the city intervened. According to him, the city said that the students could not be responsible for such a large job because they lacked the experience and were not in an apprenticeship program. In other words, they were not in the union.

According to the administrator, the construction company was to have been comprised of students who completed the CREW training program. The company would solicit rehabilitation work in the community. This would include carpentry work for businesses as well as houses and buildings. "We got that going in 1982 ... students that completed that training in 1982 actually were the majority of the stockholders in the corporation." He said the company closed in 1984. The construction company "never really got off the ground ... I think that it became problematic after we didn't get our plans in place."

He felt, however, that once they had gained some business acumen the South Shore Bank would be willing to

provide them with the \$20,000 in capital needed to reopen the construction company. The bank refused and CREW has not been able to obtain any alternative funding for this aspect of its program. When asked what they (CREW) had done to improve their business acumen, the administrator said that, "just being able to run CREW and handle the budget for the past four years has given us much solid experience in running a business." He wasn't sure why the bank refused to give them the \$20,000 loan but assumed that since they (CREW) were funded by a governmental agency it was not in their (the bank's) best interest at the time. The administrator said he tried a couple of foundations but to no avail.

Money continues to be a source of concern for CREW. For example, limited funds are allocated for materials and equipment in the budget from the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, its primary funding source. The administrator said that all other materials and equipment are donated by companies who get a "large write-off on their taxes." He also pointed out that "new and better" equipment is vital to the training of carpenters. He said, "We need to improve on our delivery in hands on training. Part of [the problem] is ... a lack of equipment and supplies." The construction company, according to him, would have greatly assisted in providing equipment and aided in providing the practical training for participants.

Some students perceived the lack of adequate materials

and equipment as inhibiting their opportunities to gain practical experience. They were anxious because they understood, as did the instructors, that they needed to get as much practical experience as possible to be successful in the subsequent phases of the program and as carpenters.

Another objective of the CREW program is to prepare participants to take the apprenticeship examination for entry into the Washburne Trade School and certification by the AFL-CIO Chicago District Council of Carpenters (union). The carpenter's union administers the apprentice examination. According to the union coordinator, participants who scored 70 and above were admitted to the school. Prior to 1985, 30 students took the examination: nine passed (30%) and were admitted to Washburne's apprenticeship carpentry program. The 16 students in the 1985-86 class were not allowed to take the examination because of difficulties CREW was having with the union. The union and CREW were involved in heated discussions regarding the low pass rate on the Washburne examination for CREW students. The unwillingness of the union to share the actual test scores or to discuss areas in which the students did poorly, and, of the union's refusal to give the Washburne test to the 1986 class, was the beginning of the end of their relationship.

Effective 1987, the CREW program "severed" its affiliation with the AFL-CIO Chicago District Council of Carpenters (union) and Washburne. The scenario for this



action, according to the administrator, was:

Initially our relationship with the union was amiable ... we did everything they asked. At the present, we have severed all of our relationships with the union. We have no relationship with the Chicago District Council of Carpenters. That relationship has not been beneficial to us ... they administered the test for our students and saw if they passed or failed. I'm not quite sure if some of those students they say failed failed. We don't know what the score was or anything ... in five years that we have had a relationship with them they have never placed one of our students. The union will not provide them with placement assistance ... the union will tell them [students] to go back to where they started from [CREW].

The administrator felt that the union coordinator's unyielding resistance to ameliorating the problems CREW was experiencing, was "a sure sign that they [the union] never wanted or intended for this program [CREW] to be successful."

The former director also expressed concern about CREW's inability to get the examination results from the union. She said it was important to know in what areas of the test participants failed. She felt this information would help the program administrator, along with the instructors, develop ways to improve the pass rate for the CREW participants. She said that she and the program administrator both prevailed upon the union coordinator to share examination information with them to improve CREW's pass rate. According to the former director and the program administrator, the union coordinator has been adamant in his refusal to share examination results.

The union coordinator, even though he assisted in their selection, felt that the carpentry instructors were not

competent enough to teach the CREW participants what they needed to know to pass the Washburne examination. He said, "we don't have to show them [CREW] any exams" and felt that they [carpenter instructors] needed to be professional [a college degree and teacher certification] and then the CREW students would be better prepared to pass the examination.

The lack of affiliation with the Chicago District Council of Carpenters makes it extremely difficult for students graduating from the CREW program to get a union card to do work in Illinois. The administrator has attempted to get around this denial of union membership by trying to place CREW participants with journeymen contractors and letting these contractors sponsor the participants:

... they [contractors] sponsor them ... they [students and contractors] make sure they tell these people [union] that they are not from The Neighborhood Institute.

The Chicago District Council of Carpenters is an affiliate of the AFL-CIO (union), the national organization. Since they severed their affiliation with Chicago District Council of Carpenters union in 1987, CREW's affiliation is with the Allied International Construction Union. This is a black organized union with locals in Gary, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Chicago. Nevertheless, lack of carpentry jobs is still problematic for CREW graduates. This is due to the fact that most of the construction jobs in Chicago have an exclusive agreement with the AFL-CIO and will not recognize the Allied International Construction Union card.

One observation of the administrator has general and program specific implications around the problem of youth unemployment. According to him, youth in the program need to develop a sense of pride in themselves and their work in order to be able to get and keep a job. They cannot have what the administrator called, "bad attitudes or those attitudes which may reflect hostility toward supervision, or feeling that they are worth a lot more money when their experience is limited." This problem of "attitude" may be a reaction to the way employers treat youth, but it also addresses one of the self-imposed barriers to employment among youth.

This is not to say the youth, particularly poor minority youth such as those in CREW, intentionally display a "bad attitude" but the rejection and frustration they encounter can have a negative affect on their attitude as well as their behavior. Elton Jolly of the Opportunities Industrial Centers (OIC) said, "Rejection is a terrible thing ... If you experience it enough, you get to the place where you don't apply [for jobs] anymore. Rejection then becomes helplessness and hopelessness becomes frustration" consequently you may have a youth who has an "attitude" (Benenson, 1983).

In spite of the administrator's feeling that youth think they are worth more than their experience may dictate, Borus (1983:59-102) and Sullivan (1982:234) found that many

unemployed and minority youth were willing to work for subminimum wages. Even though many of the minority youth in Borus' study (1983:39-40) disliked their jobs, their attitude toward "willingness to work" was generally positive (Borus, 1983:74-78). This researcher found that the students in CREW wanted to learn and work but felt frustrated by the lack of structure in the program and the fear that they might not pass the union certification examination.

### The Union

Union membership is the port of entry for carpenters who want to work in the construction industry. Since the union controls access to most of the carpentry jobs, it is critical for participants enrolled in training programs, such as CREW, to seek membership in local chapters of the carpenters union.

According to its coordinator, the union was invited by the Chicago Board of Education to work with CREW and other programs, to bring more minorities into the carpentry trade. He said that in 1979 there was some initial reluctance by the AFL-CIO Chicago District Council of Carpenters (union) but when they talked with the CREW administration they were assured that there was plenty of work in the community to be done. "... when they [students] became apprentices then they [CREW] would assist to place these people [students] to work because they [CREW] always said the work was there."

When the union coordinator was asked about the problems he saw which led up to their disassociation with CREW, he

said, "community based organizations do not have the ability to run construction programs the way they should be." He felt that one of the main problems with implementing community based organization programs such as CREW is the eligibility requirements:

The difference between the people ... you must come from a disadvantage ... whereas I deal with a high school graduate, from anywhere in the system. It might be an affluent family ... you find mostly these people that go through these programs [such as CREW] are dropouts.

His point was that programs such as CREW only admit those youth who have incomes at or below the poverty level. His assumption was that those youth are mostly high school dropouts and/or have low academic skills. However, the union coordinator felt that the youth he recruits for non-community based programs such as Washburne, are high school graduates, from middle class families, have good academic backgrounds, and are more suited for success in the construction industry.

He also complained that the union does not have enough input into the program. The Mayor's Office of Employment and Training (MET) provides the funding and program guidelines. According to the union coordinator, MET's delay in finding programs such as CREW delays the starting date for the students. The union coordinator expressed his frustration:

The program starts in August. It doesn't start at the fiscal year June 1 or July 1. They [MET] won't listen ... and honor what we say. They want to run it. I met with the Mayor's Office. I met with her [the director] and her deputies [MET] and I said to hell with it and I just walked out.

CREW is a 12 month program with students graduating in

June. However, the program does not start until August even though the fiscal year begins in July. The orientation takes place the first two weeks of August. Therefore, the students miss six weeks of work which the union coordinator said is needed. According to the CREW administrator, "we can't start the program until we get a signed contract and the money."

The strained relations among the union coordinator, MET, and CREW administrators were expressed throughout the interview. The union coordinator also complained about the level of education and teaching experience of the instructors. He felt that because the carpentry instructors in programs such as CREW lacked teaching experience and training, they could not teach all the procedures and facets of carpentry in an effective manner. Because of these "deficiencies", he feels the instructors are unable to provide the necessary instructions to improve the pass rates on examinations.

A former carpentry instructor at Washburne, who happens to be black, said that the union was really not interested in affiliating with programs such as CREW because most of the instructors were minorities. He said he was the only black carpentry instructor and had to leave Washburne because he was under scrutiny and pressure from the union not to assist the community based programs. Plus, he was not consulted, as were the white instructors, about the development, policies, or direction of these community based programs.

### The Carpentry Instructors

Three of the carpentry instructors interviewed learned their trade from family members who were in construction. They felt that their practical background held them in good stead in teaching CREW participants. One carpentry instructor had been the owner of a construction company for over 20 years. Another took carpentry in high school, joined the army and took carpentry, and went to Washburne Trade School after his discharge from the service. He brings around 20 years of experience in the CREW program. The other carpenter instructor says he has spent over 15 years in the carpentry field.

Even with all of their practical experience and trade school training, and the fact that he assisted in their selection, the union coordinator opposed them. A college degree and teacher certification was primary according to the union coordinator.

The carpentry instructors were unanimous regarding the lack of equipment, materials, and tools. They said there were over 100 tools listed on CREW's inventory but almost all of them were "missing". One instructor noted that only three of the tools he found belonged to CREW. The rest belonged to one of the instructors. "I don't know what happened to all of the tools," he said, "but you['ve] got to have equipment to train them [students] with ... more tools and supplies for the hands-on training."

In addition to the lack of tools and equipment, another instructor felt that it was a real hardship for the students to buy their tools. The participants use their stipend to purchase material. They are expected to purchase at least \$500 worth of personal tools, equipment, and books while in the program. These expenditures average \$80 per month, plus costs for transportation and lunch. The participants receive around \$450 per month (minimum wage) for 35 hours of work training per week. One instructor described the plight of the participants:

The things that we are lacking here, we [instructors] have been buying the sand paper ... they [students] have been buying the sand paper. There is different little stuff that the program hasn't provided that it should be providing, like sand paper and different materials ... they [students] had to buy the materials to get their tool box. I'm just saying the lumber ... there are basic things other than tools and books. They [students] shouldn't be obligated to really buy anything else ... the money is low. Here you are talking to young people 19 to 26 and it's hard for them to get a check and basically they can't get another job or they will be taken off the program. They can't support themselves ... it specifies that when they come in ... this job does not pay ... is not a salary. It's just to provide you transportation, tools, and books. Well, at that age ... well a 19 to 26 year old kid, comes home and eats and sleeps, and he can't provide any food ... then he gets troubled. Everyone of them are having these problems. We let them talk it out and they really ... I really felt the depth of what they were saying. I know it's the minimum wage, but ... I was talking to my partner...

His co-instructor, highlighted another dimension of the problem. When asked if he thought the problems the participants were having caused hardships for them, he replied:



Yes, somewhat ... even though we tell them in the beginning of the program that this is not to support your mother and two sisters and brother at home, pay your light bills and stuff like that ... you know if you see that your family is hungry, you are going to buy food before you buy tools. Which is understandable ... I still tell them ... I sympathize with your problems at home, but in order to have a car you have to put gas in it. In order to do carpentry work you have to have tools. So it's a little hard on them but in the long run ... [now] they see the full picture ... in the long run when it's time to go to work and they have all the necessary tools, then they are ready for work. After they start making \$17 an hour after they become a journeyman all those days of hunger will be in the past. I know it's rough on them. Sometimes they don't eat lunch. Some of them walk to work. What that tells me is that these kids are dedicated. Sometimes I have to be a little firm ... I know it hurts. I can understand that, but it is going to hurt even more after the 12 months and you are still in the same position that you were when you first started [no tools].

Although the aforementioned problems were troublesome for the instructors, their primary concern was the difficulty they were experiencing with the Washburne Trade School and the union. Their concerns were the same as the CREW administrator. The participants must get a union card in order to work in Illinois. One instructor likened not having Washburne credentials to, "... going to Yale or Harvard versus going to one of the community colleges or an unaccredited college." He felt that if Washburne would share the student's examination scores with them, CREW would have an opportunity to modify their program. However, he expressed his ultimate frustration when he said, "Washburne uses tests as a tactic to screen-out black applicants."

The instructors felt that the union coordinator could not "deal with strong, independent black men" therefore he

(union coordinator) opted to ignore any requests the instructors would make, or challenges to his direction regarding CREW. This was another reason, according to the instructors, that the union severed its affiliation with CREW.

The instructors felt that at this time, the only way they could keep the program going is to work with the union from Gary since they have a local in Chicago. They also agreed with the administrator that they would go to some construction companies and see if they would let CREW graduates work with them. This way the construction company could get the students in Washburne as an apprentice. One instructor said that the Washburne connection was crucial for CREW participants:

As racist as it seems to me, the people in power are the ones with the jobs ... they know how Washburne is. Anybody that comes out of there really has to pay their dues to get up there. So it's worthwhile. Not only that, but it says that here's a kid that's working and going to school and willing to complete four years [at Washburne]. It has a lot to say for the kids. Say I can start this and I can't finish. If you hire me I can go from point A to point Z. If we [CREW] was still with Washburne Trade School, I think we would have an easier time meeting the objectives [getting students in the construction field].

The instructors were trying to be realistic about the limitations the students would experience with the union in Gary. Most of the construction work in Chicago is done by construction companies affiliated with the AFL-CIO Chicago District Council of Carpenters (union). The Gary union could not provide adequate jobs through its Chicago local because

they only had a couple of construction companies with whom they worked.

### The Students

In spite of difficulties experienced by some participants in the CREW program, almost 73.9% of those interviewed saw the program as effective and 69.6% would recommend it to a friend (Table 4.9). Effective to them did not necessarily mean that they graduated and were admitted to the Washburne Trade School. For many, it meant that they had a place to earn a little money and/or keep them off-the-street and out of trouble. One student expressed his feelings about the program as:

... fun. I really enjoyed the work. That's what I liked about it. Not getting to Washburne, it didn't really affect me too much because I know I can make it on my own.

Another student who also felt positive about the program stated:

It was a good program and we had fun ... we were doing work ... we got along well at work and off the job. It was just a good program and wasn't like being in school. We weren't just sitting at the desk all day ... you were out there learning something ... doing something with your hands.

A third student stated why he would recommend CREW to a friend:

Because it's a great program ... it's up to you. If you want to you can advance. You learn different things, like I learned different things. It can keep you out of trouble. You know how the street life is. It will keep you with a clear head and you can advance and also you are learning a trade.

These students felt that the CREW program offered them

an opportunity to be somebody. There was a sense of pride and optimism about their ability to succeed even if they were not able to get into the apprenticeship program. This feeling of confidence is the sense of pride the administrator felt the students needed to be successful.

One of the students who would not recommend the CREW program to a friend or return to CREW if offered another opportunity made these observations:

I'll say if you just need something to do ... if you just absolutely have to have something to do to keep from hanging loose and getting into all kinds of trouble ... I'd take the program. Just to keep you off the streets. But so far as learning, if you don't have any kind of knowledge of the field at all don't expect too much ... I don't think it's for anybody serious.

Another student felt that the program was a "flop". He felt that CREW needed to have instructors who were more professional and could be role models for the students. The student making this statement was older. He felt that because of his maturity he was not affected by the instructors. His assessment, therefore, was out of concern for the other students:

I think the program caused a lot of frustration and hopes ... shattered hopes. I think it caused some confidence to be ... to be lost on not the system ... but the black system. Prejudging young people ... the stereotype and 'so we [instructors] have to treat them [students] accordingly.' Seems like they [instructors] try to treat them [students] in a way ... a rough way ... a street type setting ... Not an educational or professional atmosphere, but a street setting where the teachers were as rough as the students ... They [students] were decent enough to be treated with respect. There needs to be more qualified teachers from a better background experience. These teachers have the same background that their students have. It's like the

blind leading the blind ... sheep not shepherds. If you got everybody in there that are sheep, then there is nobody in there to lead them out.

Several students felt that one of the instructors was lazy and played around too much. One of the students said:

... and one instructor that wanted to joke around ... that was a joking around instructor. You work for him, you got it made. You say one thing, you got it made. Mr ... what do you think about the war ... Then he would just start. If you didn't want to do no work we would say we are going to work with Mr. [instructor].

These students were disenchanted with the program.

Their expectations of CREW were high. Where the students who "would recommend" the program saw CREW as beneficial because it kept them off the street, these students felt they wanted more. They felt that going to school was serious business and should be taken as such by both the students and the instructors. The fact that they were not treated as serious students and the instructors were perceived as lackadaisical, turned them off. For them the program did not work well, was not run adequately, nor did it provide the appropriate academic and practical training. Structure, professionalism, and accomplishment were what they expected from the program.

The rules regarding tardiness and absenteeism were problematic for some students. They felt that the CREW instructors were too inflexible especially when it came to tardiness and docking students pay for that infraction.

One student felt that even though they had to be there on time, the fact that they had nothing to do for the first couple of hours was the reason some came in late:

Sometimes the instructors get mad, they get lazy. There were many days we sat around and did nothing all day. If I could change that I would have... I would always have something for them [students] to do.

There were complaints from some students regarding relatives in CREW. Both instructors had their cousins enrolled in the program and some of the students felt the cousins received preferential treatment. Both graduated and passed the examination to go to Washburne Trade School. Some of the students believed that the relatives of the instructors received extra help. One student summed it up by saying, "I would like the supervisors [carpentry instructors] not to be sort of bias as far as having their relatives work...." The assumption by the students is that with enough work and help, they would have passed the Washburne examination. Although there is no previous testing information available to draw any conclusions about the "cousins," it is safe to say that if the students feel that they are not being treated fairly by the instructors, the program suffers. Particularly, since many of the students are referred to the program by other students and friends. It is in the best interest of CREW to have positive evaluations in order to sustain the program.

In order for CREW to be successful and meet its goal, all parts of the system must work in conjunction with each other: the union, the administration, and the students. To implement the program and achieve the expected outcome, students trained in carpentry at a level of competence to

become apprentice carpenters, the program has to be flexible enough to change as conditions change. This did not happen. The breakdown in relations between the union and the administration was the beginning of the breakdown in implementation. This in effect caused some students to feel disappointed and deceived. Specifically, because they could not pass the Washburne examination.

#### Record-Keeping

Poor record-keeping by CREW was evident. Although they were required to retain the student's personnel files for only three years, many of the current (1985-86) files were incomplete. An effective evaluation and enhancement of the program requires good record keeping for follow-up purposes. However, according to the administrator, there have been no follow-up efforts on the part of his staff. He said they (CREW) will call a student if a job becomes available. That, according to him, is about the extent of contact with former participants in the program. Therefore, the administrator saw no real need to retain the records. When asked about the need to develop a profile of students over the years and compare the outcomes of these students, the administrator said he felt that since it was not a requirement of the funding agency he did not see the need to do so.

In Garfinkel's (1967:186-207) study of hospital record-keeping, it is expected that information in clinical records would be retained for a long period of time. That in spite

of the fact that much information was lacking in the folders, Garfinkel says, they evidently "serve the interests of medical and psychiatric services rather than to serve the interests of research." Although records are official accounts which determine eligibility, it seems that, for CREW, once that eligibility has been established, the records are of no real future importance to the program. It is possible, then, that the record-keeping system at CREW serves its purpose.

### Summary

After a social program has been developed and funds secured, the process of implementation assumes a life of its own. No matter how well thought out the objectives are the unexpected inevitably occurs. CREW was not exempt from the problems associated with the implementation of new ventures. Even though the development and design of the CREW program was faulty from its inception, it was hoped that these problems could be worked out as the program was implemented.

One of the problems discussed in this chapter was addressed by the union coordinator and the administrator. There was some disagreement between them regarding who had the responsibility for providing a job for graduates of CREW and getting them into the Washburne Trade School. The union coordinator said they reluctantly signed on to work in the community to warrant the development of a pre-apprenticeship carpentry program. Later, the CREW administrator felt that



the union had enough contacts and leads that they could help in placing CREW students on jobs. This lack of clarity strained the already tenuous relationship between them and made the coordination of job placement impossible.

The students were confused by this situation. They were shifted back and forth between the union office and the CREW office, thus, defeating the purpose of getting them placed on a job. The instructors, too, were frustrated by the problem created by the rift. The union remained adamant in their stance that CREW was responsible for placing their students on jobs.

Another problem which the union and students felt affected the success of the program was the quality of instruction. Both the union coordinator and some of the students felt that the carpentry instructors were "not professional, competent, or committed to helping students learn the trade." Although some of these same students expressed disillusionment with the teaching, they still rationalized their reasons for remaining in the program. That is, "to have something to do, make a little money, and stay off the street."

The third implementation problem was the lack of adequate materials, tools, and equipment. The CREW administrator, instructors, and the students were unanimous regarding the impact of this problem on their ability to achieve program objectives.

Funding was another problem, but to a lesser degree than the other problems. As with most social programs, CREW's use of funds was restricted by guidelines imposed by governmental funding sources. Usually these allocated funds are minimal and can barely maintain the program and do not take into account unforeseen expenditures necessary to implement the program. For example, CREW's unexpected need for additional materials and equipment exceeded the dollars allocated in the proposal. The lack of incentive to seek additional funding was due to a corresponding reduction in MET funding. For every dollar raised by the CREW program to acquire additional tools, materials and equipment, a dollar is deducted from the funds received from MET.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. The first year's funding was provided by the State of Illinois' Department of Commerce and Community Affairs.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### Summary

Regardless of the economic condition of this country, the rate of unemployment for youth is decidedly higher than that of adults. More startling is the fact that the unemployment rate for black youth is three times that of their white counterparts.

This study is an examination of the Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works (CREW) program. CREW is a pre-apprenticeship carpentry program which attempts to prepare youth in and around Chicago's South Shore community for construction jobs. Utilizing the case study approach, this research combines labor market theories, a historical analysis of programs developed to address youth unemployment, and an empirical method of participant-observation, interviews, and personnel files.

Dual labor market and human capital theories are examined to ascertain which theory drives public policy regarding programs to address youth unemployment. Research indicates that the human capital theory and the self-help approach are models used by most contemporary youth programs to prepare youth for the transition to adulthood and the

world of work. Thus, the human capital variable, education and training, has the most significant effect on youth unemployment.

From 1960 through 1980, different philosophical ideas about work in general, and work experiences for youth specifically, have impacted upon the kinds of programs created for youth. Historically, except for Jobs Corps, most programs developed to address youth unemployment were maintenance type programs. That is, programs which provided youth with an opportunity to earn a little money while learning behavioral expectations of employers. For example, how to dress for work, how to get along with supervisory personnel, being on time for work, and being diligent. The 1980's public policy response to youth unemployment was developmental programs. These self-help programs, modeled after the human capital theory, were intended to develop the youth's talents and have the long-term effect of a productive adult.

The population for this study included 92 youth who participated in the CREW program between 1980 and 1986. The sample included 23 participants and 22 others who were directly or indirectly associated with the program. Results of these interviews indicate that most of the students felt that the program was effective for a variety of reasons. However, only 17.4% of the sample were admitted to the apprenticeship program in carpentry at Washburne Trade

school.

The program administrators and instructors perceived the program as moderately successful. Constraints imposed by the funding agency and barriers created by the union were seen as impediments to the full realization of an effective and viable program.

The union coordinator perceived that the program was ineffective. He believed that the lack of professional/college trained instructors was one of the reasons CREW participants had a low pass rate on the examination to get into the carpentry apprentice program. Additionally, he felt that participants in programs designed for persons below the poverty level, like CREW, lack the necessary motivation and perseverance to stay such programs.

#### Concluding Statement

This study is not one from which statistical inference can be drawn. Nor will it provide specific answers to the complex problems of youth unemployment. The value of this research is the many questions it raises about the modus operandi of cooperative and collaborative efforts to address the youth unemployment problem. This case study illustrates the need to be aware of the difficulties involved in developing, managing, and implementing pre-apprentice programs for minority and female youth. It also provides insights into the institutional barriers and male perceptions which keep women from obtaining jobs traditionally held by men.

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APPENDIX 1.1

Unemployment Rate for Selected Years  
16-19 Years Old

	Total	White	Black	Difference	Total Unemployed
1969	12.2	3.1	6.4	3.3	
1970	15.3	4.5	8.2	3.7	
1972	16.2	14.2	35.4	21.20	5.6
1975	19.9	17.9	39.5	21.6	8.5
1980	17.8	15.5	38.5	23.0	7.1
1981	19.6	17.3	41.4	24.1	7.6
1982	23.2	20.4	48.0	27.6	9.7
1983	22.4	19.3	48.5	29.2	9.6
1984	18.9	16.0	42.7	26.7	7.5
1985	18.6	15.7	40.2	24.5	7.2
1986	18.3	15.6	39.3	23.7	7.0
1988	15.8	13.8	32.4	18.6	5.6

Source: Council of Economic Advisors, Economic Report of the President, 1985:27; U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1988:381; Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1988:Table A2-3.

APPENDIX 1.2

DEATHS FROM SUICIDE AMONG ILLINOIS RESIDENTS UNDER 20 YEARS  
OF AGE, BY RACE AND SEX: CHICAGO

Year	Total	Male			Female		
		White	Black	Other	White	Black	Other
1985	16	9	4	--	3	--	--
1984	9	5	1	--	2	1	--
1983	15	7	6	--	--	1	1
1982	19	10	7	--	2	--	--
1981	14	7	3	--	4	--	--
1980	13	7	3	--	1	2	--
1979	23	8	10	--	4	1	--
1978	18	7	9	--	2	--	--
1977	16	6	6	--	4	--	--
1976	20	9	4	--	4	3	--
1975	20	5	5	--	6	2	2
1974	16	4	10	--	1	1	--

Source: Illinois Department of Public Health, Division of Health Information and Evaluation

4323z/SP-26z  
AW/JW Revised 3-24-87

APPENDIX 1.3

16 January 1987

Mr. Samuel Young  
Dept. of Labor - BAT  
230 No. Dearborn Street  
Room 702  
Chicago, Illinois 60601

Dear Mr. Young:

Thank you for returning my call and offering your assistance with my research project on Youth Unemployment.

Please find listed information I am seeking, and would appreciate any help you can provide in supplying this material and any other information you feel will be helpful or related to my subject matter. Some will be in the form of studies/papers and other will be statistical data.

- "The Income Value of Apprenticeships to the Black Community" by Samuel Young (1982)
- Employment in Construction in Chicago (Cook County) by race and sex in 5 year cycles from 1960 to the present, by trade i.e. carpentry
- Apprenticeship Training in Chicago (Cook County) by race and sex in 5 year cycles from 1960 to the present, by trade i.e. carpentry
- Youth participation in Apprenticeship Training at the Washburne Trade School by race and sex in 5 year cycles, by trade i.e. carpentry
- Union membership in carpentry by race and sex in 5 year cycles from 1960 to present, by trade i.e. carpentry
- "Training and Entry Into Construction" Monograph 39 and the latest monograph, if available

Thanking you again for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Joan M. Hill



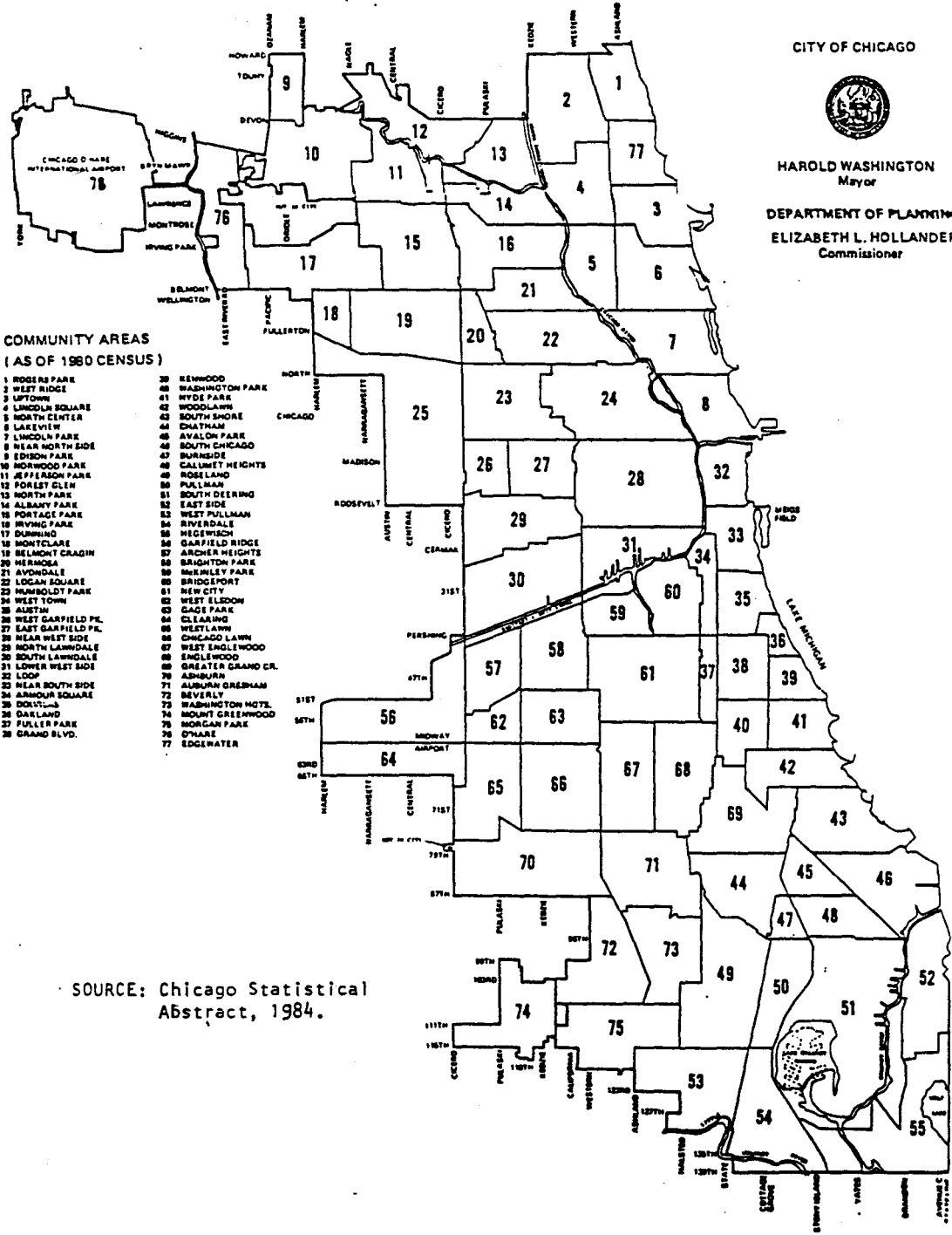
APPENDIX 1.4

CITY OF CHICAGO



HAROLD WASHINGTON  
Mayor

DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING  
ELIZABETH L. HOLLANDER  
Commissioner



COMMUNITY AREAS  
(AS OF 1980 CENSUS)

- 1 RIDGE PARK
- 2 WEST RIDGE
- 3 UPTOWN
- 4 LINCOLN SQUARE
- 5 NORTH CENTER
- 6 LAKEVIEW
- 7 LINCOLN PARK
- 8 NEAR NORTH SIDE
- 9 DIXSON PARK
- 10 MORWOOD PARK
- 11 JEFFERSON PARK
- 12 FOREST CLEW
- 13 NORTH PARK
- 14 ALBANY PARK
- 15 PORTAGE PARK
- 16 IRVING PARK
- 17 DUMMING
- 18 MONTCLAIRE
- 19 BELMONT CRAGIN
- 20 MERMOSA
- 21 AVONDALE
- 22 LOGAN SQUARE
- 23 HUMBOLDT PARK
- 24 WEST TOWN
- 25 AUSTIN
- 26 WEST GARFIELD PK.
- 27 EAST GARFIELD PK.
- 28 NEAR WEST SIDE
- 29 NORTH LAWNDALE
- 30 SOUTH LAWNDALE
- 31 LOWER WEST SIDE
- 32 LOOP
- 33 NEAR SOUTH SIDE
- 34 ARMOUR SQUARE
- 35 SOUTH
- 36 OAKLAND
- 37 FULLER PARK
- 38 GRAND BLVD.
- 39 BURNHAM
- 40 WASHINGTON PARK
- 41 HYDE PARK
- 42 WOODLAWN
- 43 SOUTH SHORE
- 44 CHATHAM
- 45 AVALON PARK
- 46 SOUTH CHICAGO
- 47 BURNSIDE
- 48 CALLMEY HEIGHTS
- 49 ROSELAND
- 50 PULASKI
- 51 SOUTH DEERING
- 52 EAST SIDE
- 53 WEST PULLMAN
- 54 RIVERDALE
- 55 HIGEWICH
- 56 GARFIELD RIDGE
- 57 ARCHER HEIGHTS
- 58 BRIGHTON PARK
- 59 BRIMLEY PARK
- 60 BRIDGEPORT
- 61 NEW CITY
- 62 WEST ELSDON
- 63 GAGE PARK
- 64 CLEARING
- 65 WESTLAWN
- 66 CHICAGO LAWN
- 67 WEST ENGLEWOOD
- 68 ENGLEWOOD
- 69 GREATER GRAND CR.
- 70 ASHBURN
- 71 AUBURN GRESHAM
- 72 BEVERLY
- 73 WASHINGTON HGTs.
- 74 MOUNT GREENWOOD
- 75 MORGAN PARK
- 76 O'HARE
- 77 EDgewater

SOURCE: Chicago Statistical Abstract, 1984.

APPENDIX 2.1

CETA ENTITLEMENT PROGRAMS:

TITLE I [which] establishes a nationwide program of comprehensive employment and training services (including training, employment, counselling, testing and placement) administered by prime sponsors which, for the most part, are States and units of general local government 100,00 or more population.

TITLE II [which] authorizes a program of developmental transitional public service employment and other manpower services in areas with 6.5 percent or higher unemployment for 3 consecutive months.

TITLE III [which] provides for nationally sponsored and supervised training and job placement programs for such special groups as youth, offenders, older workers, persons of limited English-speaking ability, Indians, migrant and seasonal farmworkers, and others with particular labor market disadvantages, as well as research, demonstration, and evaluation programs to be administered by the Secretary of Labor.

TITLE IV [which] provides the authorization of the Job Corps, a program of intensive education, training, and counselling for disadvantaged youth, primarily in a residential setting.

TITLE V [which] establishes a National Commission for Manpower Policy, and advisory group that has been assigned the tasks of examining the Nation's manpower needs and goals and suggesting to the Secretary of Labor and Congress particular means of dealing with them.

TITLE VI [which] authorizes a temporary emergency program of public service employment jobs to help ease the impact of high unemployment.

TITLE VII [which] contains general provisions, applicable to all titles, including definitions, conditions of work and training, prohibitions against discrimination and political activities, and administrative procedures for the orderly management of programs under the act.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor  
1977 Employment and Training Report of the  
President: U.S. Government Printing Office.

APPENDIX 3.1

Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works  
(CREW)

The primary goal of The Neighborhood Institute's Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works (CREW) project is to provide pre-apprenticeship carpentry training in housing rehabilitation and, where necessary, basic education and GED preparation for a minimum of ten unemployed youth in and around the South Shore community.

To achieve this goal, CREW provides classroom instruction and hands-on training in housing rehabilitation. The project's concomitant objectives are:

- 1) To develop in the participants those values, attitudes, and behavior patterns necessary to secure and sustain gainful employment;
- 2) To increase work readiness by simulating a real work environment during training;
- 3) To provide the participants with pre-apprenticeship training in carpentry; and
- 4) To complete the rough and finished carpentry work as well as hardware on properties owned by TNI.

SOURCE: THE NEIGHBORHOOD INSTITUTE PROGRAM REPORT FOR THE PERIOD - JANUARY THROUGH DECEMBER 1983.

JANUARY 1984:3

APPENDIX 3.2

ChicagoStateUniversity

Department of Sociology,  
Anthropology and Philosophy  
Ninety-Fifth Street at King Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60628



Telephone 312/995-2207

10 April 1986

Dear

I am a teacher at Chicago State Univeristy who is studying the problem of Black Youth Unemployment.

I am especially interested in the program you participated in at the Neighborhood Institute called CREW (Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works), specifically learning about the CREW program from people who participated in it.

I am conducting 1-2 hour interviews with former students of the CREW classes. I would like to talk with you, in private, about your experiences in CREW. I would be happy to talk with you at your home, at Chicago State University, or at the Neighborhood Institute. I have already interviewed several of the former students and find that there is much to learn from students about the program.

I have been awarded a small grant to work on this project and will be able to give you a stipend of \$10.00 for your time. I would appreciate your calling me at 233-7047 so that we can sit down and have an informal and confidential chat about the program.

Thanking you in advance. I look forward to hearing from you very soon.

Sincerely,

Joan M. Hill  
Assistant Professor



APPENDIX 3.3

Chicago State University

Department of Sociology,  
Anthropology and Philosophy  
Ninety-Fifth Street at King Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60628



Telephone 312/995-2207

23 July 1986

Dear

I am a teacher at Chicago State University who is studying the problem of Black Youth Unemployment. During the month of April I sent you a letter regarding this subject, however, since I did not hear from you I assumed the letter was lost in the mail. Nevertheless, I am sending this second request and hoping you will call me right away.

I am especially interested in the program you participated in at the Neighborhood Institute called CREW (Community Rehabilitation and Environmental Maintenance Works), specifically learning about the CREW program from people who participated in it.

I am conducting 1-2 hour interviews with former students of the CREW classes. I would like to talk with you, in private, about your experiences in CREW. I would be happy to talk with you at your home, at Chicago State University, or at the Neighborhood Institute. I have already interviewed several of the former students and find that there is much to learn from students about the program.

I have been awarded a small grant to work on this project and will be able to give you a stipend of \$10.00 for your time. I would appreciate your calling me at 233-7047 so that we can sit down and have an informal and confidential chat about the program.

Thanking you in advance. I look forward to hearing from you very soon.

Sincerely,

Joan M. Hill  
Assistant Professor

APPENDIX 3.4

ChicagoStateUniversity

Department of Sociology,  
Anthropology and Philosophy  
Ninety-Fifth Street at King Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60628



Telephone 312/995-2207

14 April 1986

Dear

Please accept this letter as a formal expression of my appreciation for the time you took out of your schedule to allow me to interview you regarding the CREW program. The sharing of your experiences with me regarding the program has been most helpful in my research related to Black Youth Unemployment.

I have been awarded a small grant to continue working on my project, and am happy to inform you that I will be able to give you a stipend of \$10.00 for the time spent on the interview. I will be able to forward the check to you on or before the end of May.

I would be grateful if you would call me if you can contact any of the other former CREW students for an interview. This is a very important project and will hopefully be of help to other young people who wish to attend programs such as CREW.

Please call me at 233-7047 if you can be of additional assistance to me. Again, my thanks for the interview.

Sincerely,

Joan M. Hill  
Assistant Professor

APPENDIX 3.5

ChicagoStateUniversity

Department of Sociology,  
Anthropology and Philosophy  
Ninety-Fifth Street at King Drive  
Chicago, Illinois 60628



Telephone 312/995-2207

I \_\_\_\_\_ acknowledge receipt from  
Professor Joan M. Hill, for an interview regarding the CREW  
program, the amount of ten dollars (\$10.00).

Acceptance of this ten dollar stipend in no way gives  
Professor Hill permission to divulge my name as it relates  
to the specific tape of our conversation.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

APPENDIX 3.6

## Interview Schedule

<u>Participants*</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Interview Date</u>
1. Paul	1980	6-16-86
2. Clarence	1980	6-17-86
3. Mike	1981	2-28-86
4. Bobby	1983	8-13-86
5. Dennis	1984	1-22-86
6. Linda	1985	1-24-86
		6-18-86
7. John	1985	1-24-86
		5-8-86
8. Sam	1985	1-25-86
		6-18-86
9. Ronald	1985	1-27-86
		5-13-86
		6-21-86
10. Mel	1985	2-3-86
11. James	1985	2-3-86
12. Tyler	1985	5-1-86
13. Tom	1985	5-1-86
14. Adam	1985	5-3-86
15. Ali	1985	8-25-86
16. Hugo	1985	10-18-86
17. Winston	1985	5-17-86
		6-23-87
18. Walter	1985	5-17-86
		7-2-87
19. Benito	1985	7-23-86
20. Butler	1986	7-23-86
21. Harry	1986	9-27-86
22. Susan	1986	7-18-87
23. Ken	1986	7-22-87

\*Note: Synonyms are used to protect the identity of the participants.



<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Interview Dates</u>
Robert Wordlaw	Program Director	**
Olivia Grady	Assist. Program Director	**
Mr. Phillips	Program Counselor	**
Pearlene Haywood	Secretary	**
Helen Richardson	Former Program Director	3-15-88
		3-16-88
		4-26-88
Delina Wilkerson	Former Monitor	3-14-88
		3-21-88
		3-29-88
		4-26-88
Adolph Dardar	Union Coordinator	10-20-86
John Branson	Former Carpentry Instructor at Washburne Trade	7-10-86
		7-23-86
Michael Bennett	President-The Neighbor- Institute	1-17-85
		6-7-85
		4-25-85
		9-21-86
Samuel Young	Director-Bureau Apprenticeship Training	1-6-87
		1-15-87
		2-20-87
3-CREW Instructors	CREW Carpentry Instructors	**
9-Family Members	Relatives of Program Participants	**

\*\*Note: Interviews and discussions were held throughout.

APPENDIX 3.7

## CREW Interview: Participants

1. How did you find out about this program?
2. When did you decide to participate in this program?
3. Why did you decide to participate in this program?
4. How did you get selected to participate in this program?
5. How has this program helped you?
6. Is there anything about the program you would like to see changed or improved?
7. How did you feel about your classmates?
8. Did you know any of them before you entered CREW?
9. If yes, were they friends of yours?
10. How did you feel about your carpentry instructors?
11. How did you feel about your academic instructors?
12. Describe in detail how the class was run and what was being taught.
13. Describe in detail three specific days in the CREW program. One day at a time.
14. Knowing what you know now about the program and the instructors would you participate in this program again? Explain.
15. Would you recommend this program to a friend? Explain.
16. When did you leave the program? Explain why?
17. Was the training you received adequate for the job you presently have? Explain how or why.
18. Are you satisfied with your current job? In what way?
19. Since you left the program where have you been employed?
20. What jobs have become available to you as a result of being in the program?
21. Have you attended any additional classes since leaving the program?
22. In what ways was this program effective or ineffective in preparing you for employment opportunities?
23. (If graduated) Have you received your apprentice license and/or journeyman's license?

APPENDIX 3.8

## CREW Interview: Instructors

1. How does this program deal with participants different degrees of skill and ability.
2. What supplies and equipment are available to the participants?
3. Describe the support services which are available to students who need them?
4. How does the program help the students secure the needed benefits?
5. How are students paid? Describe the process?
6. What are the rules and guidelines for the program?
7. Who determines these rules and guidelines?
8. How are these rules and guidelines enforced?
9. What are the objectives of this program?
10. Do you believe the program has met its objectives without significant modifications? Explain.
11. Describe the carpentry certification examination?
12. Do you believe the certification examination is necessary? Explain.
13. Do you believe the certification examination is fair? Explain.
14. What are some of the reasons that many of the students did not pass the exam?
15. How are participants recruited for the program?
16. How successful is your recruitment process? Explain.
17. How much time do the students spend on practical work?
18. Describe exactly what that practical work entails.
19. How much time do the students spend on academic work?
20. Describe exactly what that courses are taught?
21. Is sufficient time given to both practical and academic work to ensure passage of the certification exam?
22. What modifications, if any, (academic, practical, administrative) do you feel should be made to improve the quality and effectiveness of the program?
23. How did you get hired for this program?
24. What relationship do you have with the union now that you work for this program?

APPENDIX 3.9

## CREW Interview: Administration

1. Is supervision provided by highly skilled workers?
2. What kind of credentials do your workers have?
3. Is the program cost effective? Explain.
4. How effective is this program in preparing youth for employment opportunities? Explain how you measure effectiveness?
5. Does this program meet a specific need in this community? Explain.
6. What kind of support services, if any, are available to the participants in this program?
7. In what ways does this program assist participants in acquiring support services?
8. Are the participants paid on time? Explain the process.
9. What efforts are made to maintain a high quality program?
10. What are the rules and guidelines for the program?
11. Who determines what the rules and guidelines are?
12. Who enforces the rules and guidelines?
13. What are the reasons that many of the participants did not pass the examination?
14. How are participants recruited for the program?
15. How successful is your recruitment program? Explain.
16. What modifications (academic, practical, administratively) if any, do you feel should be made to improve the quality of the program?

APPENDIX 3.10



## CREW Interview: Union Coordinator

1. How do you feel participants from CREW fair relative to other carpentry programs? Explain.
2. Describe how effective or ineffective CREW is in preparing youth for the carpentry trade?
3. Explain the differences, if any, in CREW compared to other carpentry programs relative to academic and practical applications?
4. Does your union have any input into the development or improvement of this program? If yes, explain the process. If no, explain why not?
5. Describe the level of communication between you and the carpentry instructors at CREW regarding the union examination and the results of the examination.
6. Describe ways in which you feel CREW could improve the pass rate of its participants?
7. Exactly how would you assess the CREW program?
8. Why is it important to take the certification exam?
9. What does the carpentry exam measure?
10. Do you feel the certification exam is fair?
11. How important is your association with CREW? Explain.

APPENDIX 3.11

**THE NEIGHBORHOOD INSTITUTE  
COMMUNITY REHABILITATION ENVIRONMENTAL MAINTENANCE WORKS**

**ORIENTATION SCHEDULE**

<b>Monday, July 29, 1985</b>	<b>Tuesday, July 30, 1985</b>	<b>Wednesday, July 31, 1985</b>	<b>Thursday, August 1, 1985</b>	<b>Friday, August 2, 1985</b>
<p>8:00 AM - 9:45 AM Overview Program</p> <p>10:00 AM - 11:30 AM Math Test</p> <p>11:30 AM - 12:00 noon Lunch</p> <p>12:00 noon - 2:30 PM Testing</p>	<p>8:00 AM - 11:30 AM Measurement Workshop</p> <p>11:30 AM - 12:00 noon Lunch</p> <p>12:00 - until Research Assignment</p>	<p>8:00 AM - 9:00 AM TEST</p> <p>9:30 AM - 11:30 AM Review Test</p> <p>11:30 AM - 12:00 noon Lunch</p> <p>12:00 noon - 2:30 PM Physical Test</p> <p>Homework</p>	<p>8:00 AM - 11:30 AM Panel Discussion: -C. Dew, C. Dew &amp; Sons -Sam Douglas, Contractor -Jim Harvey, Dept. of Housing -Sheldon Johnson, former CREW student</p> <p>11:30 AM - 12:00 noon Lunch</p> <p>12:00 noon - 2:30 PM Physical Test Teacher Interviews Homework</p>	<p>9:00 AM - 12:00 noon Selection Committee</p> <p>1:00 PM - 2:30 PM Assignments</p> <p>Homework</p>
<b>Monday, August 5, 1985</b>	<b>Tuesday, August 6, 1985</b>	<b>Wednesday, August 7, 1985</b>	<b>Thursday, August 8, 1985</b>	<b>Friday, August 9, 1985</b>
<p>8:00 AM - 3:00 PM Safety Training</p>	<p>8:00 AM - 3:00 PM Safety Training</p>	<p>8:00 AM - 3:00 PM Site Visits</p>	<p>8:00 AM - 11:30 AM Overview of Curriculum</p> <p>11:30 AM - 12:00 PM Lunch</p> <p>12:00 noon - 2:30 PM Student Agreements</p>	<p>8:00 AM - 11:30 AM Pearline Haywood</p> <p>11:30 AM - 12:00 PM Lunch</p> <p>12:00 noon - 2:30 PM Physical Test</p>

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Joan Marie Hill has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Judith G. Wittner, Director  
Assistant Professor, Sociology, Loyola

Dr. Kathleen McCourt  
Associate Professor, Sociology, Loyola

Dr. Alan S. Berger  
Adjunct Professor, Social Work, Loyola

Dr. Carol L. Adams  
Director, Resident Services and Programs, Chicago  
Housing Authority

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

4/19/89  
Date

  
Director's Signature