

"Stepping UP" Para. II

Book/Article

Re AA women in

Rhetics / Leadership
Role

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Apprenticeship and Construction Regulations

The Bureau has been assigned the role of coordinating Departmental activities to support the Monitoring Committee established by the consent decree in Advocates for Women v. Marshall. The Women's Bureau continues to take a lead role in the Department for the coordination of efforts to provide access for women into apprenticeship programs and construction employment. The bureau has developed, and received verbal commitment from ETA for funds to implement, a plan to hold regional training sessions for employers, union officials, outreach program operators, women's organizations and potential women apprentices on techniques for recruiting and placing women in apprenticeship and construction. A training manual on women in apprenticeship was prepared by the Bureau as a tool for conducting the regional training sessions, and is presently in the editing and printing stage.

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The Women's Bureau held consultations with thirty prime sponsors to elicit their support for the YWCA Jobs Network program on women in apprenticeship and construction. Three prime sponsors have identified funds to support the jobs network in their area within their program monies for FY 1980. Other prime sponsors have made commitments to consider funding the jobs network which will provide outreach for women to place them in apprenticeship. The Jobs Network projects are located in cities and/or SMSA's where other DOL funded outreach programs are not located. The Women's Bureau designed this program, including carrying out an analysis of demand for construction trades and identification of areas with no existing outreach program.

Since 1978, the Bureau has assumed a leadership role in developing apprenticeship programs for incarcerated women. Voluntary training programs in women's prisons have been notoriously inadequate and confined mainly to training in sexually-stereotyped occupations--clerical work, cooking, sewing, cosmetology, etc. The Bureau has undertaken programs to act as a catalyst to sensitize and involve communities in programs to improve vocational training and job opportunities for women offenders and to encourage voluntary groups as well as government agencies to work towards this goal.

The Women's Bureau, in cooperation with the Bureau of Prisons (Department of Justice) and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training achieved a major break-through on vocational programming for women throughout the corrections systems. Formal apprenticeship programs were established in 1978 in each of the four Federal correctional facilities which house women. In two all-female institutions and two co-correctional institutions, programs for women are now operating in trades such as carpentry, plumbing, steamfitting, auto mechanics, power house operation, garment cutter, air conditioning and refrigeration offset press operation and electrical work.

The WB sponsored a consultation at the Federal Correctional Institution for women at Alderson, West Virginia in mid-March to encourage the use of apprenticeship training in State prisons for women. The purpose of the consultation was to demonstrate how the apprenticeship program works at Alderson and how it could be adapted to State facilities. The participants included State corrections officials, commissioners, wardens or superintendents, and education and training directors. They represented twenty-nine States. This activity is a spinoff from cooperative efforts of the Women's Bureau, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and the Bureau of Prisons, U.S. Department of Justice, which resulted in establishment of apprenticeship training for women in Federal Correctional Institutions, and represents the culmination of many years of effort by a key WB staff member. WB Regional Administrators are pursuing plans to implement apprenticeship training in State prisons in cooperation with State officials attending the Alderson meeting.

Comprehensive Employment and Training Act

In FY 78, the Women's Bureau worked with Departmental officials in formulating CETA reauthorization legislation, including provision of equitable services to the significant segments of the eligible population, overcoming sex stereotypes, flexible work and training schedules, displaced homemakers as a special target group, and research and evaluation related to the needs of women. In FY 79, the Bureau participated in the Departmental Review Committee and prepared extensive comments through issues papers and revisions to CETA regulations and the Forms Preparation Handbook. Because of the complexity and multiplicity of changes in CETA, it is clear that without training and technical materials, including modelson effective services for women, prime sponsors will not have the know-how to implement provisions to improve the level and quality of services to women, as required by provisions on equitable services, overcoming sex stereotyping, removing artificial barriers to employment, and providing alternative work and training schedules for persons with household responsibilities. Current data, resulting from the untargeted nature of CETA prior to the 1978 amendments, indicate that women, including young women in youth programs, are underrepresented in CETA programs, and are concentrated in traditional low-wage occupations, such as clerical and service. These patterns must be changed to achieve self-sufficiency for the 67 percent of the disadvantaged who are women and to provide work skills needed for full and equal access to jobs.

The Women's Bureau has received informal verbal commitment that ETA intends to set aside \$200,000 for the development of technical assistance guides and presentations on issues of concern to women. This setaside is a result of a Women's Bureau proposal, a systems approach to improving the effectiveness of CETA programs for women, which was submitted to ETA in April 1980. The Management Assistance and Action Program, which will be funded through the setaside, provides for the appointment and training of ETA regional women's program specialists, briefing sessions for WB and ETA management staffs (both national and regional), and training for WB regional staff on CETA procedures. The primary targets of the management Assistance and Action Program are the CETA prime sponsors, with initial emphasis on those prime sponsors identified as being closest to defunding for failure to operate the program correctly.

Displaced Homemakers

The Women's Bureau provided leadership to the ETA/WB Task Force on Displaced Homemakers, which developed the policy direction and program design for the Displaced Homemaker Demonstration Program. The Bureau monitors the promotion and development contract to provide technical assistance to prime sponsors; maintains contact with the Displaced Homemaker Network on progress in implementing the Demonstration Program; and participates on review panels for grant awards. An estimated \$6 million in Title III funds will be requested by the Bureau to carry out the Department's commitment to this constituent group in FY 81.

Labor Market Information

The Women's Bureau developed the first Federally delineated characteristics on displaced homemakers. A complete set of data on this CETA special target group was prepared by State and major SMSA and, then, was provided to prime sponsors, Congressmen, SESA's, other Federal agencies and individuals who operate, or want to operate, displaced homemaker programs. Using the displaced homemaker data formats as a model, detailed characteristics data on the CETA eligible population were developed by ETA for Prime sponsor planning for FY 81. These data provide detailed characteristics by sex, age, race-ethnicity, family status, economic status, welfare status. This information is available for each significant segment of the eligible population, i.e. Black female, Hispanic male, etc.

Pay Equity

In 1979, the Bureau developed a five-year research agenda to implement the new research amendments focusing on employment needs of women, specifically, to investigate the extent to which job and wage classification systems undervalue certain skills and responsibilities on the basis of the sex of persons who usually hold the position (Sec. 311(d)). In FY 80, the Bureau proposed research hypotheses and projects for FY 80-82 for consideration by the Interagency EEO Research Committee and proposed that \$1 million be allocated to Section 311(d) issues in FY 81.

The Women's Bureau co-sponsored a National Conference on Pay Equity in October 1979 to inform the public and policymakers of the severe inequities caused by job segregation and wage discrimination, and to develop strategies to address this issue. A conference report on pay equity was prepared, containing the conference proceedings, a survey of legislation and litigation in this area, updates on efforts to organize around the issue, collective bargaining activities, examples of comparable worth studies, a list of resource material available on pay equity, and research agendas developed on pay equity.

WB prepare alone or help?

In April 1980, the Director of the Women's Bureau testified at the EEOC hearings on job segregation and wage discrimination. She pointed out that the strategies for overcoming such discrimination are much the same today as they were in 1952, when the Bureau sponsored a national conference on equal pay. She also reported that this issue of occupational segregation and resultant pay inequities between women and men is of international concern, as reflected by the communique and declaration coming out of the ministerial conference on the employment of women sponsored by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris, France. She concluded by saying the Women's Bureau will continue to address itself to achieving pay equity through its own mandate to promote the interest of women workers and through the conduct of research on job and wage classification systems as authorized under the CETA amendments of 1978.

The Women's Bureau has participated actively on the Interagency EEO Research Committee, as well as in meetings with research staffs of DOL agencies to ensure that R, D and E programs reflect the needs of women workers. The Bureau has taken the lead role in the development of research agendas on the issues of pay equity and alternative working arrangements.

Interagency

Occupational Safety and Health

In FY 79 the Bureau worked closely with the Coalition for Reproductive Rights of Workers to have regulations issued by the EEOC and OFCCP regarding employers that have a policy of not hiring, terminating, or reassigning women of childbearing capacity for jobs in which there is exposure to certain toxic substances, unless they undergo sterilization operations. The Bureau participated in developing policy and the final regulations which were issued in FY 80.

As a follow-up to the regulations on reproductive hazards in the workplace the Women's Bureau and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) co-sponsored two conferences on the employment of women and safety and health. The conferences were held in Denver and Rock Hill, South Carolina. Another conference is scheduled for California in late-1980. *3rd held?*

Department of Justice/Task Force on Sex Discrimination

As part of its responsibility, the Women's Bureau continues to carry out DOL leadership for eliminating sexist language from laws and regulations, as required by the Presidential memorandum of August 26, 1977. A proposal for a course for writers of regulations on the elimination of sexist language in regulations was prepared by the Women's Bureau and approved by the Secretary. The course will be presented three times beginning in July 1980. The Bureau coordinated development of the course content with the Office of the Solicitor and the Task Force on Sex Discrimination of the Department of Justice.

Did course actually happen

Women Business Owners

The Director of the Women's Bureau played a leadership role on the original Interagency Task Force on Women Business Owners created in August 1977. In June 1978 the Task Force issued its report to the President, The Bottom Line: Unequal Enterprise in America. This report found, among other things, that women-owned businesses were still hampered in the Federal procurement process by the unavailability of information and by biases in the procurement system. It also stated women face barriers in legislation, regulations, capital information, credit and Federal loans and grants. In response to this report, the President created the Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise in July 1978 to implement the recommendations of the Task Force report. The Committee has worked with Federal agencies to expand procurement opportunities for women business owners. In May 1979 the President issued Executive Order 12138 establishing a National Policy on Women's Business Enterprise. This policy directs each agency to establish goals for contract awards to women-owned businesses.

The Women's Bureau Director chairs DOL's Task Force which monitors all goal achievement for women-owner businesses and the minority bank deposit program. She is on the Executive Committee of the ongoing Interagency Committee and chairs the Outreach Subcommittee which is responsible for distributing information about the National Policy, with various

have conducted similar meetings to increase utilization by women entrepreneurs of the PASS system and inform them about their rights under the Executive Order. The Bureau participated in the development of the Business Development Plan presented to the President in December 1979, which will be funded for implementation of an Office of Women's Business Enterprise in SBA for FY 81.

The White House

Fifty States Project

The Women's Bureau has budgetary and full administrative responsibility for the President's Advisory Committee for Women and the Interdepartmental Task Force on Women, both created by Executive Order 12050 in May 1978 and amended by Executive Order 12135 in May 1979, to continue through December 1980. The President's Advisory Committee for Women advises the President on all issues of concern to women throughout the United States. The Interdepartmental Task Force advises the President on concerns of women in the Federal government. The Director of the Women's Bureau is the Federal representative to the PACW and the DOL representative on the Task Force. The director of the Bureau has responsibility for the management and administration of both groups.

International Activities -- OECD, UN and ILO

The Women's Bureau Director, along with two staff members, participated in the OECD High Level Conference on the Employment of Women, April 16-17, in Paris. The Conference was the first cabinet and ministry-level meeting of officials from the 24 member nations to address women's issues. The Women's Bureau Director served as one of the Vice Presidents of the Conference Preparatory Group that developed the agenda, the outline for the conference background papers and made all plans and arrangements. The Preparatory Group consisted of representatives of five OECD member countries and Senior OECD staff. It was at the urging of the U.S. that the conference was conceived and carried out.

Women's Bureau staff prepared comments and suggestions on all planning papers, including draft agendas and outlines of background papers. A staff member served as the U.S. Rapporteur, whose responsibility was to outline the U.S. country paper, solicit contributed information from other government Departments, as well as internal agencies, write portions, coordinate contributions, edit, and produce the finished product. That report was published on the day of the Dedication of the Frances Perkins Building, April 10, 1980. The Rapporteur also prepared and coordinated all other agency contributions of comments on other OECD preparatory documents, including position papers, and wrote the required delegation summary cables.

The United States position was that a declaration of principles was the strongest and most desirable results of the Conference. The Preparatory Group meetings and the Conference Bureau meetings were attended by the Director of the Women's Bureau and Bureau staff. It was at these meetings that drafts of OECD papers and country positions were examined and where major differences were negotiated. The Declaration, issued April 17, 1980, contained statements of principle that were in agreement with the positions taken by the U.S. Delegation. The Director of the Women's Bureau was able, with the remainder of the U.S. Delegation, to develop the necessary support from other delegations for remaining issues at the Conference, so that every point was finally accepted by the conferring member countries.

United Nations Mid-Decade Conference

Women's Bureau offices are co-sponsoring Regional Mid-Decade Conferences with the Department of State which precede the World Conference for Women to be held in Copenhagen in June. The conferences are being conducted to assess the progress of women since the National Plan of Action was developed in 1975 and to develop strategies for the remainder of the decade. Such conferences provide the framework for analysis of needs in the regions, to provide a foundation for developing programs to address needs in the States.

International Labor Organization

The Women's Bureau represented the United States as the U.S. Government Adviser at the 66th Session of the International Labor Conference held in Geneva, Switzerland, June 4-25, 1980. Agenda items include discussion of Older Workers: work and retirement, Promotion of collective bargaining, Equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women workers: workers and family responsibilities and Safety and health and the working environment.

Women's Bureau Networks

The Women's Bureau conducted an EEO training seminar for American Indian Women in Washington, D.C. in March. The seminar focused on career development for Indian women in nonprofessional, mid-management, and executive level jobs. Career options and steps to advance careers were discussed with the Native American women. They were also informed about the role of management in the Federal Government. This seminar was the third training session that has been held. The seminars are sponsored by the Women's Bureau and the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity of the DOL along with the North American Indian Women's Association. The driving force in these initiatives is the Interagency Task Force on American Indian Women, made up of Indian women representatives from various Federal agencies. A Women's Bureau staff member, who is Indian, heads the task force. A fourth seminar took place in Albuquerque, New Mexico on May 8 and 9, 1980.

Six networks have been formed as a result of meetings on the needs of and programs for target groups. These networks include CETA Advisory Councils, Chicana women, Asian-Pacific women, and Commissions on the Status of Women. The most recent network effort of the Women's Bureau, at the national level, has been the Asian-Pacific Women's Network. This network grew out of the six local consultations, sponsored by the Women's Bureau, in cities with significant Asian-American and Pacific-American communities. The consultations were held in New York, Chicago, Seattle, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Honolulu. Following the local consultations, three representatives from each city came to Washington for a national meeting at which they reported on the local consultations and developed a joint strategy for proceeding on the issues of concern to Asian-Pacific American women. They then presented their strategy paper to Secretary Marshall, in which they requested (1) a national research program on the employment needs and trends of Asian-Pacific women (particularly the refugee situation), (2) local demonstration projects, and (3) affirmative action for Asian-Pacific people in DOL staffing. The Seattle representative visited with Senator Magnuson and requested support for funds for the national research program. A letter on their behalf from Senator Magnuson to Secretary Marshall has been received.

The Women's Bureau 60 Anniversary Events

"FORWARD/adelante: Women and Work in the 80's" is the theme of the Women's Bureau's 60th Anniversary Conference, to be held in Washington, D.C., September 2-4. Through 14 workshops covering major issues of the 80's, such as family support systems, occupational segregation, young women, nontraditional jobs, and displaced homemakers, women of various racial and ethnic groups, and of different socio-economic levels, have the opportunity to learn from each other while they join together in creating strategies for solutions to key employment problems of the 80's. Over 1,000 participants are expected.

The Boston Regional Office co-sponsored a 60th Anniversary conference with Women's Enterprises of Boston. The conference theme, "Good Work! Women in Trades and Technical Careers" attracted close to 400 participants. The conference focused on women working in trades and technical fields and women wishing to enter those fields. The highlight of the conference was an Awards Ceremony recognizing 35 women who pioneered in these occupations from across the Commonwealth. These persons will serve as role models and mentors to encourage additional women to enter nontraditional jobs. The final outcome of the Boston conference will be a clearinghouse on nontraditional jobs and support network for women in these jobs. While there is growing demand for women in nontraditional jobs in the New England States, there has been no mechanism for linking women with these opportunities. The conference completes the first phase of establishing such a mechanism.

The New York regional office held six Everywoman's Day conferences in celebration of the Women's Bureau 60th Anniversary at colleges in New York and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. These all-day programs explored avenues open to women in today's world of business and the community. Informative workshops were conducted to assist women, including special target groups such as displaced homemakers and women business owners. The conferences attracted some 2,000 attendees in New York and 1,000 in Puerto Rico. The Governor in Puerto Rico chartered buses to bring women to the conference from all over the island. Proclamations were issued to the Bureau for its accomplishments in providing practical information to help women get on the track to employment and financial independence.

Two handbooks will be developed, as a result of the conferences, "Getting What You Need" and a "How To Do" which will be distributed to thousands of women in New York and Puerto Rico.

The Chicago Regional Office is conducting a conference with the theme, "NETWORKING TOGETHER: A Minority Women's Employment Conference." The Conference is designed to discuss minority women's employment issues region-wide. A Conference directory will be compiled and sent to participants. Women within each State will meet and plan for ongoing programs to meet their needs. The Atlanta Regional Office is sponsoring a conference with a major employer on alternative work patterns, entitled Families and the Work Place. The conference objective is to orient employers to the value of alternative work patterns for balancing the demands of the workplace and the family. A conference proceedings manual giving detailed highlights of each workshop will be written and sent to all participants, to serve as a working guide for employers.

Women's Bureau Demonstration Model Program

Introduction: Utilizing CETA Title III funds, the Women's Bureau has built on its networks with constituency groups to identify needs and then develop a series of special projects to improve employment opportunities for target groups with special needs, including young women, mature women entering or reentering the labor force, (including displaced homemakers), minority women, rural women, low-income women, women offenders, union women and women business owners. The overall goal of these projects is to develop innovative techniques for meeting the special needs of these target groups, and then to institutionalize them by changing policies and programs and leveraging resources from a variety of sources, including CSA, ACTION, ETA, WIN, Agricultural Extension Program, and education programs. Therefore, the impact is gaged not primarily by the number of women served directly, but rather by the potential number of persons who will benefit as a result of fundamental changes in the way public programs operate. For the most part, these system-wide changes in public policies and programs will occur in the future. The demonstration model program began in FY 78 with \$2.1 million in CETA funds, with contracts awarded late in the fiscal year. The following summarizes progress to date.

*\$2.4 in Title IV money in FY 78
can utilize up to \$10 mil.*

Low-Income Women's Project

Objective: To design, implement, and institutionalize multi-funded employment-related programs which will improve the economic situation of low-income women. Current activities in selected cities are the outgrowth and follow-up of work completed through the National and local LIW consultations in 1977 which had as its objectives: (1) to obtain primary source information and confirmation of the problems and barriers that low-income women encounter in seeking satisfactory employment; (2) to seek more effective coordination of programs and delivery of services affecting low-income women at the local level, and (3) to bring identified issues to national attention.

Accomplishments and impact:

- (1) Newark, N.J. - As a result of several meetings with WB and ETA regional staff, LIW, Newark CETA Director, and WB national office staff, funds have been committed (\$30,000 WB and \$70,000 Newark CETA) for a CBO to establish and operate a women's employment resource center in the Newark area.
- (2) Washington, D.C. - In follow-up on a recommendation from the National LIW Consultation for a National LIW Resource Center, the Community Services Administration and Women's Bureau funded a demonstration model for development of a proposal by the LIW Advisory Committee consisting of 16 LIW representatives from across the country. A proposal is being finalized, several members of the Advisory Committee have incorporated as a legal entity, and details are being worked out with the National Congress of Neighborhood Women, the organization funded to serve as the conduit and oversee the preparation of the proposal. The LIW Resource Center, to be known as Women's Opportunity Network (W.O.N.), expects to begin operating in September or October 1980.

- (3) Montgomery, Ala. - Under the auspices of the OIC Executive Director, dialogue was renewed centering on the continuing needs of LIW in Montgomery and surrounding counties. A first-phase effort was completed which consisted of a training seminar on proposal writing, management techniques and funding sources for 16 LIW who have potential for becoming community leaders and managers. The prospectus of a proposal was submitted to the WB in mid-June 1980.
- (4) The Central Alabama OIC restructured its program to meet the needs of low-income women, including providing skills training and job placement for women on welfare; designing programs for women in nontraditional jobs such as construction and welding; instituting a program for low-income women to participate in building their own homes; and initiating a pregnancy prevention program for highschoolers to prevent welfare dependency;
- (5) A Federal Interagency Committee on the economic issues and needs of low-income women has been formed to provide a mechanism for changing policies and programs. CSA, HUD, ACTION, HHS and DOT are represented. The Bureau invites a variety of community-based organizations to the meetings to build in participation by poor women.
- (6) A National LIW Advisory Committee was established to represent low-income women's interests in the Bureau's continuing program development efforts for poor women. With the Bureau's assistance, the Committee incorporated and is now an established institutional mechanism for expanding program efforts for poor women. Funds to operate the Committee were leveraged from DOE and HUD.

In addition, a variety of other projects have been funded as a result of the Bureau's low-income women's program. The Women's Bureau projects for low-income women, of which the above are a selected sample, have been the impetus for an overall increased awareness and sensitivity of a number of individuals from government (national, state and local) and the private sector concerning the issues affecting LIW. The channels of communication which have been opened and the commitments made constitute a model process for meeting the crucial needs of a large and previously overlooked target group. Moreover, the forum the Bureau created for the women serves as an example of means of finding solutions of a long-lasting nature because the women themselves are involved in the process of providing them and their families a better future. Further, now that the needs of this group have been identified and addressed nationally, local administrators and leaders are in a better position to properly plan programs and allocate resources. If the federal government is to be successful in reducing the welfare burden on its citizenry, the concepts and methods of the Women's Bureau Low-Income Project must be recognized and institutionalized, inasmuch as women are 67 percent of the poor 14 years of age and over.

Coal Employment Project Oak Ridge, Tennessee

Objectives: To recruit, select, train, and secure employment for Appalachian women who want coal mining jobs. The sites for the jobs included five counties in Tennessee--Anderson, Campbell, Claiborne, Morgan, and Scott.

Accomplishments: A training manual was prepared and in August 1979, 19 women completed the pilot training program for work in the coal mines. Training included orientation to tools and terminology, safety and health, employment rights, communication skills, and how to deal with male co-workers. The project staff contacted most of the personnel offices of the mines in order to become familiar with the application process and to explore opportunities for jobs. A resource handbook, directory of local mines, and support team newsletter have been produced. Several women have been placed in jobs, although the early phase of the program did not call for a placement goal.

Impact: The high quality of the training program has already created favorable reaction from mine owners and male coal miners. The Project is now the focal point for a nationwide linkage system of women in the extractive industries, an outgrowth of which is an annual conference of women coal miners. It is responsible for opening a channel of communication with policy makers, and law enforcers and program administrators from the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs and Mine Safety and Health Administration.

By enlisting the support of community and women's organizations, the Project has gained acceptance of the training program by the Kentucky Vocational Education Department and is conducting training throughout the State. The change in attitudes about women coal miners and the increasing sensitivity to their needs are directly related to the work of the Coal Employment Project, which is recognized nationally for its expertise in training for employment, organizing supportive networks, promoting affirmative action policies and training for mine safety. The products and expertise developed from the Project may be utilized to implement similar programs as warranted on whatever scale the local or regional needs dictate.

Low-Income Women's Employment Model Project-- San Antonio, Texas (A major project growing out of the LIW Project)
San Antonio, Texas

Objectives: To provide assistance in becoming employment ready, in gaining work skills, and in securing employment in better paying jobs for low-income women, most of whom are unskilled, heads of households, Spanish-speakers, AFDC recipients, agricultural workers, and/or former migrant workers. Fifty percent of the placements are to be in nontraditional jobs, career ladder positions or jobs paying above the minimum wage.

Accomplishments and impact: Since its inception the program has placed over 300 women. It is a successful demonstration of an approach for helping AFDC families to escape the poverty cycle. The services which the program offers include: individual counseling and follow-up, group counseling, employment readiness courses, skills training, employment placement, and post placement counseling. With the continued funding which is received from CETA and with the support of local businesses and industries, this project has become a viable model of employment training and placement for underutilized, untrained, and marginally employed women.

The high placement rate of the Low-Income Women's Project is the result of the concerted jobs development and industrial outreach components. Officers of several local businesses serve on advisory committees of the project. Recently, the project received commendation from the local Chamber of Commerce for its contribution to the economic welfare of its community. Other rural employment projects use the outreach to business techniques in building their jobs development components. The model of the LIW program will be published in FY '81. Currently, plans for replicating the program in selected cities with a high density of Hispanic AFDC families are developing. The project has been featured in several national women's magazines and newspaper articles. Policy-makers in the Department of Labor are interested in this approach to breaking the welfare cycle for women through Welfare reform.

Appalachian Women's Employment Information Project

Objectives: To provide employment related information to women in rural communities through the utilization of paired fixed and mobile sites. Special emphasis is placed upon training for employment in nontraditional jobs and upon creating linkages with local agencies so that there may be increased and continuing participation to women in employment services delivery systems.

Accomplishments: The three sites of the A.W.E.I.P. serve seven counties in Kentucky, Virginia and West Virginia. Each site has become a focal point in its community, bridging the gap between women of the communities and local employers and services providers. The A.W.E.I.P.'s, each of which has a local Board of Directors and is incorporated, has established excellent working relationships with the unions and community colleges which provide the skills training and formal structured classes for program participants. A.W.E.I.P. staffs make referrals and do jobs development and vocational counseling. They have exceeded their goals of placements in training and employment. Each site publishes a monthly newsletter. Their combined mailing lists reach more than a thousand organizations and individuals. Since its inception, over 600 women have been served.

Impact: The A.W.E.I.P. efforts are making region-wide impact. They receive extensive media coverage. The three coordinators frequently fill speaking engagements before community organizations and other services providers at which they are asked to describe their methodologies for serving rural and Appalachian women. Two of the three projects received additional funding from other sources within the first months of operation. All projects anticipate continuing operation beyond the WB funding period. The projects have made significant impact upon employers, unions, CETA program operators and educational institutions regarding suitable work for women. A.W.E.I.P. participants have been the first women in their counties to be trained by the unions in such NTJ's as deep mining, strip mining, sanitation, heavy duty equipment operation, auto body repair, electronics, carpentry, masonry, and welding.

School-to-Work Transition Project

Objectives: Beginning in FY '78 the Women's Bureau developed five demonstration models to ease the employment difficulties young women experience when they transfer from school to the workplace. The objective of the demonstration models was not only to deliver transition services, but to explore the feasibility of utilizing CBO organizations to establish linkages between the schools, public and private sectors of the community, and parents. All of the programs have a school-based component, an advisory council, parents input, and two study control groups.

Accomplishments and Impact: The School-to-Work Transition projects have accomplished the above objectives in their 18 months of operation. Since their inception, about 500 young women have received direct service. Project staff observed an increasing self-growth and knowledge of the world of work by the young women. Permanent courses dealing with women in nontraditional jobs have been established in the schools. Projects recruited female students into nontraditional vocational training clusters, where the schools had failed. Many of the students received excellent evaluations from their employers and will continue in their present jobs after graduation in a full-time capacity. Because the projects were successful, there is growing community-based support for school-to-work transition programs. Each project has had a positive result on participants, teachers, counselors and employers.

Adoption of these models by school systems in cities where the projects are located will pave the way for utilization by school systems nationwide, through Women's Bureau coordination efforts with the CETA system and the Department of Education, vocational education programs and State Sex Equity Coordinators. The Bureau will work with ETA to prepare a directive to Prime Sponsors on utilization of the models. In Philadelphia, the YWCA has shown that a CBO can involve young women in nontraditional vocational education. Because of Philadelphia's success, there will be nationwide replication through the YWCA network.

The Women's Bureau projects also demonstrated how to develop excellent relations with the business community. An advisory council was established and was composed of community leaders and representatives of organizations, employers and parents of participants. This group assisted the projects in gathering career information, providing in-service training, and identified summer worksites, and permanent jobs. Spin-offs would include better utilization of the private sector in youth programs nationwide, thus reducing the unemployment rate for young women, which are the highest in the country.

Teen Mothers Demonstration Project (To be funded by the end of FY 80)

Objectives: Develop models which will demonstrate how to provide comprehensive services which address the needs of adolescent mothers; deter future adolescent pregnancies; reduce school dropouts and/or promote the return to school; and broaden occupational horizons to focus on preparation for jobs enabling young mothers to become economically self-sufficient.

Impact: This initiative will be the first Department of Labor effort to impact on the growing problem of teen age pregnancy, by providing a guide post for developing employment programs for teen mothers. This program will have a widespread impact on local CBO's, CETA Prime Sponsors, and school systems. Specifically, the program will have an impact on CBO's by providing models for replication by community-based organizations. The school system will be expanding the vocational education service for adolescent mothers with specific emphasis on nontraditional jobs. Prime sponsors will provide models that link education and employment for teen mothers in the community. Finally, these programs will provide the CETA community with information about how best to reach and assist the young teenage mother, the fastest growing poverty population.

Nontraditional Occupations (NTO) Project of the Boston YWCA, Massachusetts

Objectives: To increase the occupational alternatives of participants by engaging them in nontraditional work experience, and providing alternative educational programs. The participants were a precisely targeted group of young women 16-19 years of age, low-income, high school dropouts, and residents of selected school districts of the city of Boston.

Accomplishments and impact: Since the inception of the project, 39 young women received direct services. All participants were exposed to supervised work experience and received "hands-on" instruction in skill areas such as carpentry, electricity, and painting/plastering; alternative educational services ranging from equivalency preparation to remedial instruction and tutoring; career counseling; and occupational fitness training to help them acquire knowledge, strength, stamina, and flexibility requirements of nontraditional jobs.

The program model has evolved through numerous challenges to an approach which can be replicated nationwide. The changes in the attitudes, aspirations and self-worth of the participants were significant. Young women who had never worked or worked as cashier, waitress, counter help before the project obtained jobs as welders, telephone repairer, painter/carpenter after the project. The program operators, through a series of tested experiences, as well as trial and error, learned that they had to make modifications when trainees quit their jobs or were dismissed because of poor attendance, tardiness or poor performance. With this group, sex stereotyping was also a problem. It becomes clear for government planners, funding sources and program operators that there must be flexibility and many different kinds of bridges to the world of work for young women who fit the description of this target group. The model can have nationwide impact through the YWCA, which operated the project through the CETA system.

Women's Opportunity Program

Objective: To provide employment training and placement information to women in rural counties of the deep South. Employment readiness services include work orientation, follow-up counseling, GED tutoring, and career counseling. An additional component is jobs development in both minimum wage positions and non-traditional employment for women.

Accomplishment: The Women's Opportunity Program, a project of the Women's Bureau, is providing the only employment-related services to women in two rural counties of Mississippi. Since its inception 200 women have been served. Local government and community agencies have been contacted in the effort to increase both the number and the quality of job opportunities for rural Black women. The Okolona site, located near the Tom Bigbee Waterway, has received from the company the promise of eight initial training slots, with others to follow periodically if the first placements result in continued successful employment. This is a breakthrough in the training and employment of rural minority women in nontraditional jobs. The model which would follow from this demonstration will answer many how-to questions.

Impact: As the only service provider in two counties, the WOP impacts significantly upon both individuals and institutions within their communities. Businesses, industries and agencies now are able to interface with a facility which offers expertise in improving employment skills, developing community relations, and interpreting and implementing affirmative actions regulations. The jobs developer and the social workers conduct follow-up of each employment placement. Local employers have affirmed the quality of work which is being done by employees from a sector of the population whom they previously had not hired in manufacturing and sales positions. Other communities in Mississippi have asked for guidelines in the development of a similar employment related services agency for their rural counties. Interest also has been expressed in the possibility of using this project to develop successful placement methodologies on highway projects in the rural South which can be adapted to highway construction along the migrant stream, thus amplifying the employment opportunities for these rural women. Since 23 percent of the poor women are in Region IV, this project has wide applicability to addressing this problem.

Workload/Performance Measures

*From Emily Hall
202-512-4907*

	<u>1980 Estimate</u>	<u>1981 President's Budget</u>	<u>1982 Request (Cumulative) Current</u>	<u>Enhancement</u>	
				Level 1	Level 2
A. Policy Development					
1. Legal proposals completed	42 ^{1/}	42	42	49	59
2. Policy documents completed	30	30	30	37	43
3. Research proposals completed and carried out	75	75	75	89	119
B. Policy Implementation					
1. Constituent liaison programs completed					
a. Publications prepared	20	30	30	40	53
b. Presentations on DOL/WB policy issues completed	160	160	160	170	200
c. Public inquiries answered	102,000 ^{1/}	106,000	106,000	125,000	151,000
2. Conferences and meetings conducted ^{2/} 100		190	190	220	252
3. Self-help and institutional ^{2/} mechanisms developed	12	51	51	71	105
4. Target group models activated/ monitored ^{2/ 3/}	60	110	110	155	265

1/

Revised estimate based on FY 79 actual

2/ \$1.0 million in project funds is required to carry out regional activities.

3/ \$5.0 million in project funds is required to carry out national demonstration projects.

Women's Bureau Constituent Inquiry Work Flow Table

	FY '79	FY '80	FY '81	FY '82
Prior year carry-in plus current year constituent inquiries	39,535	118,605	123,256	145,349
Responses completed	34,000	102,000	106,000	125,000 <u>1/</u>
End-of-year balance	5,535	16,605	17,256	20,349 <u>1/</u>

1/ Assumes Enhancement Level increase for FY '82 of 22 additional FTP positions. Without this increase, the carry-over would be the difference between the 106,000 projected response completions in FY 81 and 125,000 projected response completions in FY 82 plus the 20,349 projected end-of-year balance for FY 82, leaving a possible carry-on balance of 39,349.

Women's Bureau Demonstration Program (Models)

Model	No. of Persons Served ^{1/}	Replications
<u>Completed:</u>		
Coal Employment Project	19	
The Nontraditional Occupations (NTO) Project	46	2
Young Women's Company	168	
Low Income Women's Employment Project (San Antonio)	390	2
Appalachian Women's Employment Information Project	600	

In Progress:

School-to-Work Transition Demonstration Projects (five models)	499	1
YWCA Demonstration in Employment of Rural Women	700	
Women's Center for Education and Career Advancement	350	
Women's Opportunity Program in Rural Mississippi	200	
Omaha Women's Clearinghouse for Employment Information	1,000	
The Female Offender Apprenticeship Program in Federal Prisons	50	
Teen Pregnancy Employment Demonstration Project (Contracts for nine models will be signed by the end of first quarter of FY '81.)	2,500 ^{2/}	

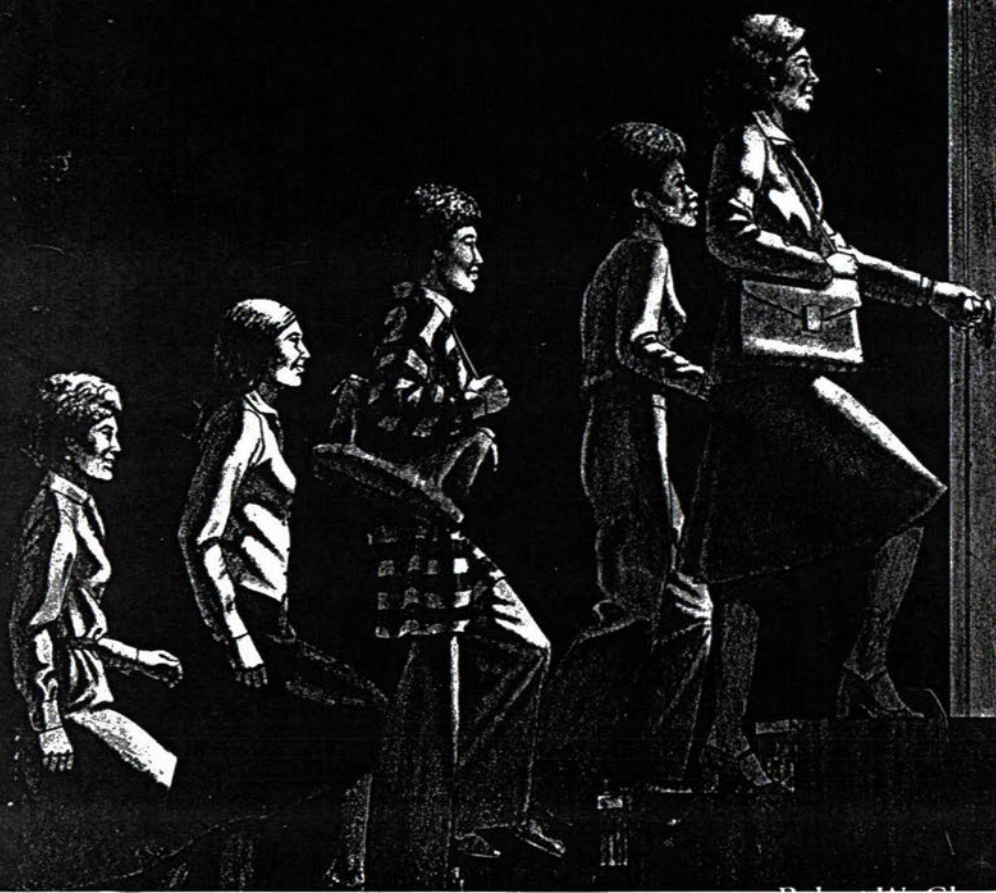
1/ Does not include persons served through replications

2/ Number represents a projection of persons to be served through the demonstration projects based on an average of 268 persons served per model.

Model	No. of Persons Served	Replications
<u>To Be Funded:</u>		
Low-Income Women's Project (two models--Houston and Las Vegas)	500 <u>2/</u>	
Better Job Opportunities for Minority Women (two models-- American Indian women and Hispanic women)	540 <u>2/</u>	
Mature Women's Demonstration Project	280 <u>2/</u>	
Rural Women's Demonstration Project	300 <u>2/</u>	
Women in Corporations and Management Demonstration Project	800 <u>2/</u>	
<u>Exemplary Models Documented But Not Funded by WB (publication prepared):</u>		
Displaced Homemakers	N/A	2

Stepping up:

*Placing minority
women into managerial
and professional jobs*



2

STEPPING UP:
PLACING MINORITY WOMEN
INTO MANAGERIAL AND
PROFESSIONAL JOBS

BY
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PAULA S. GREENFIELD
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CONTENTS

OVERVIEW	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
1 UNEVEN PROGRESS: THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF MINORITY WOMEN	1
2 THE NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN PRIMARY-SECTOR LABOR MARKETS	11
3 THE MINORITY WOMEN EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM	23
4 THE OUTREACH STRATEGY	31
5 MWEP IN PRACTICE	43
6 PROGRAM RESULTS AND ASSESSMENTS	57
7 FILLING A GAP IN EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING SERVICES	81
8 SUMMARY	99
BIBLIOGRAPHY	103

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LIST OF TABLES

1-1	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR COLLEGE GRADUATES, MARCH 1977 BY SEX/RACE GROUP	3
1-2	PARTICIPATION RATES IN MANAGERIAL, PROFESSIONAL, AND TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS IN REPORTING PRIVATE INDUSTRY EMPLOYMENT (EXCEPT HEALTH SERVICES)	5
6-1	ACTIVE APPLICANTS ON FILE WITH THE MINORITY WOMEN EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM, 1978 COMPARED WITH MINORITY WOMEN COLLEGE GRADUATES COUNTED IN THE 1970 CENSUS	59
6-2	MWEP PLACEMENTS: BY RACIAL/ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND SEX	60
6-3	MWEP PLACEMENTS: BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	61
6-4	MWEP PLACEMENTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS	62
6-5	MWEP PLACEMENTS: EMPLOYMENT STATUS AT TIME OF APPLICATION	61

- 6-6 THE NUMBER OF MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL PLACEMENTS MADE BY MWEP COMPARED WITH TOTAL NUMBERS OF MINORITY WOMEN WORKING IN PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL JOBS IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY, AS REPORTED TO THE EEOC IN 1975 65
- 6-7 SUMMARY OF FOLLOW-UPS CONDUCTED WITH MWEP PLACEMENTS, BY CITY: 1977-1978 66
- 6-8 JOB RETENTION REPORTED BY MWEP PLACEMENTS 67
- 6-9 FOLLOW-UP RESPONSE RATE COMPARED WITH PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS STILL ON JOB OR IN RELATED JOB 70

OVERVIEW

This is a positive and optimistic book. *Stepping Up* describes a program in which special efforts were made to place black, Hispanic, Native American and Asian American women into managerial, professional and technical jobs. This book reviews the achievements of the Minority Women Employment Program (MWEP) a demonstration project begun with funding from the Office of Research and Development of the U.S. Department of Labor in 1972. The Minority Women Employment Program was established to assist business firms to find college-trained minority women qualified for managerial, professional or technical jobs. The aim of this pilot effort was to determine if a community organization working closely with employers could effectively increase job opportunities for qualified minority women in higher level white-collar occupations.

The rationale for the Minority Women Employment Program includes two major premises. First, making available an adequate supply of qualified personnel is essential to private industry. Second, job-related qualifications are important and cannot be ignored. MWEP was built on the recognition that even conscientious and sincere business executives may find it difficult to locate qualified women to fill jobs that traditionally have been held by white males.

From May 1972 through August 1978, the program helped to place 1,552 individuals into jobs. In gross terms, the annual gain in salaries for the individuals placed amounted to nine-and-a-half million dollars. The average starting salary for college graduates placed by the program

Desc.
of
Mission

- ① make supply of personnel increase
- ② correct company's management

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ram, was \$10,935. Even conservatively estimated annual gains in salary averaged \$1,574 per person over previous full-time employment. One out of six individuals placed made annual income gains of \$3,000 or more.

The Program has helped to achieve many firsts. One out of nine women placed took a job in which minority women had never worked. Many firms were so pleased with their new employees that they came back to MWEP and hired a second and third employee. One firm alone used the program to hire fifty women.

Minority women who had never considered a career in business now work as insurance actuaries and personnel representatives. Women who were formerly school teachers, receptionists and sales clerks were placed in jobs as quality control analysts, accountants and managers. Among those placed, almost half reported being unemployed for an average duration of almost a year at the time of application to the Program.

Feedback from firms who have used the Program indicate that they have been well satisfied. By referring only well prepared and qualified applicants, the Program has saved employers significant time and money in screening and recruiting. And follow-ups with individuals placed show indications of strong job retention and rapid job advancement.

This book reviews the origin, design and performance of the Minority Women Employment Program. Chapter 1 reviews the labor market position of minority women and documents the need for the program. Chapter 2 discusses the operation labor markets for managerial and professional jobs, the mechanisms of institutional discrimination and problems of applicant supply. The origin of the Minority Women Employment Program is recounted in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 discusses the principles underlying the Minority Women Employment Program. Chapter 5 offers a practical description of how the Program works. The performance of the project is analyzed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 explains how the program fits with other employment and training organizations and Chapter 8 is a summary statement.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We want to thank several individuals who were especially helpful in preparation of this book.

Howard Rosen initiated the idea for the Minority Women Employment Program and urged that it be enacted. Ray Marshall and Ernie Green were instrumental in implementing the program in the early 1970's. Alexis Herman, director of the Minority Women Employment Program for its first five years, developed many of the procedures that translated ideas into reality. Gloria Gutierrez, Sally Matiella and Gwen Joseph all made significant contributions as research staff for the project. Rosemary Galloway and Hunter Ellinger handled computer programming. Edna Olivo deserves special thanks for an outstanding job in compiling information for the various tables in this book.

Bill Ross and the national staff of RTP, Inc., were cooperative and supportive throughout the project. John Swann played an especially key role in answering questions and serving as a practical sounding board for our ideas. The entire staff of the Minority Women Employment Program cheerfully cooperated and consistently responded to our numerous requests for information.

Critical and helpful comments on earlier drafts of the manuscript were obtained from our colleagues at the Center for the Study of Human Resources, including Bol McPherson, Jean Hoerschelmann and Richard Mackay.

Ellen Sehgal provided encouragement and mad-

numerous helpful comments and suggestions during the course of the project. Most of all, Howard Rosen paid close attention to the progress of Minority Women Employment Program and this book—a reflection of his genuine and unwaivering concern for the success of this demonstration effort.

Sandra Olmstead, Kyna Simmons, Dora Espinosa, Brooke Rozelle and Jeanine Brim typed the numerous drafts of the manuscript. In addition, Sandra Olmstead assisted with proofreading.

The time and effort contributed by these and numerous other persons is greatly appreciated. We remind the reader that the authors are, of course, solely responsible for the facts and opinions set forth.

This book is directed at the scores of industry officials who are firmly committed to the principles of equal opportunity. We recognize those who have sincerely labored to achieve stronger participation for women and minorities in better jobs but who have often received little recognition or sometimes, few results in return for their efforts. We hope that programs such as the one described in this book will make their task easier and also more fruitful.

Austin
August 1979

Robert W. Glover
Paula S. Greenfield
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CHAPTER 1

UNEVEN PROGRESS: THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF MINORITY WOMEN

What could be better in today's affirmative action-minded labor markets than to be a minority female with a college degree? As popular mythology would have it, that's a license to bypass all other jobseekers and move to the front of the line. But myths and reality often diverge. Consider the case of Yolanda Navarro.

No one in Yolanda's family had ever earned a college degree. Yolanda was determined to be the first. As she said:

All through high school, my goal was to obtain a college degree. I felt a deep desire to graduate from college not only for economic advancement, but also as a personal achievement for myself and my family.

After high school graduation in June of 1964, Yolanda started working as a clerk for \$200 a month. In January of the following year, she enrolled in college full time. However, in only one semester, she had completely depleted the meager funds she had been able to save from her fall and winter employment. She was forced to return to work. In June 1965, a year after her graduation from high school, Yolanda accepted a full time position as a clerk for \$300 a month and attended school four nights a week. In June of the following year, she changed jobs to become a secretary with a major oil company. This, she

felt, would be the ideal environment in which to make a transition after graduation.

In 1968, Yolanda married but this did not interfere with her determination to go to school. In fact, the biggest boost to Yolanda's college education came when she took maternity leave in 1970 from \$590 a month secretarial job. During this time, Yolanda was able to complete 30 credit hours toward her degree.

In May of 1973, Yolanda graduated with a bachelor's degree in finance from the University of Houston. Although her family had neither understood her persistence nor enthusiastically encouraged her, they were, nevertheless, very proud and happy at her accomplishment. Her eight-year struggle through night school had finally yielded her long desired goal—a college degree.

Yolanda approached her employer about an entry level professional position immediately after graduation. She talked with her supervisor for several months but finally realized that she was not being seriously considered for a promotion. She then began to apply to several other companies but to no avail. She met with rejection at every turn. Yolanda was again faced with a typical problem that many minorities have when seeking professional employment in private industry. She had no mentor, no role model, no one to help her open doors, no counselor or relatives with management or professional experience in private industry to give her information and direction. She was searching in the dark for an ill-defined employment opportunity. In addition to this, she was a young minority woman with a one-year old child.

Nature of the Problem

Many believe that because minority women count both as "minority" and "female", they are highly sought after and hired by employers seeking to fulfill affirmative action commitments. Yet a close look at employment data reveals this "double advantage" to be more mythical than factual. Certainly minority women have made significant labor market gains in the recent past. In terms of selected aggregate indicators, they have made important advances

relative to white women. Yet comparison of one disadvantaged group with another ignores the fact that both white women and minority women face serious labor market problems.

It cannot be denied that the minority woman with exceptional credentials or experience—the individual with a C.P.A. or an engineering degree from a major state university, an MBA from a leading business school or a Ph.D. in economics—has little difficulty finding a good job.

But she is not the typical example. Available data on college graduates indicates that **black women at the bachelor's degree level have a higher unemployment rate than other sex-race groups.** In fact, as shown in Table 1-1, their rate of unemployment was exactly double the average for white men in March 1977. **The higher rates do not hold for black women with five or more years of college,** however. For the very highly credentialed minority woman, labor market problems are not as severe, but there are fewer of them of any race.

Occupational Compression

Much of the gains achieved by minority women have been in jobs traditionally held by women. For example, 9 percent of all employed minority women in 1960 were clerical workers, as compared with 33 percent of white women. In July 1979, 37 percent of all employed black

TABLE 1-1
Unemployment Rate for College Graduates, March 1977 by Sex/Race Group

Years of College	WHITES		BLACKS	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
4 Years	3.5%	4.8%	5.0%	7.0%
5 Years or More	1.9%	3.2%	3.5%	2.8%

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1977*. Special Labor Force Report 209.

women and 39 percent of Hispanic women were clerical workers as compared with 45 percent of employed white women.¹

Minority women continue to be severely underrepresented in managerial and professional occupations in the private sector. In 1970, less than one out of 10 black professional women worked in the corporate sector. A majority were elementary and secondary school teachers.

Moreover, the few who are in private sector work are concentrated among a few jobs and particular industries, most notably in medical and health services. Among firms reporting to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1975, health services accounted for 56 percent of black women employed in managerial, professional, or technical jobs by the private sector nationwide and 49 percent of white women. By comparison, 3 percent of white men were in health services.

Subtracting health services from total employment provides a more accurate picture of the participation of minority women in managerial, professional and technical jobs in the private sector. As Table 1-2 clearly demonstrates, minority women ranked at the bottom of the occupational list nationally. *if Health Services not included*

Employment data for individual cities exemplify the effects of exclusionary patterns for minority women. For example, establishments with 100 or more persons on the payrolls in the leading industries of Dallas in 1973 reported five blacks in managerial and professional positions in oil and gas extraction, five in banking, nine in wholesale trade, eight in electrical electronics, one in transportation equipment, and none in air transportation. In 1973 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission collected data for Atlanta, Houston, Dallas, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Dayton, Los Angeles, Tulsa and Oklahoma City which showed that three-fourths did not employ any minority women in managerial, professional or technical positions.²

Further indication of the underrepresentation of minority women in the private sector on the national scene is reflected in the occasional surveys of top women in

TABLE 1-2

Participation Rates in Managerial, Professional, and Technical Occupations in Reporting Private Industry Employment (except Health Services), 1975

RANK	GROUP	Total Number in Reported Work Force	Officials and Managers (M)	Professionals (P)	Technicals (T)	Total (M+P+T)
All Employees		27,725,026	11.0	6.8	4.0	21.8
1	Asian American Males	118,889	10.1	25.9	9.6	45.6
2	White Males	15,614,527	16.3	9.8	5.3	31.5
3	American Indian Males	64,812	11.7	4.9	4.3	20.8
4	Asian American Females	90,399	2.8	6.2	4.0	13.0
5	Hispanic Males	804,504	5.0	2.8	2.9	10.7
6	White Females	7,712,775	4.5	3.0	2.2	9.7
7	American Indian Females	33,692	3.8	1.9	2.6	8.4
8	Black Males	1,776,488	3.8	2.0	2.3	8.1
9	Black Females	1,092,807	1.9	1.6	1.7	5.2
10	Hispanic Females	416,133	2.0	1.2	1.4	4.6

SOURCE: Calculated from U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Equal Employment Opportunity Report, 1975: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry*. Volume 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977) Table 1. Data exclude Hawaii. Every private employer subject to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and having 100 or more employees was required to file and EEO-1 report unless that employer was a primary or secondary school system, an institution of higher education, an Indian Tribe, or a tax-exempt private membership club other than a labor organization except health service (SIC Code 80)

Note: Percentage may not add to total because of rounding.

business published in the popular press. In 1976 *Business Week* published a "comprehensive survey of women with corporate clout". Of the 100 top corporate women listed, only one was black, and she was president of an advertising agency specializing in ads aimed at the black community.³ An examination of the proxy statements of the 1,300 U.S. companies in the *Fortune* directories uncovered a list of 6,400 officers and directors—of whom only 10 were women and none was a minority woman.⁴

Progress: Slow and Not Automatic

Inroads into career managerial professional jobs are difficult and slow for minority women. Even favorable

Most women underrepresented in managerial, professional or technical positions

economic conditions do not assure that minorities and women will gain access to better paying managerial, professional, and skilled craft occupations. A 1971 study of the Houston labor market showed that despite more than a decade of low city wide unemployment rates of nearly four percent, minorities failed to make occupational gains in managerial, professional, technical and skilled craft occupations. In 1966, less than one percent of employed minority females were working in managerial positions in large firms, compared to 10 percent for the entire labor force. In 1969, the ratio was the same.⁵

Labor Force Attachment

Even though minority women, especially black women, are strongly committed to the work force, they are unsuccessful in breaking through into professional and managerial jobs. Black women tend to have higher rates of labor force participation than white women, and the differential is most pronounced among college graduates. In March 1977, 86 percent of black women with 4 years of college were in the labor force, as opposed to 61 percent of white women.⁶ Similarly, black women tend to work in full-time jobs rather than part-time jobs more often than white women. In 1976, 89 percent of black women in professional and technical jobs worked full time as compared with 72 percent of white women in such occupations.⁷

Black women also tend to remain in the labor force continuously and are unlikely to drop out to raise their children. The argument that women will leave their jobs to have children is invalid.

Advances in Educational Attainment

Minority women recently have made striking improvements in educational attainment. The number of black women in college in October 1973 (326,000) was nearly triple the number enrolled in October 1964.

In March 1975, there were an estimated 505,872

women of minority races in the labor force who had 4 or more years of college. This amounted to 10.8 percent of total women of minority races in the labor force that month.⁸

Although minority women college graduates comprise a relatively small portion of the labor force, they carry a significance far beyond their numbers as role models for younger women. To the extent that they obtain managerial and professional jobs in private industry and succeed, they encourage further success. They open new possibilities in the minds of their younger counterparts. To the extent that these women fail or remain in traditional occupations, they confirm existing patterns and reinforce existing stereotypes.

A recent study by the American Council on Education analyzed bachelor's degrees awarded from July 1973 through June 1974 to four minority groups: Black Americans, Spanish-Surnamed Americans, Asian Americans and American Indians.⁹ The report estimated that 76,900 or 7.8 percent of the total 989,200 baccalaureate degrees conferred went to minorities. The proportions of the total for each group were:

<i>Minority Group</i>	<i>Percent of Baccalaureates</i>
Black Americans	5.3
Spanish-Surnamed Americans	1.3
Asian Americans	0.9
American Indians	0.3

Among all graduates who received the baccalaureate in 1973-74, 55 percent were men and 45 percent were women. The proportions differed among minority groups. Women were represented in the greatest proportion among black baccalaureate recipients (57 percent) and in the smallest proportion among American Indian graduates (37 percent), as indicated:

	Totals	Women	
		Number	Percent
All baccalaureate recipients	989,200	442,200	45
Black Americans	52,100	29,500	57
Spanish-Surnamed Americans	12,800	5,700	44
Asian Americans	9,300	4,200	45
American Indians	2,800	1,000	37

The American Council on Education survey also estimated that 45 percent of the black students who received the baccalaureate graduated from predominantly black institutions. The other 55 percent who received their bachelor's degrees from predominantly white institutions represented 3 percent of total baccalaureate recipients at those institutions.

Fields of Study

Minority women earn degrees in a broad and varied range of subjects. However, most of the degrees received by minority women are in a very limited number of fields of study. Black women are slightly less inclined to select traditional female majors than white women, but they do still concentrate in fields such as education, health professions, home economics, and social studies.¹⁰

Unfortunately, data on field of study were not displayed by sex in the American Council on Education survey. However, blacks were over represented in education, social sciences and social work and Spanish-Americans were over represented in arts and humanities.¹¹

In view of the labor market disadvantages that minority women face, it is little wonder that minority female college students have lower job aspirations than their male counterparts.¹² Low aspirations are reflected in the choice of a major. Minority women remain concentrated in traditional majors. Inadequate college counseling and sex role socialization only compound the problem.

Summary

What accounts for the lack of minority women in managerial, professional and technical jobs in the private

sector? A wide variety of reasons are involved, but the influence of each is difficult to disentangle. Factors on the demand side include discrimination against minorities by employers and fellow workers, discrimination against women by employers and fellow workers and lack of access to informal networks commonly known as "old boy" or "old girl" systems. Also few employers have the knowledge, capability and will to seek out minority women. Supply factors include lack of access to education, inadequate college counseling, lack of role models to stimulate aspirations, selection of college majors which result in few marketable skills and sex role socialization.

The factors are numerous and complex and the relative weight of each varies from case to case. Any aggregate analysis would likely be inconclusive, likewise any single remedy would be inadequate. Solutions must be found on an individual case basis to provide employers with a qualified applicant and to provide applicants with counseling, role models, test preparation, information about the labor market, specific background on the product or service produced by the employer and detailed information regarding the firm which enables the applicant to bring a sense of assuredness that few other applicants could bring to the job interview.

Of course, not every minority woman college graduate is qualified for every managerial or professional position, nor are all being underutilized. Just as with any other group, there exists a wide diversity of talent and abilities among minority women. Some have been poorly prepared for the world of work by their education. Some learn slowly and have very limited abilities. Others are brilliant and highly talented. Capabilities are highly individualistic and must be related to particular jobs. Just as employers cannot afford to ignore minority women in hiring for managerial and professional jobs, they cannot select any minority woman blindly. Job-related qualifications cannot be ignored.

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CHAPTER 1 FOOTNOTES

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9. Frank J. Atelsek and Irene L. Gomberg *Bachelor's Degrees Awarded to Minority Students, 1973-74*. Higher Education Panel Reports Number 24. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, January 1977.
Included in the survey are all bachelor's degrees requiring at least four but not more than five years of academic work. The term "minority" refers to students in the four categories listed who are U.S. citizens or foreign-born students on immigrant visas; excluded are foreign students with temporary or student visas.
10. Eva C. Galambos, *Black College Graduates and the Job Market in the South, 1980*. (Atlanta, Southern Region Education Board, 1976), pp. 23-24.
11. Frank J. Atelsek and Irene L. Gomberg, *Bachelor's Degrees Awarded to Minority Students, 1973-74*, p. 9.
12. Patricia Gurin and Carolyn Gaylord, "Educational and Occupational Goals of Men and Women at Black Colleges," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 99, No. 6 (June 1976), pp. 10-16.

CHAPTER 2

THE NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN PRIMARY-SECTOR LABOR MARKETS

The employment problems of minority women are largely a product of race and sex discrimination. However, it is not a simple matter to go from this diagnosis to a prescription for action. A clearer understanding of discrimination and labor market operations is needed.

Employment discrimination occurs in two basic forms which may be usefully labeled as *overt* and *institutional*. Discrimination may be *overt* in the sense that individuals are consciously accorded different treatments in specific cases because of attributes unrelated to productivity. *Institutional* discrimination results from the influence of social patterns of behavior to which people have adapted. In the overt case, for example, applicants for employment might be denied jobs because of their race, national origin or sex; whereas in the institutional case applicants might not apply for jobs because they did not know about the positions, because they felt they would be discriminated against if they did apply, or because segregated educational or training facilities had rendered them unqualified for the position—even if overt discrimination were no longer practiced. Overt discrimination is clearly more easily identified and remedied. However, in practice, these forms of discrimination might not always be distinct, as when discriminators use their knowledge of institutional behavior patterns to practice overt discrimination.

Discrimination should also be distinguished from prejudice: *Prejudice* may be defined as "the unfavorable feel-

ings and attitudes that people harbor against others, especially other population groups." On the other hand, discrimination consists of "unfavorable actions and behavior directed towards these groups." (emphasis added)¹

The important point is that discrimination is directly observable, while prejudice is an inference one might make in accounting for discrimination. But discrimination need not imply the existence of prejudice. Employers sincerely may want to consider minority applicants for employment; but their recruitment efforts—even vigorously pursued—may turn up no qualified minority candidates. Conversely, a person may harbor a great deal of prejudice without engaging in discriminatory acts. As an example, consider an athletic coach who intensely dislikes minorities but finds himself forced by competitive pressures to field a team including minority players. Therefore, if we are interested principally in modifying the incidence and effects of discriminatory actions, the nature of prejudice should concern us only if it has behavioral consequences.

Discrimination and Internal Labor Markets²

A firm making significant investments in the skills of its work force will be successful if it can hire workers who learn quickly and, once trained, provide several years of continued employment. This allows the firm to minimize its cost of training and to maximize the return on its investment through a longer payoff period, which results from the employees' continued tenure on the job. It is the attempt by firms to implement this formula that gives rise to institutionalized patterns of discriminatory behavior. Recognition of these patterns inspired the programs described in this study, and it is our finding that antidiscrimination programs can be successful in that they can make discriminatory behavior less profitable.

Nearly all surveys have shown that employers depend heavily on "word-of-mouth" and other informal processes in filling vacancies. Further, Mark Granovetter found that the higher paying the job, the more important are per-

sonal contacts likely to be.³ This parallels Stephenson's finding that nonwhite youths were more likely to rely on formal methods of job search, while white youths had better access through informal methods.⁴ The following exchange illustrates the importance of informal networks, as well as highlighting the problems which people without contacts face in today's labor market. The conversation was held between one of the authors and an official for a major metropolitan area bank in 1975.

RESEARCHER: Does your bank have a formal management training program?

BANK PERSONNEL MANAGER: Yes.

RESEARCHER: How does one qualify for entry into your program?

BANK PERSONNEL MANAGER: Know someone on our Board of Directors.

Admittedly, this exchange was exceptionally candid and an extreme case. But the same principle in varying degrees is quite prevalent in most labor markets offering better jobs.

Why, in the age of computerized job banks, are seemingly provincial and unscientific recruitment methods more prevalent and successful than more sophisticated and formal procedures? The reason is that informal methods often involve less expense and result in a transfer of richer, more reliable information. Informal recommendations are more selectively aimed at those workers the firm is most likely to seriously consider for the job, thereby minimizing the firm's selection costs by reducing the pool of applicants to be screened. Furthermore, because training in most firms is informal, being as much a socialization process as a training process, it follows that workers likely to "fit in best" are those who are already the friends or acquaintances of incumbent workers—the recipients of informal communications. In addition, firms place greater reliance on information that is obtained from an incumbent worker or friend rather than from an unknown source, for an employee or friend faces far graver consequences if he or she recommends a worker

who does not live up to expectations. As a result, many employers find traditional methods of recruitment most efficient. They prefer the selectivity and accuracy of the informal network to the speedy, but relatively less selective formal system. In this light, it should be clear why an employer need not be a racist to voice the all too common defense: "I would hire a minority employee, but I can't find one who is qualified." What the employers mean is that their normal recruitment channels turn up few, if any, minority workers. But that's no accident! Traditional recruitment procedures systematically exclude minorities from the network. Although employers, faced with pressures for affirmative action, might earnestly wish to obtain different information, the informal network can only provide information compatible with its structure. Of course, once sufficient numbers of minorities are on the jobs, the informal network should operate effectively for them as well.

In the meantime, communication lines must be opened to the minority community if efforts to hire minority workers are to succeed; and, an organization which can help employers reach out to the minority community can be of great assistance in this regard. However, to be successful, employers must perceive that it is efficient and desirable to supplement the informal network which they are accustomed to utilizing. Although government pressure for equal opportunity may prompt employer efforts, significant affirmative action efforts are likely to be sustained only if employers can be led to minority applicants who are as likely to meet their selection criteria as those referred through the informal network.

The purpose of selection criteria is to identify job applicants who promise the highest returns on the firm's human resource investment. Primary among the traits employers seek are "trainability" (the ability to be trained at low cost), job stability and work attitudes and level of motivation and reliability. But those cannot be directly identified. A person's ability to be assimilated into a work group may depend on the personalities and attitudes of those already in the work force. And, finally, a worker's

tenure on the job may be affected as much by factors beyond his or her control—e.g., a death in the family or poor health—as by feelings of loyalty. As a result, an employer's success in predicting a worker's performance will be highly variable and no one method of selection is likely to uniformly be superior to any other. Under such uncertainty, it is understandable that subjective practices, such as judging a person's character by the firmness of a handshake or whether an applicant maintains good eye contact, still hold credence among personnel officers. Although it might seem that psychological and other forms of testing would have greatly refined personnel selection practices, the state of the art is not equal to the task, as evidenced by the controversy over job-related testing subsequent to the *Griggs v. Duke Power* decision.⁵ It seems unavoidable: people hire individuals they like and whom they think will "fit in" with the firm.

In this regard it is enlightening to review the findings of a survey conducted by the Advisory Council for Technical Vocational Education in Texas,⁶ which asked employers their most frequent reasons for rejecting a job applicant. The most common response was that the applicant showed "little interest or poor reasons for wanting the job." Clearly, the attitudes of the applicant are difficult to measure, and probably require judgments that are rather subjective—yet it was the most frequently cited. Other frequently cited reasons were "immaturity (other than chronological)," "personal appearance," "manners and mannerisms," and "personality." All were mentioned more frequently than "lack of job-related skills" which ranked ninth on a ten-item list. Our point here is not that skills are not needed to obtain jobs. The point is rather that attitudes and impressions are far more important than generally recognized. Attention to such information requirements in applicant screening is often essential to getting applicants placed.

Employers are well aware of the imprecise nature of the selection process, and because of the cost involved in mistakenly hiring and training an unsatisfactory employee, they tend to adopt conservative hiring

policies—particularly in slack labor markets. Given a choice, employers often prefer a strategy that passes over some qualified applicants, but minimizes the probability of hiring one who is unqualified. Consequently, they choose applicants from groups where their information is more reliable. These tend to be members of the dominant group, with whom employers are most experienced. Inevitably, many competent persons will be screened out of jobs for which they are qualified. It follows that the economic position of minority women can be improved by certifying the credentials of qualified women and convincing employers of the validity of these claims. The objective is to persuade employers that drawing from the pool of minority women involves no greater risk than following their more accustomed hiring patterns.

After recruiting and selecting employees, the third major personnel function of the firm is training. In most firms, training opportunities are structured along a "job ladder," whereby an individual is exposed to successive opportunities for learning and advancement. But, of course, job ladders differ. Some extend throughout the corporate hierarchy, providing access to top management positions, while others terminate abruptly in dead-end jobs. An example of the first type is the management-trainee position which, in most firms, grooms young workers for middle and upper level management responsibilities. In contrast, many of the jobs traditionally filled by women, such as secretary, retail sales clerk, or nurse, lead to extremely short job ladders that offer little chance for upward mobility. The careers associated with a given entry level job vary among firms; thus, a worker's entry-level job greatly constrains his or her opportunities for advancement.

A program designed to assist minority women in securing good jobs must select those jobs carefully. Job prospects should be evaluated in terms of career opportunities rather than solely in terms of the immediate monetary rewards associated with entry level jobs. However, the career patterns of previous job holders offers no guarantee of future mobility. For as previously noted,

training is as much a socialization process as it is a learning process. If an incumbent employee is frozen out of the social network, career mobility can be impaired. Thus, while the placement of minority women in jobs with career ladders can improve their chances of advancement, followup support and other efforts may be needed to insure that they receive equitable treatment once on the job.

Exercising selectivity in choosing among job prospects and employers is also important from other perspectives. It is an essential element in maintaining credibility with employers. An abundance of job orders taken does not necessarily increase placements, but it may increase employer dissatisfaction when expectations are unfulfilled. It is important to avoid overpromising. A program must work with a limited number of selected employers to keep manageable the task of working knowledgeably with each.

Supply Considerations in Discrimination

The supply dimension of labor market discrimination cannot be ignored. When labor market discrimination is pervasive over time, the supply of labor will usually adjust to the nature of the demand. That is, the group which is the target of discrimination will, quite naturally, tend to shun occupations and industries where opportunities are scarce and concentrate on professions where they face the least discrimination. One result of this accommodation is that few even apply for jobs in which they perceive discrimination, thus reducing pressure on employers to change their practices and permitting the pattern of discrimination to exist over long periods of time. This tendency has produced "women's professions," i.e., occupations in which women are socially acceptable and in which employment is most accessible.⁷ For women professionals, such occupations have included teaching, nursing and social work.

The pattern of accommodation has a momentum of its own and may be quite difficult to break, even when objective features of the labor market have changed. For

example, in the South, many black women who are college graduates are products of predominately black colleges. Many faculty members at these institutions are blacks who were trained during a period in which racism was quite intense. Consequently, a common reaction of these individuals was to specialize in the relatively few fields that were open to educated blacks. This pattern may be reflected in the current curriculum of black colleges by a distribution of course offerings skewed toward those fields in which blacks were *previously* most successful. However, as the changing legal environment and attitudes erode discrimination in employment, altering the skills demanded of black college graduates, the inertia of college curriculum denies black women the training to permit them to take advantage of current employment opportunities in large numbers.

Even more important, influences from parents and peers tend to channel minority women into traditional college majors and occupations. Women who aspire to become managers or engineers are discouraged from considering such possibilities. Sex role socialization has been widely pervasive. It comes in subtle forms, such as the portrayal of women in traditional roles on television or in text books. It also may be blatant such as the razzing or ridicule a girl may take from her boyfriend when she announces that she wants to be a mechanical engineer.

Further, there is often little alternative information to counter such influences. College career counseling is generally inadequate and minority women students have few role models with whom they can identify to change or raise their career expectations.

Given the persistence of supply limitations and the operations of internal labor markets, it is unreasonable to expect full participation of minorities and women at all job levels immediately. Effective change demands attention to problems of supply as well as demand.

However, supply is not simply a matter of credentials, talents and skills (which are typically the central focus of the current assessments of the availability of minorities and women in the labor market). Also involved are at-

titudes, awareness and interests, career orientation and job expectations. Minority women who have long been excluded from managerial and professional careers in private industry cannot be expected to immediately take advantage of new opportunities which may be open to them.

Beyond Antidiscrimination Pressure

Antidiscrimination pressures may motivate or prod employers to take affirmative action, but even their best efforts may not produce qualified minority candidates. Remedies to employment discrimination involve a combination of both pressure and support. Employers often need to be *assisted* as well as *pressured* to fulfill their affirmative action obligations.

There exists a variety of instruments to bring pressure to bear on employers. These include antidiscrimination laws and regulations requiring that affirmative action efforts be undertaken in good faith, the use of government procurement to promote compliance with equal opportunity laws and administrative procedures, court suits, charges filed with the EEOC, and appeals to the public's social conscience and agitation by organizations and individuals representing the victims of discrimination. Efforts to bring pressure are generally adversary by nature.

On the support side of the picture, there is a wide array of devices to assist employers in finding qualified minorities. These range from passive mechanisms such as rosters or computerized skill banks, which attempt to identify qualified minorities to employers, to more active personal jobmatching efforts.

The pressure and support efforts are generally performed by separate parties. Rarely are these functions successfully combined into a single effort. It is simply an inherent conflict in roles to "police" employers and assist them at the same time. Individuals and groups engaged in bringing pressure to bear tend to come from outside the system, whereas those on the support side generally work

on the inside. The style of the pressure groups is *adversary* style whereas the support style tends to be more one of *advocacy* within the system. The objective of the pressure groups is to motivate employers to take affirmative action. The chief objective of the support groups is to assist employers acting in good faith to be effective. Support groups function as an intermediary between employers and minority communities. The support efforts may be either employer-based or community-based; but from whichever direction they come, successful linkage between the two communities is essential to effectiveness.

Pressure for equal employment opportunity tends to focus exclusively on the *demand* side of the labor market, campaigning for more and better jobs for minorities and women, whereas support efforts recognize problems on the supply side as well and try to reconcile supply with demand. For example, few minority women may be interested in particular careers because they do not know anyone in such a position, cannot identify with the role, and generally lack information about the career possibilities. Support efforts can be designed to help overcome these barriers.

Summary

This chapter has discussed discrimination and the characteristics of labor markets for managerial and professional jobs. We have noted that through institutional discrimination segregated patterns of employment can persist even without conscious individual acts of discriminatory behavior motivated by prejudice. Also, the employment problems of minority women are rooted on both the demand and supply sides of the market. Any program designed to increase the participation of minority women in managerial and professional jobs must take these factors into account.

On the demand side, recruitment for managerial and professional positions largely depends on informal word-of-mouth networks which are quite reliable in selectively producing appropriate job applicants who can meet in-

formal job requirements as well as those written in a job order. But few minorities have access to such sources of informal information. For minority women in particular, a credible supplement to informal channels is needed which, by operating in a personal fashion and making qualified referrals based on a knowledge of the firm's formal and informal requirements, can establish a communication line between employers and the minority community.

Training opportunities and career advancement potential vary significantly according to job. Certain entry-level jobs traditionally filled by women are not attached to career ladders offering significant upward mobility. Any effort which effectively upgrades women must be based on an awareness of the career potential offered through various types of entry jobs.

Minority women, through a variety of influences, are channeled away from occupations in the private sector where opportunities have recently expanded. To encourage them to consider career alternatives in the private sector, significant counseling may be necessary. Also applicants must be prepared to pass the screening requirements which include informal requirements.

Antidiscrimination pressures, although necessary, do not guarantee qualified minority workers will be ready to move into jobs once discriminatory barriers are removed. Indeed, even employers of good will may need assistance in recruiting and screening minorities for newly available jobs—especially for high paying jobs requiring special skills or qualifications, and/or jobs which have been filled in the past largely through informal labor market channels. And qualified minorities may need counseling to change their career orientation. Also they may need help in locating the newly available jobs, getting past screening barriers, and demonstrating their qualifications to employers.

The following chapters describe in fuller detail the logic and workings of an outreach and support strategy which is aimed at assisting the employer under EEO pressure who cannot find qualified women or minorities.

CHAPTER 2 FOOTNOTES

1. Bradley Schiller, *The Economics of Poverty and Discrimination* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 111.
2. This section is based on the theory of internal labor markets formulated by John Dunlop and later refined by Peter Doeringer and Michael Piore. The specific references are as follows: John Dunlop, *Industrial Relations Systems* (New York: Henry Holt, 1958); and Peter B. Doeringer and Michael Piore, *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Heath Lexington Books, 1971).
3. Mark S. Granovetter, *Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974).
4. Stanley P. Stephenson, "The Economics of Youth Job Search Behavior", *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (February 1976), pps. 104-116.
5. *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, 401 U.S. (1970); 3 FEP Cases.
6. Advisory Council for Technical-Vocational Education in Texas, *Qualities Employers Like and Dislike in Job Applicants: Final Report of Statewide Employer Survey* (Austin: Advisory Council for Technical-Vocational Education in Texas, 1975).
7. Valerie K. Oppenheimer, *The Female Labor Force in the United States* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1970).

Describe

CHAPTER 3

THE MINORITY WOMEN
EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

"I'd hire a minority woman if only I could find one qualified and available." This common refrain, expressing the sentiment of many corporate personnel officials, prompted a major effort by the U.S. Department of Labor to help make qualified minority women more available to private industry. The project, called Minority Women Employment Program (MWEP) and operated by RTP, Inc., is designed to provide assistance to college-trained minority women in securing managerial, professional and technical jobs, especially in private industry. MWEP screens applicants, locates job openings, carefully matches the applicants with the jobs and refers applicants to employers on a selective basis. It is an example of a type of outreach and advocacy effort with considerable promise for solving the employment problems of qualified minority women.

The Program was developed as a demonstration project over a six-year period from 1972 through 1978. The aim of this pilot effort was to determine if a community organization working closely with employers on a non-threatening basis, could effectively increase job opportunities for minority women in higher level white collar occupations. These are positions where ordinarily few minority women are hired and, if hired, they find it difficult to make significant progress in moving to better paying supervisory or management jobs.

The Program, operating free of charge to both

applicants and employers, has proved to be an effective instrument in promoting equal employment opportunity. The Minority Women Employment Program has been the key to matching job applicants and employers who both had previously found their searches difficult, frustrating and often unrewarding.

The accomplishments of the Program have been impressive. From 1972 through August 1978, 1552 individuals were placed in jobs. Of this number, 99 percent were minority and 95 percent were women. Seventy-five percent were college graduates and 93 percent had at least attended college.

In gross terms, the gains for the individuals placed amounted to nine and a half million dollars annually. The average starting salary was \$10,348 and for college graduates, it was \$10,935. Conservatively estimated, the annual gains in salary averaged \$1574 per person over previous full-time employment. One out of six made annual income gains of \$3,000 or more.

Women who were formerly working as receptionists, sales clerks and secretaries were placed in jobs as quality control analysts, accountants and managers. Among those placed, 46 percent had been unemployed for an average duration of 48 weeks at the time of their application to the Minority Women Employment Program. Another 13 percent were working at temporary or part-time jobs and seeking full-time employment. Others were employed at jobs that underutilized their skills and offered little opportunity for advancement.

An estimated one out of every nine placements was a breakthrough, that is, she was the first minority or woman or minority woman in the job category for the firm.

Over the past six years, thousands of women have come to MWEP seeking assistance in career counseling and job placement. Chapter 1 began with the story of Yolanda Navarro, a Hispanic woman and one of the first placements of the program. Her experience typifies many of the aspirations and frustrations of minority women seeking professional employment in private industry. Continuing her story can illustrate the approach and success of the Minority Women Employment Program.

Responding to the advice of a friend, Yolanda came to the MWEP office in September of 1973. The staff responded to her intelligence, maturity, and motivation, working with her to better define and articulate her career goals and interests. They helped her to revise her resume so that it would more accurately reflect her experience and skills. After several simulated interviews, Yolanda was ready to be referred. She could effectively handle questions regarding difficult issues such as child care, night shifts and relocation.

The staff had also helped Yolanda to develop a list of companies to call on in her personal job search. With this list, Yolanda could pursue employment opportunities on her own while the staff also looked for an appropriate position for her.

It was not until December that the staff found what they considered the "perfect job match" for Yolanda. On January 4, 1974, Yolanda was referred by the MWEP to interview for a management training position with a major communications company. She was very pleased with the way she was able to handle the interview, and the company representative was so impressed that he asked her to return in three days for a series of tests.

The staff immediately began to work with Yolanda to prepare her for the battery of tests she would soon face. Yolanda had one advantage that many applicants do not have. As a finance major, she was no stranger to numerical problems. She was, however, very anxious about the unknown aspects of a battery of tests for a management level job. Encouragement from the staff and review of test taking skills helped to reassure Yolanda of her ability and to reduce her anxiety.

After the test on January 7th, Yolanda called the office to let the staff know that she felt she did well. Two days later, Yolanda received a call from the personnel representative who had interviewed her inviting her to tour the communications traffic department and to meet the department head on January 17, 1974. Yolanda toured the department where she was being considered and became convinced that she wanted to work for the company. The day after her tour, Yolanda received a call

from the company and an offer to work as a supervisor in operations services at \$845 a month. She would be in a training capacity for one year and would have to begin on the night shift and work weekends for a while. She was, of course, made aware of this possibility by the staff before going to the first interview. Yolanda happily accepted the job and started to work on February 4, 1974. She immediately called her MWEP counselor to share the news and to thank her for her assistance.

Over the years, Yolanda has remained in contact with the MWEP program. She helps to organize meetings of other placements.

Within four years, Yolanda received two promotions and her salary rose to \$24,000 a year. She is extremely happy and looks forward to many more years with the company.

Yolanda Navarro's story is not unique. In fact, it is typical of many of the women who have been assisted by MWEP.

In the following pages, we will explain how and why the Minority Women Employment Program was developed, how it functions, its achievements and the problems it faces. Even though it represents an unusually successful demonstration project, it cannot be easily institutionalized in the complex structure of relationships between government and the private sector of our society.

Origins of the Program

The Minority Women Employment Program grew out of research conducted for the Office of Research and Development, U.S. Department of Labor. The original pilot project was established as a result of a study of black employment patterns in major Southern cities, conducted in 1970-71 by a team of researchers under the direction of Professor Ray Marshall at the Center for the Study of Human Resources, The University of Texas at Austin.¹

Among the facts uncovered by the study were the serious labor market difficulties faced by black female college graduates. Their virtual absence from private

sector managerial, professional and technical jobs was especially striking. In each of the cities studied, at least 75 percent of all private firms reporting to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in 1969, employed no minority women in managerial and professional jobs. In Houston in 1969, major industries, such as petroleum, petroleum refining and pipeline manufacturing reported no minority females among their 4000 managers. Only two minority females were found among the more than 1400 reported managerial, professional and technical workers employed by the 16 largest Houston banks reporting to the EEOC. In general merchandise retailing, where women employees outnumbered men almost two to one, less than 2 percent of the 1828 managers and professionals were minority women.

Even in Atlanta, a major regional center for finance and transportation and a city widely regarded as one of the most economically and socially progressive in the South, minority women had made few inroads into professional jobs. In fact, in 1969, five years after passage of the Civil Rights Act, reports to the EEOC showed no minority women employed in any managerial, professional or technical jobs across such major industries as banking or air and rail transportation—which employed more than 16,000 people in such jobs.

At the same time, information from students, teachers and placement officials at the Atlanta University Complex—a consortium of some of the nation's finest black schools producing more than 600 female graduates annually—indicated that although black graduates preferred to remain in Atlanta, they generally had to leave to find suitable jobs.

At the urging of Dr. Howard Rosen, director of the Office of Research and Development in the Employment and Training Administration, the researchers developed a program model to assist minority women in obtaining employment in upper level white collar jobs. The U.S. Department of Labor gave its approval to try a demonstration effort in Atlanta. The initial project, entitled the Black Women Employment Program, was funded through the

Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas, which subcontracted the operational portion of the project to the Southern Regional Council. Alexis Herman and Paulette Norvel were hired to direct the project which became fully operational in May 1972.

The method used in the project to recruit applicants and prepare them for jobs was an adaptation of the outreach strategy used to place minority youths into building trades apprenticeships. Apprenticeship outreach, as it came to be called, was developed in New York City in 1964 by RTP, Inc. the parent organization of the Minority Women Employment Program.²

The project design assumes that qualified interested minority women can be found, and prepared for at least some of the available jobs without significant retraining. The chief focus is on assisting women through the job entry procedures. It accepts job standards and simply finds and prepares candidates who can meet them. Based on the premise that obtaining a job is a skill in itself, project staff works intensively with applicants to help them pass the screening requirements for jobs. This activity includes counseling, assistance with resumé preparation, interview preparation and test tutoring. At the same time, project staff work with employers to obtain job orders and establish trust. Recognizing that screening is an expensive process for most employers, the program aims to refer well prepared applicants on a selective basis, thereby reducing personnel search costs. Finally, because the minority women placed in jobs are often the only women or minorities, project staff remain available to individuals placed, and they serve as a sort of support system for those who need it.

The Atlanta Project showed encouraging initial success in changing long-standing employment patterns. By the end of the first seven months, more than 600 college-educated minority women had applied to the project and thirty-two had been placed into jobs such as chemist, management trainee, computer programmer, engineering associate, planner and accountant. Starting salaries ran as high as \$15,300 and gains in annual income of as much as \$3,300 were reported.

In March 1973, a second demonstration project, using the same basic program model, was established in Houston by RTP, Inc. The Houston project, entitled the Minority Women Employment Program, was aimed to assist black, Mexican American, Asian American and Native American women in a business climate anticipated to be even less receptive than in Atlanta. After some initial startup difficulties, the Houston project began to show similar results. In fact, many of the individual placements were in even higher quality jobs.

Prompted by the initial successes in Atlanta and Houston, in November 1975, the two programs were consolidated into a single nationwide research/demonstration effort, entitled the Minority Women Employment Program. Offices were established in Cincinnati, Dallas, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and Tulsa.³ The objective of this experiment was to model and replicate the Program in a variety of urban environments over diverse geographic areas where research findings showed minority women to be underrepresented in private sector managerial and professional and technical jobs.

On September 1, 1978, the Minority Women Employment Program, having proven itself as a project of demonstrated effectiveness under the Office of Research and Development, was transferred to the Office of National Programs within the U.S. Department of Labor. The Minority Women Employment Program became a program under the Women's Employment Division of RTP, Inc. This book reviews the experience of the project in its demonstration phase under contract with the Office of Research and Development.

The effective design of a social action program requires that the condition it is designed to remedy be correctly diagnosed. The causes of the problem must be ascertained and a solution formulated that is consistent with the objectives and power relations of the institutions and individuals involved. The following chapter indicates how the outreach remedy is designed to use the self-interest of employers as a lever in eliminating discriminatory patterns of hiring. In final sections, we assess the effort and summarize what has been learned.

CHAPTER 3 FOOTNOTES

1. A summary of the research conducted under this project may be found in Ray Marshall and Virgil Christian (eds.), *Employment of Southern Blacks* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978). In January 1978, Ray Marshall became United States Secretary of Labor.
2. RTP, Inc. (The Recruitment and Training Program) which was incorporated as a nonprofit organization in 1972, formerly conducted apprenticeship outreach under various organizational designations, including the Workers Defense League and the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute and the Workers Defense League. Through 1979, RTP, Inc. had placed more than 13,000 minority youngsters into skilled trades apprenticeship outreach activities.
3. In November 1976, an office in Boston was added with funds from the Massachusetts State Manpower Services Council under the authority of Section 106 of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (CETA).

CHAPTER 4

THE OUTREACH STRATEGY

This chapter explains the logic and underlying premises of the outreach strategy utilized by agencies such as the Minority Women Employment Program. Since the Minority Women Employment Program is an outgrowth of the strategy used in apprenticeship outreach, it is instructive to review the remarkable history of this effort.¹

In 1963, the Workers Defense League (WDL), a human rights organization founded to fight the economic and political exploitation of workers, joined a coalition protesting against the exclusion of minorities from the building trades unions in New York City. The protests culminated in the shutting down of several major construction sites. In the midst of the demonstrations, it occurred to the WDL staff that, if the unions suddenly acceded to their demands to admit minorities, they could provide the names of only a few youths who were interested and qualified to become apprentices. Although it was rumored that a group of Brooklyn ministers had a list of 600 prospective applicants, the list never materialized. The WDL first thought that minority candidates were unavailable because they simply lacked information about apprenticeship. Thus, WDL compiled a booklet on apprenticeship trades, including information on entry standards and the timing of class openings, and distributed it widely in the minority community.

But the pamphlet did not solve the problem. Minority applicants did not appear. Merely providing information

was not enough. Thus, WDL decided to actively recruit minority youngsters. With a small grant from the Taconic Foundation, WDL opened a storefront office on June 1, 1964 in the predominantly black Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, marking the beginning of the first apprenticeship outreach program. In 1966, the A. Phillip Randolph Institute became a co-sponsor with the Workers Defense League in the effort, then known as the Joint Apprenticeship Program.

Youths in minority communities and their parents as well, were largely unaware of apprenticeship and skeptical of the opportunities it offered. This was understandable, since historically minorities had been excluded from the building trades in New York. Only 300 out of 15,000 apprentices enumerated in the 1960 U.S. Census nationwide were black.² The Joint Apprenticeship Program began an intensive campaign, aimed at the schools, parents' groups, YMCA's and community organizations, to provide information about the building trades and to seek qualified young men.

But recruiting alone was not the answer. In the first admissions test given by Sheet Metal Worker Local 28, the highest scoring black ranked 68th and the union admitted the first 65. As a result, the staff embarked on a program designed to maximize the minority applicant's chances for admission. It went far beyond the counseling that an employment service or job center might provide, and set up tutoring sessions, several hours a day for several weeks, designed to teach basic mechanical and mathematical skills that applicants either never learned or else had forgotten since leaving school. Another critical element in gaining apprenticeships was passing the interview. Minority youngsters were coached on how to behave and what to say to make the most favorable impression. For example, in response to the question, "Why do you want to enter apprenticeship?", it was advisable to avoid saying, "I want to make a lot of money." Better answers were, "I like to work with my hands" or "I like to work outside" or "I want to learn a craft that will serve me well for the rest of my life." In addition, the WDL found temporary jobs for

applicants waiting to begin apprenticeships. Finally, staff took personal interest in the youngsters and direct responsibility for seeing that these young men were present for the exam.

The WDL differed from other civil rights groups by not demanding that construction unions lower their membership requirements to allow minorities to pass. Instead, the Joint Apprenticeship Program sought minority youths who they were sure could meet existing standards with some tutoring and preparation. In deciding to adopt this strategy, staff recognized the commitment unions had to upholding the standards of the trade. After all, the ability of referral unions to maintain employer contracts and high wage rates is based on having a highly productive, skilled membership. Further, staff reasoned that lowering hiring standards might not necessarily improve the chances of minority youths, since it would also make eligible additional white youths who were unable to meet previous standards. Rather than directly challenge the unions, the Joint Apprenticeship Program decided to work hard for gains within the existing set of rules and to press for institutional change more slowly, over a longer period of time.

This strategy was successful, in part, because the trade unions were already being strongly pressured. Other civil rights groups had begun picketing construction sites to press their demands. The demonstrations attracted the attention of President Johnson, who asked Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz to investigate, and AFL-CIO president George Meany, who sent two AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department aides to gather facts. The construction unions urgently needed a solution that would remove some of the pressures, without sacrificing the standards of their crafts. By offering a reliable source of qualified minority applicants, the Joint Apprenticeship Program provided a way out of the dilemma faced by the trades.

The staff also worked hard to learn about the hiring practices and customs of the construction industry. From its inception, the program consulted with the local and national staff of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in

order to learn the schedules of apprenticeship exams and the application procedures. It met with industry officials to learn the nature of each trade and the skills demanded. In addition to providing the staff with information, these consultations helped to convince initially hostile union leaders of the sincerity and commitment of Joint Apprenticeship Program staff.

The efforts paid off handsomely. In the admission tests of the Sheet Metal Workers Local 28 given in 1965, 12 of the applicants sent by the Joint Apprenticeship Program placed among the top 30 taking the examinations. The following year, 75 percent of the blacks taking the exam passed, compared to only 31 percent of the whites. The success of the Joint Apprenticeship Program in preparing its applicants was so striking as to lead to charges, subsequently proven false, that the staff had prior knowledge of the apprenticeship exams.

Prompted by the success in New York City, the U.S. Department of Labor funded the Joint Apprenticeship Program to replicate the effort in several other cities. In addition, the outreach model was adopted by other organizations, such as the Urban League, and the Human Resources Development Institute (HRDI) so that, by 1978 more than 120 apprenticeship outreach programs were operating in cities across the nation. Between 1967 and 1977, outreach programs reported placing more than 40,000 youths into desirable jobs. An estimated 95 percent of the individuals placed were minorities.

Generalizing the Outreach Approach

We have briefly reviewed the history of apprenticeship outreach in order to familiarize the reader with the principles underlying the outreach strategy. Since its inception with building trades apprenticeship, it has also been extended to help minorities gain access to other high paying blue collar jobs, such as welders, firefighting and maintenance mechanics.

Central to the outreach approach is an organization, limited in staff and scope, to serve as a bridge between unions, and/or employers and the minority community.

On the one hand, it is the organization's function to gain the confidence of decision makers in the target industry as a source of highly qualified and reliable personnel. It presents itself as sensitive to the requirements of employers and unions, yet steadfast in its commitment to obtain access to the best jobs for members of the minority community. It is from the minority community that qualified applicants are sought, and it is toward the members of this community that educational efforts informing people of new career possibilities, and the required preparation, must be directed.

The outreach agency takes it upon itself to learn as much as possible about the hiring practices and needs of employers with whom it is attempting to work. Such factors as the qualifications required of employees, the seasonality of hiring, and the industry's previous efforts in the area of race relations are noteworthy. Contrary to the approach followed by many civil rights groups attempting to increase minority employment, the outreach agency does not present itself as an antagonist of the employer, but rather accepts, for the most part, the validity of the employer's perceived needs and standards and seeks to recruit applicants with the necessary qualifications. Aware of the requirements for many employers to develop and implement affirmative action plans, and of the considerable public pressure to increase minority representation, the organization seeks to aid the employer in obtaining qualified personnel.

Of equal importance is the establishment of a feeling of credibility and sincerity with members of the minority community. Because of the historical patterns of hiring and recruitment, members of the minority community are understandably skeptical of any "new" attempt to break down existing barriers. Second, in a time of growing militance and dissatisfaction with existing institutions, a group that does not establish itself as the "enemy" of these institutions is immediately suspect. As indicated by the experience of outreach programs to date, these reservations on the part of the community can most successfully be overcome by producing results.

The outreach group also undertakes an important

intermediary function: it attempts to reconcile the supply characteristics of its applicants with the qualities demanded by the employers. This activity consists principally of preparing the applicants to pass the screening procedures of most firms, which are informal as well as formal. Since in addition to evaluating the formal credentials of the applicant, many companies rely on impressions gained through interviews—presumably as an indicator of qualities that are not predictable from a resume—a great effort is made to put the applicant at ease in interviews. Often, the job interview is a minority-white encounter, which compounds the discomfort an applicant may experience.

A key principle of the outreach program is maintaining a narrow focus. The outreach program has been most successful when the activities were handled by an organization that made recruitment, training, and placement its exclusive concern. This argues for maintaining the outreach program as an entity separate from other human rights organizations already active in the labor market—both to avoid saddling the outreach group with an opposition not of its making, and to avoid dissipating the energies of the staff on matters of concern only to the larger organization. Since it is important that the staff be able to relate to the applicants on a personal level, a small organization is desirable as well.

The scope and labor market focus of outreach programs are also quite important. When combatting discrimination in any career occupation, it is essential to seek out and find the *career entry points*. For many professions, the appropriate entry point is admission to a formal training program or major in school. To become a lawyer, one needs to go to law school; a doctor has to graduate from medical school. The entry point to become an engineer is in undergraduate college. Thus, to change patterns of employment in these specialized professions, affirmative action efforts need to be sharply focused at the entry points in college.

However, there exists a wide range of nonclerical white collar careers in business for which specialized training is not a requirement. Many liberal arts majors

become management trainees, wholesalers, and middle managers without specialized training. For these occupations, the effective entry point is after college graduation.

The Minority Women Employment Program marked the first major attempt to apply outreach program techniques to white collar occupations. There are several reasons for believing that the outreach strategy could also be effective in helping college-educated minority women obtain employment commensurate with their skills. First, just as apprenticeship has traditionally relied on informal or “word-of-mouth” publicity to obtain applicants, informal channels are important in managerial, professional and technical jobs as well. This may seem surprising in view of the substantial increase in number of visits by company recruiters to predominately minority colleges. However, nationally altogether not more than about six hundred firms have college recruiting programs. Further, there is reason to question whether college recruitment may not be dominated by more informal channels, such as recommendations from a known and trusted faculty network. Also, it is well known that college alumni associations become national networks of informal job information. In fact, sophisticated college placement offices in private schools with high alumnae allegiance solicit jobs and internships for students through alumni in a very deliberate fashion—with good success. Recall Granovetter’s finding that the better the job, the more likely it is to have been obtained through personal contacts. In addition, some observers have questioned the sincerity of recruitment efforts at minority colleges, suggesting that firms engaged in this activity merely document their “good faith” effort to implement affirmative action plans. They contend that though many are interviewed, few are hired.

Formal passive mechanisms of job exchange, such as rosters, computerized skill banks, and the like also have disadvantages in serving employers in managerial, professional and technical occupations where informal or “word-of-mouth” information networks have been found to be of primary importance.

Second, the use of broadly targeted screening criteria

virtually assures that many qualified minority women are screened out of good professional and managerial positions. By locating these women and certifying their competency, outreach could reduce the risk the employer perceives in hiring them.

Third, a mere job-matching operation would be insufficient to significantly affect the employment opportunities available to minority women. Even if these women gain access to the personnel office, they are likely to need assistance in preparing for the interview and feeling comfortable enough to make the best impression on a personnel manager and other hiring agents, who are likely to be white males.

For these reasons, the outreach approach commends itself above many alternatives. It does not threaten employers, and it has the potential to reach the heart of the labor market problems facing minority women. Based on the recognition that screening is an expensive process for employers, outreach programs are designed to defray employer costs.

Outreach is simple and direct and goes far beyond merely passively providing information. A key premise of outreach is that finding a job is a skill in itself and that existing entry procedures eliminate many minority and female applicants who are turned away because they don't perform well in interviews or on tests. Outreach does not ignore job requirements or entry standards. Rather, outreach coaches individuals to meet the expectations of employers.

The outreach model also recognizes that getting the job is not the ultimate goal. Keeping the job is equally important. A minority woman who is placed frequently might be the first and only woman or minority group member to be employed in a professional capacity in a given firm. As a result, she may feel she has no one close at hand to offer words of encouragement or to lend a sympathetic ear. A successful outreach program must be active in maintaining contact beyond the hiring to help assure satisfying long-term employment.

Outreach programs are also distinguished by the high quality or attractiveness of the jobs at which they are

targeted. They are well paying permanent jobs offering opportunity for advancement. In a sense, outreach activities are aimed at "career launching" rather than simply "job placement."

Although there are many considerations which argue for enlarging the scope of outreach targets, the value of narrow focus has been persuasive. For example, when plans for the MWEPP were being formulated, the question arose whether the program should attempt to help minority males and white females, as well as minority women. It was answered in the negative, not because these other groups are not in need of assistance, but because serving a more broadly defined constituency would vastly increase the size of the program staff necessary to handle the enlarged program. Since the outreach approach derives its strength, in part, from its narrow focus and its community orientation, it was concluded that, at least initially, the program might serve the group facing the double disadvantage of both minority and female status.

Another suggestion was to seek job openings for the entire range of occupations, not simply professional, technical, and managerial positions. This, too, was rejected because it would dilute efforts and require too much knowledge on the part of the staff. In addition, it was argued that demonstrating that well-educated minority women could obtain good jobs in previously all white or all male jobs was important to provide role models to fellow workers and to younger women still in high school or college. Since college enrollment rates for minorities, although increasing, are still below those of whites, this demonstration effect was considered especially valuable. Clearly, however, outreach programs such as the Minority Women Employment Program are not a panacea but represent just one important facet of a strategy that must be implemented to solve the employment problems of minorities and women.

Summary

The outreach concept is based on several premises. One is that there exists little communication between employers and minority communities. They live apart and

have little professional or social contact. Because the best jobs are usually obtained through friends or personal contacts, minorities lack opportunities for utilizing their skills and are likely to be underemployed.

Second, while minority employment patterns reflect both supply and demand factors, most legal and administrative remedies to discrimination operate exclusively on the demand side of the market. However, merely making employment available is insufficient; qualified minority personnel must be located, informed of openings, and assisted through the hiring process. Court decisions and compliance reviews may help motivate employers to want to take action. But mere willingness does not produce results. As personnel officials testify, many sincere employers face serious problems finding qualified women and minority applicants. Outreach is designed to help employers to respond *effectively* to governmental pressure. Outreach is an important complement to equal opportunity pressures. Indeed, the formalization of screening procedures which comes as a response to such pressures actually may assist outreach by clarifying the targets for the job preparation efforts of the program.

Although the outreach strategy has been applied to a variety of situations; each application requires that the model be adapted to a particular set of circumstances. This chapter has described how the outreach approach grew out of efforts designed to place minority youths into building trades apprenticeships. Institutional characteristics of the college-educated labor market has necessitated some revision for MWEP. The following chapter describes the organization of the MWEP and details the procedures used by its staff. Using the experience gained from operating the MWEP in eight cities, the chapter seeks to outline the most successful models for the outreach approach.

CHAPTER 4 FOOTNOTES

1. For an early description of apprenticeship outreach activities see Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., *Equal Apprenticeship Opportunities: The Nature of the Issue and the New*

York Experience (Ann Arbor: The Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations. University of Michigan-Wayne State University and the National Manpower Policy Task Force, 1968).

2. Cited in Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., *The Negro and Apprenticeship* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1967).

CHAPTER 5

OUTREACH IN PRACTICE: THE MWEP

This chapter offers an overview of operations of the Minority Women Employment Program (MWEP)—a good example of the outreach approach.¹ MWEP utilizes techniques which were developed and refined over six years of experimentation. This strategy includes the following general functions: recruitment of applicants, employer contact and job development, preparation and screening of applicants, and referral placement and followup. In addition, the staff conducts a good deal of what might be described as "community relations work." Finally, research is a key feature of the program. Each of these functions will be discussed in turn.

Recruiting Applicants

In recruiting qualified minority candidates, MWEP recruiter-counselors make use of a variety of techniques. Probably the most effective is word-of-mouth. Many hear of MWEP through a friend or relative or employer and walk in, call, or write, requesting information and assistance. Additionally, announcements are periodically made through minority news media. Guest appearances by program staff are made on TV and radio shows to explain the project. Yearbooks and graduation announcements from nearby colleges with high proportions of minority students are reviewed for names. Letters are sent to names of individuals on lists of minority college graduates.² Since

college graduates are a highly mobile population, such listings become out of date rapidly, and the response rate to such mailings is generally low. However, if only a few individuals hear of the program this way, it may be worth the time and expense.

In addition, MWEP recruits applicants through alumnae groups and minority student organizations, including black sororities such as Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta and Zeta Phi Beta. MWEP recruiter-counselors also make contact with college placement officers and contacts in various academic departments in local colleges and universities. A substantial applicant supply has been established by acquiring from these sources lists of women qualified in a wide variety of academic areas. Contacts are also made with minority professional organizations in search of experienced applicants who are seeking to upgrade and/or change careers. Sometimes organizations are even created to fill needs perceived by the project's staff. For example, in Houston, the project director was one of the co-founders of Black Women for Social Change, a community organization which has provided contacts and other assistance to MWEP-Houston.

In essence, the Minority Women Employment Program has utilized a highly targeted or selective marketing strategy, including informal as well as formal channels, to locate qualified candidates for managerial and professional positions. Further, in order to obtain the confidence of these individuals, the program takes a professional approach to its clients. This means, for example, that the program does not apply a "needs test" as do most welfare and social service programs, nor does it ask personal questions merely for the sake of establishing a person's eligibility.

Employer Contact and Job Development

Contact with employers is the primary responsibility of the local project director. In order to make effective use of the director's time, priority is given to contacting major firms identified by research as having present and future job openings and, therefore, likely to be hiring. With

further research, it is also possible to identify the persons who make hiring decisions in each firm for the jobs sought.

Unless the employer is referred by a personal contact, firms are generally first contacted by means of a letter. Generally, the letter is sent to the personnel manager or to the personnel official responsible for recruiting and hiring managerial and professional staff. The letter introduces MWEP to the employer and explains the program's functions. It emphasizes that MWEP endeavors to provide applicants who meet the employer's specified standards, thereby defraying some of the recruitment and screening costs, and requests an appointment to discuss the program more fully. Firms which do not respond to the initial letter receive followup telephone calls soliciting an interview. In only a few instances have firms proven resistant to both appeals.

From the initial interview, the project director attempts to establish a positive rapport with the company officials. She re-emphasizes that the purpose of MWEP is to help the employer recruit minority women for the firm. It is made clear that MWEP will fully observe the employer's standards and will endeavor to screen its registrants and refer only those women who appeared to satisfy all of the requirements of the job. It is further stressed that MWEP specializes in managerial, technical and professional occupations. MWEP asks to be informed when job openings occur for these positions and what the requirements for the job are.

Not only is information on job openings and formal requirements obtained, but informal requirements are important as well. Also relevant are the seasonality of hiring patterns, upgrading paths, detailed step by step hiring procedures, the firm's decision-making process regarding new hires, training programs, job security, and the career paths associated with various entry level positions.

One objective of the visit is to leave the employer with a clear impression of the quality of the project's applicants. To the extent that MWEP staff convey a competent, professional image, they themselves help to break down

preconceived notions and stereotypes in the mind of the employer. Indeed, MWEP staff have commonly received job offers themselves in the course of their work.

In a successful meeting with an employer, the project director may receive job descriptions of specific openings that currently exist in the firm. Other times, an employer, having learned of the type of applicants MWEP has to offer, will agree to notify MWEP when vacancies occur or when training programs are scheduled to begin.

Although some employers show little reaction to the program, the behavior of many employers has been modified simply by coming into contact with MWEP. Many are impressed by the quality of the MWEP representative who visits them. Further, although MWEP does not adopt a hostile position toward employers, the program often assumes an advocacy role on behalf of qualified referrals. Employers are influenced by the project in several ways. They are impressed that MWEP staff know the law regarding employment discrimination. Further, they realize that interviews with MWEP referrals will be followed up, and applicants cannot simply be rejected out of hand.

Sometimes, either because the employer has no current openings in managerial, technical, or professional occupations, or perhaps to test MWEP's delivery capabilities, an employer will provide a clerical job order to MWEP. This often presents a problem. On one hand, MWEP does not want to foster the reputation of placing clerical personnel. Yet MWEP does not want to lose an employer by failing to be responsive. Further, certain clerical positions offer good pay and upward mobility; and although MWEP does not seek applicants desiring clerical positions, some do apply.

The resolution to this problem has been to refer candidates to the job, if suitable applicants are available on file, and the position offers sufficient quality and upward mobility to merit consideration. Notwithstanding this response to clerical job orders, MWEP stresses to employers that its chief focus and abilities lie in filling nonclerical white collar positions.

Gaining exposure to business firms is a sensitive matter. A massive broadcasting campaign brings in many

firms who wish only to "touch base," fulfilling formalities of making "good faith" efforts to achieve a letter as "proof" of their contact—without so much as interviewing or otherwise seriously considering any available MWEP applicants on file. This wastes valuable staff time, raises staff frustration, creates an atmosphere of distrust and generally consumes much staff energy in weeding those sincere responses from those who are merely going through the motions.

The most effective contacts with business have been a result of personal referrals by executives with whom MWEP has established a good relationship. Thus, business clients established in Atlanta or Houston have been asked for referrals in other project cities. Two such referrals led to the placement with Dallas firms of three Atlanta applicants who were willing to relocate—even before the Dallas-MWEP office had been established.

In summary, good relations with employers are based on trust, open communication and referring only qualified individuals. Building trust with an employer requires a timely and honest response to job orders. Sometimes honesty compels MWEP to admit that they cannot find any suitable candidates for referral. Although this is often difficult and distressful to individual staff, they know that making inappropriate referrals can lose credibility for the program. Employers rely upon the program to screen candidates, thus saving the firm the time and money of considering unsuitable candidates. Employers also expect reasonable rejections to be accepted without objection. For the employers' part, cooperating with the program involves providing program staff with adequate lead notice of job openings, giving sincere and impartial consideration to referrals sent from the program and providing accurate and forthright feedback regarding the suitability of the candidates sent.

The Preparation and Screening of Applicants

Having obtained information about the available jobs, there remains the formidable task of selecting the MWEP registrants appropriately qualified to fill the openings and

preparing them to apply for the job. This generally involves job and career counseling, resumé preparation, preparation for the job interview, test tutoring, general support and encouragement, and following up each job referral.

Initially, each registrant is asked to fill out a form requesting information about her personal characteristics, labor force experience, educational background, and career goals. If one of the staff (generally a recruiter-counselor) is immediately available, the registrant will be interviewed. In the event that an immediate interview is not possible, an appointment is scheduled.

During the initial interview, the recruiter-counselor reviews the application to obtain a more complete picture of the client. In addition, the recruiter-counselor attempts to gain the trust and confidence of the job seeker. Subjects on the application form present abundant material for extended conversation, which is helpful in establishing initial rapport. During the interview, the recruiter-counselor attempts to form an impression of the occupational interests, communication abilities, personality traits, and work skills of the applicant. Also noteworthy are her composure during the interview, her career interest and her awareness of the job market, and the general impression conveyed by her personal appearance and her resumé. A significant part of the interview consists of educating the woman to the realities of the job market, often informing her that the jobs to which she aspires are quite scarce but also pointing out that the client may be qualified for jobs she had only vaguely considered. Based on the information gathered during the interview, and an assessment of the job market, the staff formulates a program of work designed to enhance the employability of the registrant.

The program of work varies with the particular needs of the woman. Initially, the stress is on basics, beginning with the resumé. It is quite common for a registrant not to understand the purpose of the resumé and to have inappropriate information listed or job objectives stated too broadly. MWEP staff also indicate to the client that diffe-

rent types of resumé may be called for in applying for various types of jobs; i.e., emphasis might be placed on different aspects of a person's background or the material might be presented in a different manner in order to best reflect the applicant's qualifications for the specific position desired. MWEP staff may assist the registrant in tailoring resumé for use in a particular job referral—especially for employers who appear especially attentive to written profiles of their job applicants. In this regard, individuals have been assisted in preparing as many as five customized resumé.

Along with the resumé, much attention is devoted to job interview preparation. This is critical because often heavy emphasis is given by employers to impressions gained in such encounters. Women who the staff feel are in particular need of work are given "mock" or simulated interviews which provide them the opportunity to become comfortable and gain confidence, as well as offering them feedback and suggestions for improving their interview performance.

The interviews are generally conducted with MWEP staff posing as an employer's personnel representative. The purpose of the interview is to present the registrant with the kind of situation she can expect to encounter when applying for a job. The interviewer asks a series of prepared questions or engages the applicant in a general discussion about the activities of the company or about the applicant's job experience or career goals.

A common characteristic of many clients is that they assume a passive role in the interviews. That is, they respond to questions in the most direct terms and rarely raise any questions of their own about how employment with the firm may satisfy some of their personal objectives. Considerable time may be spent indicating how the applicant can be more engaging in her conversation. Tips are provided on how to be assertive without appearing aggressive.

Often, an applicant cannot verbalize her career goals, a point on which some employers place key attention. To remedy this, MWEP staff will question the applicant in an

effort to gain insight into her real interests and objectives. They also reflect back to the applicant how she presents herself. Through this process, the applicant generally improves her ability to express herself clearly and enhances her self assurance in real interviews with employers.

On occasion, some applicants need assistance in grooming, style of dress, and interview posture and conduct. In making suggestions regarding such personal and potentially sensitive matters, MWEP staff generally take a cautious approach. They have found, however, that once they gain the trust and confidence of the client, she is often quite receptive to suggestions regarding such matters.

Job counseling often takes the form of working with clients in groups as well as individually. One technique has been to invite several registrants to seminars on employment opportunities for women in nontraditional occupations—job categories minority women had not previously considered. The seminars are attended by representatives of various large employers who make presentations regarding particular occupations. On one hand, these seminars provide minority women with exposure to unfamiliar occupations; also, the seminars give industry executives the opportunity to meet and interchange with a group of competent minority women.

Test tutoring is another important facet of job preparation. Since employers make substantial investments in many of the people who fill their managerial, technical, and professional occupations and because they seek individuals who have the potential to advance to higher level positions, many firms utilize tests in their screening procedures. Thus, MWEP tutors applicants in test-taking. Such tutoring consists of orientation to and practice with the general subject areas covered in aptitude tests. As an operational component of RTP, Inc. MWEP is able to draw on the testing expertise which its parent organization gained through years of tutoring for apprenticeships and other occupations.

By design, the MWEP approach to job placement is a very personal process. Every MWEP staff member is

encouraged to become closely acquainted with each applicant. Emphasis is placed on providing support and encouragement—particularly to those lacking self-confidence. Personalized assistance is reflected in other ways. If transportation is a problem for an applicant, MWEP staff may assist with information on automobile financing, suggest leads for purchasing an inexpensive automobile, or help the applicant locate an apartment in an area where public transportation is available. MWEP staff may also pick up application forms during office hours to assist candidates who cannot get off work. If an applicant has child care problems, MWEP staff may help to arrange for day care. In part, it is this personal attention which distinguishes MWEP from other job matching mechanisms or agencies.

Following each job referral, MWEP staff debrief both applicants and employers asking them to describe their impressions and reactions. Employers who do not hire applicants are asked why. This helps staff members to learn more precisely about what types of interviews specific employers conduct and to better assess employer needs for future referrals. Applicants also find it helpful to review their experiences to learn how they might be more effective in subsequent interviews.

Placement Followup

MWEP has found it useful to organize its placements into a kind of alumnae association. Such organizations serve two objectives: First, they provide a support group on which these pattern-breaking women can rely in coping with discrimination and other problems encountered on the job. Secondly, they foster the development of an information network, further strengthening the linkage between business and the minority community. And developing such linkages assists to overcome institutional discrimination.

A key focus of these meetings is on mutual support. The women are encouraged to draw on their own resources to combat the difficulties and discrimination they

encounter on the job. Many of the problems cited center around certain recurring themes: Some of the placements are not given challenging work and feel that their capabilities are not being utilized. This seems to be a pattern when employers place minorities only as tokens. On the other hand, some women are beleaguered with assignments beyond their stated job requirements, training, and/or capacities. Occasionally the women view this as discriminatory harassment and program staff are called in to mediate. Some face the general problem of breaking out of the stereotyped roles in which firms have treated women in the past. For example, women managers sometimes are not readily accepted as supervisors by their subordinates.

As the only minority women on the job, individuals placed by the program often feel an added burden of responsibility for becoming successful. The support offered by merely talking with women in similar circumstances in other firms has been helpful. Many of the problems presented require assertive behavior, a focus of training efforts in followup sessions.

In most cases, the women are able to deal with their problems with the support of MWEP staff or other individuals placed by the program. Happily, there are far more success stories than problems for MWEP placements and those who are doing well serve as an effective resource to individuals who are encountering problems.

Community Relations

Once an MWEP project becomes established, the staff of the project gain justified reputations as experts in the employment problems and prospects of minority women. As a result, they are frequently called upon to conduct discussions at colleges and universities, make presentations at conferences, give speeches before women's groups, confer with labor market planners, public personnel officials, and others. In a broad sense, such activities assist the project in accomplishing its objectives. First, they provide visibility to the project by serving a public relations func-

tion. Secondly, by calling attention to the employment prospects of minority women in nontraditional occupations, more minority females are motivated to seek such careers. Thirdly, such activities are essential in establishing and maintaining contact with the minority community.

The Role of Research

As every worthwhile guide to finding a job points out, a key to success in job hunting is getting to know the employer—even prior to establishing personal contact.⁸ This holds true for employment intermediaries such as the Minority Women Employment Program as much as it does for individuals.

To be effective, outreach staff need to become experts on the industry and employers with whom they work. Extending outreach from craft jobs in the construction industry to managerial, professional and technical occupations across several industries has made this task more difficult. Apprenticeship programs—the focus of earlier outreach efforts—were highly structured with fairly consistent hiring procedures, ports of entry, and hiring schedules. In contrast, the nonclerical white collar market is more diverse, involving primarily “one of a kind” positions. Any metropolitan labor market contains a staggering array of firms, each of which may be the source of several jobs openings. Further, each firm is likely to have its own hiring procedures, standards, and schedules. To cope with this broader market, MWEP has selectively focused its staff efforts. First, the project concentrates primary attention on areas where the paucity of minority women is greatest, namely private sector managerial, technical, and professional jobs—exclusive of nursing and teaching. Of course, nontargeted job offers which can be easily filled are not ignored, but neither are they pursued. Secondly, MWEP is especially directed to growth firms and industries which are most likely to have job openings. Locating such firms and industries often requires ongoing research and timely labor market information.

One service performed for the project by staff at The

Center for the Study of Human Resources has been a periodic survey of firms regarding their current needs for college graduates. The survey results often help steer the project towards companies with current job openings. In addition, other labor market information has been compiled for use in the project. Researchers have also aided the project in other ways. They conducted feasibility studies to help select the cities in which the project was needed and likely to be appropriate. They have identified names of management personnel in various firms. They offered various suggestions for obtaining access to corporate officials. They have assisted in the training and orientation of newly-hired project staff. They assembled information for speeches, workshops, and other community relations activities. They have maintained an oversight function on the Minority Women Employment Program, conducting periodic visits to each field office and meeting with National MWEF staff on a monthly basis to review progress of the project. The research component has also been responsible for designing a management information system adequate for documenting the performance of the project.

CHAPTER 5 FOOTNOTES

1. A more complete description of the techniques utilized by the Minority Women Employment Program is contained in U.S. Department of Labor, *Placing Minority Women in Professional Jobs*. R & D Monograph 55. (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978).
2. Some of the listings used have included the following: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Equal Opportunity, *Directory of Minority College Graduates, 1971-72* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972); *Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish Speaking, Spanish-Surnamed American College Graduates: 1971-72*, two volumes, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972); and Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, *Affirmative Action Recruitment Directory: Human Resources in Higher Education* (Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1974). One of the better listings of such directories has been

published in "Recruiting Minority Women #2" November, 1974), a publication of the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

3. See, for example, Richard Nelson Bolles, *What Color Is Your Parachute? A Practical Manual for Job-Hunters and Career-Changers*. (Berkeley, California: Ten Speed Press, Revised Edition, 1978.)

CHAPTER 6

PROGRAM RESULTS AND ASSESSMENT

The primary question to be answered in evaluating a project such as the Minority Women Employment Program is "Does the Program make a difference in the labor market position of minority women which would not have occurred in its absence?" An ideal research design to answer this question, of course, is to track the labor market experience of two perfectly matched, randomly chosen groups who differ in only one respect: one group receives the services of the program whereas the other group—the control group—does not.

In practice, however, implementing such an experimental design is fraught with difficulties. Indeed, the mere process of data collection can affect the performance of the project. In the real world of social program evaluation, other methods of evaluation must substitute for the ideal and once all the available evidence is compiled, judgment must be based on a "rules of evidence" approach such as commonly employed by our nation's courts.

Appropriate indicators will vary according to the objectives of the particular employment and training program being assessed. For the Minority Women Employment Program, such questions as the following are relevant.

- (1) Has the program demonstrated effectiveness in reaching minority women college graduates?
- (2) Are individuals assisted by the program in need of its services?

- (3) Are minority women being placed into private sector jobs they have not traditionally held?
- (4) Is the program helping to achieve improvements in employment patterns for minority women?
- (5) Do the individuals placed tend to stay in jobs and careers in which they have been placed?
- (6) Are minority women being placed into jobs that offer them career and salary advancement?
- (7) Are clients served by the program satisfied with the services they received? And with the jobs in which they were placed?
- (8) Do employers find that the program has been helpful to them?
- (9) Do individuals placed by the program experience significant income gains over their prior jobs?
- (10) Are the costs of the program reasonable compared with the benefits obtained?

These are questions to which the following sections are addressed.

① Applicants Attracted

The Minority Women Employment Program has enjoyed substantial success in attracting applicants. As of September 15, 1978, the number of active applicants on file with the program totaled 8,841, of whom 81 percent were college graduates.

From all indications, the Program has reached a significant proportion of existing minority women college graduates. The number of college graduates on file with MWEP offices in 1978 represented from 6 percent to 44 percent of all black or Spanish heritage women with 4 or more years of college who were enumerated in the 1970 Census of Population of metropolitan areas where MWEP offices are located. Overall, active applicants numbered fully 15 percent of all black or Spanish heritage women with four or more years of college located by the Census in 1970.

Such data either indicate a strong response to the program on the part of minority women reflecting a need

TABLE 6-1
Active Applicants on File with the Minority Women Employment Program, 1978
Compared with Minority Women College Graduates Counted in the 1970 Census

SMSA	Total Active Applicants as of September 15, 1978	Active Applicants with a College Degree	Minority Women College Graduates Enumerated in the 1970 Census	MWEP Degree Applicants as a Percent of 1970 Census Count
Atlanta	1724	1540	5,256	29%
Cincinnati	1324	702	1,585	44%
Dallas	611	679	4,101	17%
Houston	1659	1470	7,650	19%
Los Angeles	1790	1470	23,469	6%
New Orleans	1018	952	4,418	22%
Tulsa	515	187	620	30%
TOTAL ALL CITIES	8841	7000	47,099	15%

SOURCES: MWEP Office files and U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Tables 91 and 97.

NOTES: Census data include total black and Spanish heritage women with four or more years of college. Native American women are excluded because they are not displayed in published Census data. MWEP information for Cincinnati excludes the data from the satellite office in Dayton. "Active applicants" include persons served by the Minority Women Employment Program as of the date indicated. Files are purged semiannually to assure applicants are still available and active.

for the project, or good outreach on the part of MWEP staff, or an incomplete Census count, or large influxes of minority female college graduates into MWEP cities since 1970, or any combination of the aforementioned. Whatever the case, MWEP has compiled an impressive record in attracting applicants—a factor which puts the program in good position to be able to serve the affirmative action needs of employers.

Characteristics of Placements at Time of Application

Tables 6-2 through 6-5 profile the characteristics of the individuals served by the program through August 1978. Of the 1552 placements, 99 percent were minorities and 95 percent were women.¹ Of the placements, 75 percent had a college degree and 93 percent had at least some college. At the time of application of the program, 63 percent were single, separated, divorced or widowed. Clients tend to be relatively young. The mean age was 27, and 80 percent of the individuals placed were 29 or under. Most had graduated from college within the past five years.

Examination of the labor force status of applicants prior to placement reveals them not to be as "advantaged" as conventional wisdom contends. In fact, 46 percent were

TABLE 6-2

MWEP Placements: By Racial/Ethnic Background and Sex

RACIAL/ETHNIC BACKGROUND			TOTAL	
	FEMALE	MALE	NUMBER	PERCENT
Black	1271	63	1334	86.0%
Hispanic	161	8	169	10.9%
Asian American	24	-	24	1.5%
Native American	10	2	12	0.7%
White and Other	13	-	13	0.8%
TOTAL	1479 (95.39%)	73 (4.7%)	1552	100.0%

SOURCE: MWEP Office Records on computer file at the University of Texas at Austin.
Data refer to all placements made through August 31, 1978.

unemployed—most for long terms. An additional 13 percent were employed part-time seeking full time work. Among those fortunate enough to be employed full time, the average annual salary was \$9,127.

TABLE 6-3

MWEP Placements: By Educational Attainment

Educational Attainment	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percentage
Doctorate	15	1.0	1.0
Masters	243	15.7	16.7
Bachelors	908	58.5	75.2
Attended College	283	18.2	93.4
Training Beyond High School (Other than College)			
And High School Graduates	103	6.6	100.0
TOTAL	1552	100.0	

SOURCE: MWEP Office Records on computer file at The University of Texas at Austin.
Data refer to all placements made through August 31, 1978.

TABLE 6-5

MWEP Placements: Employment Status at Time of Application

	NUMBER 1552	PERCENT 100%
TOTAL PLACEMENTS		
Unemployed (Mean average duration=48.4 weeks)	711	46%
Employed part-time seeking full time work	198	13%
Employed full time and seeking other job (Former annual salary rate = \$9,127)	643	41%

SOURCE: MWEP Office Records on computer file at The University of Texas at Austin.
Data refer to all placements made through August 31, 1978.

TABLE 6-4
MWEP Placements by Marital Status and Number of Dependents

Marital Status	Placements Percent	Total With Dependents		Number of Dependents						Total Dependents
		Number	Dependents	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Married, husband present	37.0	357	243	136	77	19	8	2	1	395
Other	63.0	610	216	130	59	18	7	2	0	340
Never married	45.0	436	75	60	11	4	0	0	0	94
Separated	3.7	36	29	15	10	1	2	1	0	51
Divorced	13.8	133	109	53	38	12	5	1	0	190
Widowed	.5	5	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	5
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	100.0	967	459							735

SOURCE: MWEP Office Records on computer file at the University of Texas at Austin.

NOTE: Data is based on voluntary responses from application forms for placements made through August 31, 1978. Responses were received from 967 individuals or 71 percent of the placements made. Dependents included aged relatives as well as children.

One would expect a population seeking assistance from an employment agency to have higher rates of unemployment generally. But the long duration of unemployment experienced is especially notable. Most had been unemployed for 15 weeks or longer. The high incidence of unemployment among applicants to the Minority Women Employment Program also offers a striking contrast to the overall unemployment rates for experienced workers in managerial, professional and technical occupations, as indicated below:

Year	Managers and Administrators	Professionals and Technical
1973	1.4%	2.2%
1974	1.8	2.3
1975	3.0	3.2
1976	3.1	3.2
1977	2.8	3.0

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, *Employment in Training Report of the President: 1978*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978. Page 215, Table A-21.

Placements in Nontraditional Jobs

MWEP was designed as a concentrated effort directed at placing minority women into occupations in which they had not traditionally worked.² To ascertain how well the program performed against this goal, all placements made from July 1977 through August 1978 were examined. Of the 452 placements made during this period, 57 percent were in nontraditional jobs in the private sector and another 8 percent were placements in nontraditional work in the nonprofit or public sector. During this period, the project produced 51 (or 11 percent) breakthroughs. MWEP placements have represented many "firsts" including:

A major insurance firm in Texas hired its first black female as an auditor.

- A nationwide retailing firm hired its first black woman in management.
- A major Southern-based airline hired its first woman (and first black) as a computer programmer.

The impact of the program on changes in the employment patterns of minority women is difficult to ascertain. However, Table 6-6 offers perspective on the relative magnitude of placement activity of each MWEP office. As indicated, MWEP placed a number ranging from 2 to 38 percent of total minority women who worked in managerial and professional jobs, as reported in 1975 to the EEOC by major private employers.

Beyond Placement: Job Retention and Career Advancement

As a part of program assessment efforts, a follow-up survey was conducted from 1976 through 1978 of individuals who had been placed by the program since operations began in 1972. A three-page questionnaire was mailed to all placements during 1977, together with a cover letter from the MWEP National Administrative office. A second copy of the questionnaire with a cover letter from the MWEP local field office director was then mailed to nonrespondents. Finally, attempts were made to reach the remaining nonrespondents by telephone.

Table 6-7 provides data on response rates by city. Overall, follow ups were conducted with 628 individuals out of 1208 (or 52 percent) of the placements made through the time of the followup. For individual cities, response rates ranged from 18 percent in Atlanta to 74 percent in Tulsa.

Job Retention

Perhaps the most striking result of the followup was its finding of high job retention. Overall, 72 percent of the respondents reported that they were still on the job or in a

related position for which the MWEP placement was a help. Even among individuals who had been placed two or more years previously, 65 percent were still on the same job or in a related position.

TABLE 6-6

The number of Managerial and Professional Placements Made by MWEP Compared with Total Numbers of Minority Women working in Professional and Managerial Jobs in Private Industry, as reported to the EEOC in 1975

	(a) Minority Women Managers and Professionals Reported to EEOC in 1975	(b) Placements Made in Managerial and Professional Jobs by MWEP through 8/31/78	ratio = $\frac{b}{a}$
Atlanta	1241	246	20%
Cincinnati	469	126	27%
Dallas	1,366	90	7%
Houston	2,179	200	9%
Los Angeles	6,479	151	2%
New Orleans	647	75	12%
Tulsa	236	90	38%
TOTAL	12,617	978	8%

Sources: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Equal Employment Opportunity Report: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, 1975*. Volume 2. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977. Tables 1 and 2. And MWEP Office Records on computer file at the University of Texas at Austin.

NOTE: Minority Women are defined as black and Hispanic women, except in Tulsa where American Indian Women are included as well.

EEOC data are displayed for SMSAs only. Thus, Dallas includes the Fort Worth area and Los Angeles includes Long Beach, even though MWEP offices effectively cover only Dallas and Los Angeles. All private employers with 100 or more employees are required to report to the EEOC.

Data from MWEP include all placements in managerial and professional jobs made from the beginning of the project through August 31, 1978. Offices have been established in Atlanta since May 1, 1972, in Houston since June 1, 1973, in Dallas since March 17, 1975, in New Orleans since May 5, 1975, in Tulsa since June 23, 1975, in Cincinnati since July 21, 1975, and in Los Angeles since August 18, 1975.

TABLE 6-7
Summary of Follow-Ups Conducted with MWEP Placements, by City: 1977-78

	<i>Atlanta</i>	<i>Houston</i>	<i>Dallas</i>	<i>New Orleans</i>	<i>Cincinnati</i>	<i>Tulsa</i>	<i>Los Angeles</i>	<i>Total</i>
Number of Follow-Ups Conducted	58	163	97	69	52	93	96	628
Placement Date of Last Follow-Up	8/77	10/77	8/77	1/78	8/77	12/77	8/77	
Number of Placements Through that Follow-Up Date	316.5	241.5	144	100.5	128.5	125	152	1208
Percent Response	18%	67%	67%	69%	40%	74%	63%	52%

Source: MWEP follow-up records on computer file at the University of Texas at Austin.

Note: In Atlanta, attempts were made to reach by telephone only those who had been placed a year or less.

TABLE 6-8
Job Retention Reported by MWEP Placements

	<i>Less than two years from placement</i>		<i>Two or more years from placement</i>		<i>Total</i>	
Still on the job	313	64.4%	51	44.3%	364	60.6%
In a related job	43	8.8%	24	20.9%	67	11.1%
SUBTOTAL	356	73.2%	75	65.2%	431	71.7%
TOTAL Respondents	486	100%	115	100%	601	100%

SOURCE: MWEP follow-up on computer file at the University of Texas at Austin. Information reported in questionnaire and telephone responses from MWEP placements. The surveys were made between 1976 and 1978. Total respondents to this question (601) represented 49.8 percent of the total placements made through the date of the survey (1208).

Job Advancement

One of the major objectives of MWEP is to place minority women into occupations which offer upward mobility. In fact, 23 percent of the placement follow-up respondents indicated that they originally came to MWEP because their former jobs were dead-end positions.

Among 431 respondents who were still on the job or in a related position, 35 percent reported receiving promotions, 61 percent receiving salary advancements for merit, and 57 percent reported receiving advanced job related training. Even among 163 individuals who had been on the job for less than a year, 34 percent had received promotions, 53 percent had received salary advances for merit and 51 percent reported receiving advanced job related training.

Satisfaction with Services Offered by MWEP

A significant indicator of a program's success is the way its clients feel about it. As a whole, MWEP placements seem well pleased with the service they received from the Minority Women Employment Program. Among the 628 respondents, 74 percent indicated that the job they acquired through MWEP was a substantial improvement over their prior job. Furthermore, analysis of open-ended comments made in follow-up questionnaires and in telephone conversations with individuals placed showed that over 70 percent of them spoke very favorably of MWEP.

Some of the following comments are typical:

"After searching for a year for a better job, I am very pleased with my new position. I enjoy the people and the work I do. The counseling and mock interviews were a tremendous help in getting this job. I think MWEP is doing a fantastic job in placing minority women in positions that were white and/or male dominant. MWEP is a superb agency with little that can be improved about it."

"I think Minority Women Employment Pro-

gram is very good. After a lot of problems getting a job they got me one on my first interview, they made sure beforehand that I was qualified for that type of job and got somebody who knew about the job to give me a test interview. After that, they were always concerned about my problems and helped me solve them."

"I believe MWEP is performing a vital function not being performed by any other agency that I am aware of. I constantly encourage Chicanas to take advantage of their services."

"It was lifesaver. MWEP understands the needs of minority women and the counselors relate well to the interviewee because most of them are minorities and they know what's out there."

Among the critical comments from individuals placed, the most common remark was that MWEP ought to become more visible in the community.

The follow-up results are impressive. But it should be acknowledged that there is some response bias in the data; those most likely to respond are individuals who had a favorable experience with MWEP and stayed on the job. Nevertheless, strong results are likely to persist even with larger samples of placements. As indicated in Table 6-9, even when the response rate is raised to 74 percent of the placements made, the percent of respondents still on the job or in related jobs remains about two out of three. Further, it should be remembered that follow-up identified some individuals placed who have remained on the job or in a related position as long as six years after placement.

Of course, for every minority woman placed by the program, nine applicants have not been. These individuals who have not yet experienced success with the program may have a less favorable outlook on its activities.

Employer Response

Assessing business reaction to the Minority Women Employment Program is difficult to document because

TABLE 6-9
Follow-up Response Rate Compared with
Percent of Respondents Still on Job
or in Related Job

	<i>Response Rate</i>	<i>Percent of Respondents Still on Job or in Related Job</i>
Atlanta	18.3%	75.4%
Cincinnati	40.5%	78.4%
Los Angeles	63.2%	76.8%
Dallas	67.4%	64.7%
Houston	67.5%	62.7%
Tulsa	74.4%	76.3%
TOTAL—All Cities	52.0%	71.7%

SOURCE: MWEP follow-up records on computer file at the University of Texas at Austin.

equal employment opportunity is a sensitive area and few business representatives speak openly about the subject. Many business representatives are quick to point out that they encounter difficulty identifying qualified women and minorities. As an official of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States stated:

"One of the biggest problems employers face is not acceptance of the concept of EEO, but finding qualified minorities and females to fill their positions."⁸

Indeed, the concept of equal employment opportunity—hiring and promoting without respect to race, ethnic background, and sex, or other factors unrelated to productivity—is good business practice, pure and simple. What is complicated is implementing it.

If pressed, most employers will acknowledge that they have not yet achieved full equal opportunity for minority women in managerial and professional jobs, yet most hasten to add that they are working very hard and in good faith toward that goal. Asked for detail regarding methods, most businesses remain fairly vague about their efforts. Asked which method of recruitment for minorities

and females works best, many business representatives do not have ready answers. It is often a tough problem.

Individuals can and do make a difference, however. The effectiveness of company affirmative action varies from place to place, from branch to branch—often due to the attitudes or personalities of company personnel and variation in the extent of affirmative action pressures from area to area. Sometimes one individual may effectively thwart company policy by serving as gate keeper to exclude women and minorities. Likewise, a well-placed individual can become an effective advocate within a company. If the company official is a woman or a minority, that is no guarantee of rapport. MWEP staff sometimes have found the woman or minority personnel officer among the toughest with whom to work. Once rapport is achieved with such a representative, staff of the Minority Women Employment Program have found it useful to stay in touch even should the individual move to another firm. Personnel officials have a high turnover and once a bond of trust is established between the individual and the outreach agency, it is important to maintain it.

Specific employer reactions to MWEP have ranged from antagonistic or skeptical to highly enthusiastic and positive. Some have sent in letters requesting staff to merely sign and return as evidence of the employer's "good faith" actions. Other employers have sent in letters of testimonial in appreciation for the superb experience they have had in relating to the project.

It is revealing *what* business officials choose to say in statements of testimonial to the program and *how* they say it.

"Minority Women Employment Program referrals are consistently mature, well-prepared, and career minded individuals with backgrounds well matched to our employment needs. This certainly makes our job a little easier."

T.J. Flewelling
 Personnel Administration
 The Travelers - New Orleans
 Letter Dated July 7, 1978

"I guess more than anything, I appreciate the professional way your staff operates; all applicants are screened before being sent over and the applicants I have seen are all quality people. It certainly makes my job easier."

Karen Darrough,
Assistant Vice President
Fourth National Bank - Tulsa
Letter Dated July 20, 1978

"When called upon, the Program always provided us with a variety of viable and qualified applicants. Their services were always fast, courteous, and thorough. Unlike many other programs and agencies, the Minority Women Employment staff personally followed up on all of their candidates and was very receptive to our comments and suggestions."

C.J. Laughlin
Personnel and Employment
Western Electric - Atlanta
Letter dated July 14, 1978

"MWEP sought us out, came in and talked with us. We've made two placements through MWEP in the past two years. We've been very pleased with the results."

"It's really a pleasure to work with them because MWEP isn't like some other personnel agencies that are constantly phoning you and keeping after you and sending unqualified applicants. MWEP is low key enough to make them easy to work with."

Bill Gallagher,
Manager, professional recruitment
First City Nat'l Bank - Houston
Cited in an unpublished
manuscript
by Anne Hitch Odendahl
12/27/70
U.S. Department of Labor

"They were able to produce. They sent us well qualified applicants—applicants we could choose from. We had more than just one to pick from."

Mr. G. Somers
Industrial Relations Director
General Motors - Atlanta
Quoted in documentary
on the program entitled
"The Only Way To
Go Is Up" (1977)

The primary message that comes through from employer reaction to the program is that attention to screening and referring only well prepared and qualified applicants pays off. Other recurrent themes are the professional demeanor of the staff, prompt response, personal attention to applicants and employers and the lack of badgering manner which characterizes operations of some employment agencies.

Of course, the previous quotations came from businesses whom MWEP had successfully assisted. Others may have different views.

MWEP staff report that establishing rapport is generally a gradual process reflected in various subtle indicators. For example, sometimes the first placement made may be overqualified or at least exceptionally well-qualified, however, her good performance can sometimes break down stereotypical attitudes so that the employer is subsequently willing to consider candidates who are more normally qualified.

Benefits Achieved vs. Program Costs

Expended operational costs for the project from 1972 through August 1978 amounted to \$3,693,044 or a total of \$2380 per placement.

Overall, the gains in income made by all placements during their first year on the job have amounted to nine and a half million dollars or almost triple the amount of total cost of the project. However, in order to more closely

approximate the results of the project, some conservative adjustments were made to avoid the influence of factors clearly external to the program. Hence, although 1552 successful placements were made, 422 of them are dropped from our analysis of income change to prevent an overstatement of the results of the program. Those placements omitted in our analysis include:

- New labor market entrants who had no recent prior full-time income producing job.
- Newly graduated students whose income gains could be attributed to a change in their educational credentials.
- Individuals who had been employed in part-time jobs because those jobs may represent stopgap measures taken as a means of getting through periods of temporary distress.

In addition, for placements who were unemployed at time of application, income data on the most recent prior full-time job were used. Thus, no one in the comparison had a prior annual income of zero. Ignoring part-time workers and the fact of unemployment in the analysis helps to wash out factors that tend to make "before and after" comparison invalid.

Since a primary goal of MWEP is long-range labor force upgrading, we have attempted to include in our income gain analysis only those placements for whom a prior full-time income criterion could be obtained. Out of 1552 placements, 1130 met this criterion. Of these, 828 gained in income, 43 stayed even, and 259 began their jobs at a lower salary. The 259 placements who took cuts in salary were willing to do so for other advantages, such as to change careers, to relocate, to gain greater job satisfaction or opportunity for upward mobility, or because they needed to end a long period of unemployment.

The annual salary gains for the 828 totaled \$2,237,767 or \$2703 per placement. Salary declines for those 259 took losses amounting to \$459,013 or \$1772 apiece. The composite or net gain in annual salary for all 1130 placements thus amounted to \$1,778,754 or \$1574 per person.

Since MWEP placements are in jobs with relatively low turnover and follow-up results show good retention, it is reasonable to assume that the gain in salary will persist, creating an income stream of returns over several years' time. Even conservatively estimated, the gains in income (\$1574) annually surpass costs of placement (\$2380) in less than two years.

Of course, before-after salary comparisons have some severe limitations. For one, they do not take into account inflation. Changes in salary over time due to inflation would tend to overstate the benefits of the project. On the other hand, comparing only salary differentials tends to understate the benefits of the project to placements in several ways.

Several placements received substantial improvements in fringe benefit packages, sometimes including car allowances, commissions and other forms of remuneration. Because of the difficulty in placing a value on these items, such forms of compensation were ignored in our analysis.

The term of unemployment suffered by individuals placed is likely to have been shortened by the project's assistance—a fact not taken into account in the analysis. As previously indicated, 46 percent of the placements were unemployed at the time of application—several for a period of months. To the extent that MWEP lessened the term of unemployment for these women, the placements have gained in a material way.

Salary comparisons used in projections of benefits in our analysis are starting salaries and it is assumed that compensation will remain at the same level in the future. However, earnings in occupations in which MWEP placements have been placed are more likely to rise over time than placements would have experienced on previous jobs. That is, because MWEP-placed women are likely to be employed in occupations with rising age-earning profiles, projecting future salary level rates may vastly understate salary gains. In fact, placement follow-ups thus far reveal that MWEP salaries are rising approximately 1.0 percent above inflation and about 2 percent above the average rate

of increase for professional, administrative and technical pay. Thus, the previous analysis can be thought of in terms of real income.

The occupations in which MWEP placements are made are likely to offer greater job stability than work previously held by MWEP clients. To the extent MWEP successfully places women in positions where their employment is more secure than previously, a simple income differential understates MWEP's effectiveness.

MWEP placement has reduced the need to move to less preferred areas to find work. Research for the initial pilot effort in Atlanta indicated that black women wished to remain in Atlanta. In fact, one Atlanta college placement official estimated that as high as 87 percent of black female graduates from his school preferred to stay in Atlanta—yet only 13 percent were able to do so. If the preference to remain in MWEP cities is as strong as it appears to be, then the project has resulted in a non-pecuniary gain for those who wish to stay.

Although desirable, it is difficult to quantify many of the aforementioned benefits. Omitting them tends to understate MWEP effectiveness and places a conservative bias on evaluation of the program. Thus, our evaluation of the program should be taken as a lower bound for the program's accomplishments with respect to placements.

Other Significant Benefits

It should be recognized that the program has benefits beyond the individual placements it makes. To focus solely on benefits accruing to individuals from *placement activities* is to understate the full benefits of the program. Although we cannot attach a dollar figure to these benefits, we should point out some of the ways the program has impact beyond its placements.

Demonstration effects among minority women—Most of MWEP placements are in nontraditional occupations and some are in firms where they are the only professional minority women. As such, these placements serve a vanguard function, becoming

role models for other minority women.

Increasing employer awareness—By informing firms in a personal way of the existence of a large supply of well educated minority women who are ready and eager to work reliably if given the chance, MWEP serves an education function for employers. Even though employers may not have appropriate job openings available the contact by MWEP itself tends to create a new awareness of the availability of minority women so that firms now include minority women as candidates to be considered for managerial and professional jobs. In fact, several personnel officials who had no openings at the time MWEP contacted them, have later called in with job orders. This is certainly in line with the objective of the program—to overcome overt and institutional barriers to employment. Further, such change in employer attitude may result in future placements when the market situation improves. In this regard, MWEP has made repeated personal visits with several hundred employers in the project cities.

Increasing the job search effectiveness of placements not directly made by MWEP—The project is credited with placements only if the activity meets the strict definition of placement set for the program. Only candidates who are offered extensive help by MWEP and who acknowledge the assistance rendered are counted as placements. However, this category is by no means comprehensive and several persons have secured employment on their own and have gone uncounted. Women are noted as placements on MWEP files only if extensive staff time was spent with them in tutoring, counseling, mock interviewing, and referring them to employers. Further, in most cases MWEP initiated the employer contact which resulted in employment for the applicant. Since the full range of MWEP services—from counseling to resumé and interview preparation—is available to all applicants without restriction, MWEP applic-

ants are made more effective in job search on their own. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that several women beyond those counted as placements are assisted into jobs by MWEP. In a sense, MWEP does something for each applicant who comes into contact with it—from the initial interview on.

Influencing the redirection of career counseling for minority women in college—Directly through speeches, presentations, career day workshops, and other activities especially at minority colleges, MWEP effects a reorientation of minority women toward the labor market. Also, indirectly through placing minority women in managerial, professional, technical positions, MWEP encourages younger women to consider nontraditional careers in the private sector as very real possibilities. The project also has had some influence on career counseling minority college students to redirect women toward nontraditional growth occupations available in the labor market.

Conclusion

Over its life as a demonstration project from 1972 through August 1978, the Minority Women Employment Program has reached a substantial number of minority women college graduates and placed 1552 individuals into jobs. Although not all applicants qualified as economically disadvantaged, as a group they were in need of services. At the time of their application to the program, 46 percent of the individuals placed had been unemployed for an average duration of 48 weeks. Another 13 percent were employed part-time and seeking full time work.

Many significant advances and employment breakthroughs have been made for minority women. Further, those placed have tended to remain on the jobs and with careers into which they have been placed. Contact has been established with hundreds of employers and placements made with 597 private firms. Conservatively esti-

mated, the average gain in annual income is \$1574 per person over previous full time employment. Due to the lack of a control group and data limitations, this gain in income cannot be attributed to the efforts of the program with full assurance. However, the gains were conservatively estimated and many of the problems inherent in before-after salary comparisons were minimized. Considering both quantifiable and nonquantifiable benefits, the costs for the program appear reasonable. While we believe these conclusions would be confirmed by researchers less closely associated with the functioning of the program, an authoritative evaluation remains to be done.

CHAPTER 6 FOOTNOTES

1. Although the program is a targeted effort, it does not deny services to anyone on the basis of race or sex. Few men or few whites apply.
2. For purposes of the project, a nontraditional occupation was defined as a position in which the percentage of women in the occupation was lower than their percentage in the national labor force according to 1970 Census Data. A pattern-breaking placement was defined as a managerial, professional, or technical occupation in which participation has been minimal (as defined as 5 minority women or less than 5 percent whichever is greater). A breakthrough placement includes either the first woman, first minority or first minority woman hired by a private-for-profit employer.
3. Letter to Rober W. Glover dated October 17, 1975.

CHAPTER 7

FILLING A GAP IN EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING SERVICES

Targeted outreach programs such as the Minority Women Employment Program are designed to offer services not provided by traditional employment intermediaries such as the public employment service, other employment and training programs and private employment agencies. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by contrasting the operations of the Minority Women Employment Program with the operations of other major labor market agencies.

MWEP and the United States Employment Service

US USES
The United States Employment Service (USES)—recently renamed the Job Service—has not been traditionally viewed by employers as a source of managerial, professional and technical labor. Neither have they had the necessary credibility to attract applicants for these jobs, especially among minorities. Since a portion of employment service funding has been tied to the number of placements made, administrators have allocated little staff time for intensively working with applicants to prepare them to pass job entry procedures successfully. The Job Service operates primarily as a public labor exchange. The prevalent attitude among staff is that individuals who have marketable skills are “job ready” and require little more than a job referral. MWEP, on the other hand, is based on the recognition that getting a job is a skill in itself and many individuals who are “job ready” may not be “job

aware". Many are unable to hurdle job entry procedures. Thus a primary activity of MWEP is preparing minority applicants to pass the screening procedures of specific firms, which may be formal or informal.

Outreach programs such as MWEP offer services beyond what a local Job Service office provides. In practice, MWEP takes a supportive position on behalf of its applicants. Whereas the Job Service tests applicants, MWEP conducts test tutoring. Rather than merely interviewing job applicants MWEP attempts to coach its applicants to help them reflect their best in job interviews.

Because outreach programs are operated by independent community-based organizations, with substantial representation of minorities on staff, they are in most cases in a better position to screen minority applicants. Unwilling to risk charges of discrimination, Job Service counselors may refer applicants to jobs for which they are unsuitable, thereby jeopardizing credibility with the employers. MWEP counselors, on the other hand, have greater freedom to conduct more careful screening. Sensitive areas such as grooming, patterns of voice, attitudes, body languages, and interview demeanor—all quite significant informal signals to employers—can be more freely dealt with by outreach counselors. Such subjects must be avoided by Job Service counselors working under standard procedures and rigid administrative directives.

Operating under a heavy pressure to minimize costs, the public Job Service cost-per-placement averages less than \$200 nationally while MWEP costs were more than 10 times that figure. However, MWEP deals with placements that are acknowledged to be tougher to make and it offers more intensive services to applicants. Such personalized services are expensive, by nature. Also, MWEP places applicants in permanent full-time jobs of a quality rarely matched by Job Service placements. Finally, MWEP placements have resulted in far more dramatic gains in earnings for its clients.

Simply put, the two agencies are vastly different. Targeted outreach programs such as MWEP are special purpose programs aimed at combatting discrimination

and upgrading underutilized groups into high quality jobs. The Job Service, on the other hand, is a public labor exchange.

MWEP and Local CETA Programs

Another major public intermediary is the employment and training system operated through local prime sponsors under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). In contrast to the job service, which often tends to be more employer-oriented, CETA agencies are definitely applicant-oriented. They deliver a wide range of services to their clients.

CETA is the primary system for the delivery of employment and training programs offered by the U.S. Department of Labor. Through CETA, the administration of the bulk of the nation's manpower programs was decentralized to local authorities, who were permitted to select programs appropriate to the needs of their localities. Among the types of activities funded are services such as outreach, employment-related counseling, job development, job search assistance, vocational exploration projects, job referral and placement. However, the bulk of CETA resources are allocated to skill training on the job and in the classroom, work experience and most of all, public service employment. At the local level, the programs are administered by "prime sponsors". States and units of local government with population of 100,000 or more are eligible to become prime sponsors.

At first glance, it appears that local CETA prime sponsors may be appropriate agencies through which to operate projects such as the Minority Women Employment Program. The Act itself indicates that the purpose of CETA is "to provide job training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed, or underemployed persons which will result in an increase in their earned income."¹

Close examination of the legal and regulatory framework in which CETA operates, however, reveals why efforts aimed at combatting discrimination and upgrading

occupational status are unlikely to receive support from local CETA prime sponsors. The difficulties involved are numerous. As illustrated in the following sections, the CETA law, regulations and operating procedures place undue restrictions on targeted outreach programs such as MWEP and prevent CETA prime sponsors from funding them at the local level.

Eligibility Requirements and Combatting Discrimination in Higher Paying Jobs: A Conflict

The design and focus of the CETA law and regulations are simply incompatible with the objective of combatting discrimination in better paying jobs which offer good opportunity for advancement. By congressional mandate, CETA is targeted on those "most in need." This mandate was included by Congress for very worthy and understandable intentions. Given limited funds, Congress sought to insure that local prime sponsors would direct CETA employment and training resources at individuals who most needed them. In refreshing contrast to some social programs of the past, this provision is an attempt to focus public funds directly against poverty and long-term unemployment, especially on behalf of the nation's ethnic and racial minorities. In decentralizing operations to more than 450 units of local government, Congress sought to maintain or increase the level of participation of minorities, women and disadvantaged in pre-CETA programs.

The "most in need" mandate was no doubt a laudable concept; but implementing it raises difficult questions and imposes severe constraints. First, there is the matter of definition. Who is most in need? What criteria are to be used to determine need? The CETA law and regulations provide little specific guidance. For example, is a Vietnam veteran out of work for six years and suffering psychological problems from the war more in need of training and employment than a divorced black mother of two children struggling to support her family without welfare payments? What about a young school dropout who wants to

work but can't find anything to do? Should he be given priority over a woman without skills re-entering the labor force on the death of her husband?

Beyond problems of determining those "most in need", focusing *exclusively* on those most disadvantaged tends to stigmatize a program in the eyes of applicants and employers alike. Applicants feel demeaned by having to submit to "means" tests. Compiling accurate, verifiable information on CETA eligibility requires extensive questioning and probing into subject areas which many individuals consider private. Sensitive areas in which questions must be asked to assess eligibility include data on gross family income (including nonwage income) and whether the family is receiving some sort of welfare. Answers to these questions provide indications of the need for services but are of little use in assisting the program in placing its clients into jobs.

Any job placement program aimed at managerial or professional jobs must maintain a professional demeanor to work effectively with both employers and clients. In practice, it must project the image of a professional placement agency rather than a welfare program. This is especially important in attracting suitable applicants. Whether reasonable or not, individuals object to a barrage of detailed questions about their socioeconomic status. At the extreme, clients subjected to such personal questions have walked out immediately, never to return. At a minimum, collecting such information is a demeaning and fatiguing process and impedes the growth of a rapport and trust so essential to proper counseling of individuals to succeed in the job screening process.

Needs tests may be appropriate and unavoidable in the distribution of public service employment or welfare benefits; but they are quite inappropriate to programs designed to remedy discrimination against underutilized groups and they clearly impede the proper functioning of such projects. Programs promoting occupational desegregation simply cannot ignore job related qualifications.

Exclusive focus on the disadvantaged also can detrimentally affect relations with employers if they begin to

develop stereotypical notions of the clients served by the program. The performance of an affirmative action marketing effort, such as MWEP, can succeed or fail on its credibility with employers. Requiring that all clients be disadvantaged risks the danger of stigmatizing the program's participants and undermining the program's credibility with employers.

Such a stereotype only serves to reinforce existing discriminatory attitudes. To avoid the self-defeating problems of stigma, programs aimed at improving occupational patterns for underutilized groups are most effectively directed at serving a mixed clientele from various socioeconomic characteristics.

Although the "most in need" provision arises, in part, out of genuine concern for the fuller participation of minorities in American economic life, it has a serious perverse impact on minority advancement. Simply put: focusing exclusively on the most-in-need prevents employment and training programs from effectively combatting discrimination in higher-paying occupations where discrimination is most pervasive and resistant to change.

A most-in-need mandate does not forbid program operators from placing needy individuals into well-paying occupations. Rather, it requires programs to do something impractical to so succeed; namely: to leapfrog individuals with the lowest skills and characteristics least attractive to employers into high paying managerial, professional and craft occupations. Although desirable, this is simply unrealistic because it ignores how labor markets operate in practice. Labor market upgrading is a sifting process in which individuals usually move a step or two at a time.

Over time, increasing recognition has been given to the need for upgrading in CETA. In fact, the 1978 amendments to CETA introduce a new section regarding upgrading and retraining.² However, such upgrading is available through employers only, and it is narrowly targeted at entry level unskilled or semi-skilled employees. Individuals who achieve occupational upgrading through switching employers are not the group to which this section is directed.

In fact, much occupational upgrading occurs through changing employers. CETA programs, targeted by Congress on the most disadvantaged, have provided on limited upgrading *within a given firm*. There exists insufficient provision for upgrading underutilized individuals into better paying jobs *across firms*, thereby helping to change patterns of race and sex segregation.

Combatting discrimination fully requires attention to upgrading. The occupations in which women and minorities are the least represented are top level managerial, professional and technical and skilled craft positions. Yet there are many capable minority workers working in middle level occupations who remain unchallenged and underemployed in their present jobs. Many of these individuals do not qualify as "disadvantaged" according to the criteria established by the Office of Management and Budget, yet they are very truly *underutilized*. This is a group which can be moved into occupations and jobs where the participation of minorities is minimal or nil.

Perhaps the point is best made by examining a few relevant cases adapted from files of the Minority Women's Employment Program.

Brenda Banks received a bachelors of business administration from a small college in South Carolina in December 1974. Upon graduation, she moved to Atlanta and found a job as a bookkeeper at a public hospital paying \$5400 per year. Almost three years later, she found herself still in the same job with an annual salary of \$6719. Single and on her own, she came to the MWEP office seeking a career that offered her challenge and opportunity for advancement.

If standard CETA procedures were followed: Office personnel regretfully informs Ms. Banks that she is ineligible for service because her income is above the poverty line. Although her talents may be underutilized in a dead-end job, she does not meet the definition of "economically disadvantaged".

Following MWEP procedures: Office personnel process Ms. Bank's application and counsel her about alternatives. Three possible employers are suggested in the initial interview, including a management trainee program at a local bank. Ms. Banks investigates some of the suggested employers on her own but finds her time to do so limited by the requirements of her present job. A few months later, she is specifically prepared for interviews with an automobile manufacturer and referred by MWEP. She obtains a job at \$12,000—almost twice her previous salary—and becomes the first black woman management trainee at this major Southern automobile manufacturing plant.

It should be added that under CETA operations, little attention is normally given to the quality of jobs in which individuals are placed. Thus, for placement of a woman in Brenda Bank's former job as an entry-level bookkeeper, a CETA program would receive just as much credit as would a breakthrough such as Ms. Bank's hire represents.

In addition to generating problems of stigma and limiting the ability of CETA to help alleviate discrimination in better paying jobs and more attractive career fields, CETA regulations regarding eligibility also have other perverse effects as illustrated in the cases taken from MWEP files as described below.

Ruth Davis, holder of bachelors degree in elementary education, works for the local school district. In February, she is notified that she will be laid off at the end of the semester in June because of declining student enrollments. She comes to the MWEP office seeking assistance in obtaining a job in another career field.

If standard CETA procedures were followed: Ms. Davis is told that she will not become eligible for service until she has been unemployed for several weeks and meets a low income criteria. She is advised to return in late summer if she still has not found anything.

Following MWEP procedures: Ms. Davis application is accepted and she is given information about jobs she had never considered. After several appointments for counselling and interview preparation, Ms. Davis is referred to an insurance firm. After six separate interview over a period of two months, she is selected as a management trainee for the firm beginning in July.

Standard CETA eligibility requirements discourage an applicant from planning ahead. Foresight is more critical in labor markets for managerial and professional jobs in which hiring decisions may be made only after a long series of interviews lasting weeks or months. Individuals about to be laid off generally are assured a longer spell of unemployment if they wait until they are out of work to look for another job.

Jill Bond, a senior in math at a university in Boston, wants to return to the South to work upon graduation. She learns about MWEP through a college friend and writes to MWEP in Atlanta for assistance.

Martha Evans, a divorced black woman with a child and a bachelors degree in sociology, cannot find a job which suits her interests and talents in Baton Rouge. She writes to the MWEP office in New Orleans for assistance.

If standard CETA procedures were followed: Because Ms. Bond and Ms. Evans are not yet permanent residents of the cities to which they applied, they are ineligible for other CETA services due to local prime sponsor policy. They would not be eligible for services until they established residence in the locality and met other CETA eligibility criteria.

Following MWEP procedures: Jill Bond is sent an application and invited to go to the Boston MWEP office for an interview. She visits Atlanta during Christmas vacation and conducts some preliminary job interviewing. Shortly after graduation, she has a job awaiting her in Atlanta as a computer programmer.

Martha Evan's application is accepted by the New Orleans MWEP office and she is scheduled for an intake interview at her convenience. With the help of test tutoring, she locates a job with the telephone company working in a professional capacity at more than \$10,000 annually.

Residency requirements for service are especially inappropriate for managerial and professional labor markets which tend to be regional or national in scope and in which relocation is such a common phenomenon.

Problems with CETA Operating Procedures

As much of a barrier as eligibility requirements are the operating procedures used by local prime sponsors throughout the country under the mandate of CETA regulations. A couple of examples show how CETA and MWEP are out of step with one another.

The Dallas MWEP office receives a telephone call from a personnel representative with a major manufacturing firm with whom they have worked before. A Hispanic woman has applied for an accounting position. She seems well qualified but lacks poise and confidence in an interview situation. The personnel representative, anxious to have her hired, asks MWEP staff if they will work with her to develop interview skills before she is referred to the corporate division chief.

In Los Angeles, a black woman with a degree in biology, encouraged by MWEP staff, has through her own initiative found an employer with whom she would like to work—as administrative chief in a medical clinic. She returns to ask MWEP staff for help to land the job she has identified.

If standard CETA procedures were followed: Under typical CETA or employment service operating procedures, the agency would not be prohibited

from helping the client, but neither would they receive credit for the placement—because they did not make a specific referral for a specific job. *Following MWEP procedures:* Staff help the applicants—both of whom get the jobs they want. Based on the testimonial of the applicants that the MWEP staff were of significant help (with resume preparation, interview preparation, test tutoring or extensive career counseling) in obtaining the specific job, the program takes credit for assisting placement of the two applicants.

The traditional procedure of granting placement credit only for individuals referred to specific jobs has a perverse effect: *it subtly encourages dependence of the clients on the program.* A better approach would be to foster individual responsibility and to credit the program for working together with clients to find a job. MWEP clients are strongly encouraged to continue seeking jobs on their own, rather than merely sitting back waiting exclusively on job referrals from the program. Individual initiative is especially important to employers in managerial and professional occupations.

Beyond placement, CETA procedures limit the ability of agencies to provide post-placement services, as illustrated by the following cases:

Mabel Hiess, the first minority woman hired as an accountant by a particular savings and loan association in Los Angeles, finds that her supervisor is quite uncomfortable working with her. Pat Smith, the first female ever to become an Industrial Relations Manager with a specific building products manufacturer finds her authority constantly tested. An insurance firm, which for the first time has minority women on its professional and sales staff, asks MWEP for help in making a presentation to its management staff. The first few months on the job are rough for the path breaking women placed by MWEP. Thus they sometimes call back to MWEP staff to request advice and assistance.

If standard CETA procedures were followed: Normally, post-placement services, such as counseling may be provided to placements for a limited 30 day period following participant's termination from the program.

Following MWEP procedures: Because MWEP placements are sometimes the only women or minorities on a job, they may run into problems or simply feel isolated. For this reason, MWEP staff stands available at any time to assist individuals with work-related problems. When requested by employers, they provide staff training or assistance. Also, MWEP attempts to occasionally bring together the program's placements. These events provide a good source of mutual support. They help one another to discover individual resources to overcome problems. In a sense, the program never terminates access to services for the individuals it places.

Pathbreaking individuals placed into jobs not traditionally held by women or minorities often need support systems. When a minority woman is the only woman or minority in the job, she is always in the limelight. She simply stands out. Everyone notices her and everything she does is scrutinized.

Through selective perception, stereotypes become more widely and deeply accepted. A black woman who is a poor administrator is likely to be long remembered by a worker who is predisposed to regard her as an inappropriate supervisor. Evidence of a minority woman who is a competent manager tends to be either ignored or dismissed as an exceptional case. Over time, however, such evidence becomes more difficult to disregard.

Assisting the first successful minorities and women into occupations in which they have not traditionally worked is a critically important step in breaking stereotypes, thereby reducing discrimination. This is why the first woman or minority in a given occupation bears so much of a burden and why it is especially important to place women and minorities who are prepared to carry this burden. Failure by pathbreaking women and

minorities only serves to reinforce discriminatory attitudes. And hiring or promoting without respect to capabilities has the effect of intensifying adverse backlash from white workers and employers.

Effectively combatting employment discrimination in higher level occupations is an important element of a strategy to rid American society of discrimination. Not only are these occupations important in terms of pay and prestige, they also tend to be positions of policy-making and influence within the major institutions of our society. In addition, such occupations offer significant opportunity for on-the-job training; so the issue of access to training for further upward mobility is also involved.

MWEP and Private Employment Agencies

Others have questioned whether MWEP is needed, in light of the existence of approximately 10,000 private employment agencies, some of which specialize in serving employers' job search needs in managerial and professional labor markets. Yet private employment agencies differ significantly from MWEP in objectives and operations.

The private employment agency is the major formal labor market intermediary for managerial, professional and technical workers. In larger markets, they tend to be heavily specialized. For example, one agency may focus on accountants, while another works primarily with computer programmers.⁸

Because private employment agencies operate on the basis of fees collected, they tend to be employer-oriented working with applicants most likely to be quickly placed and offering little counseling or preparation to applicants who appear less promising. An applicant to a private employment agency must have the qualifications which the agency is looking for upon entry or generally they are not helped.

Most private employment agencies have not been on the forefront of combatting discrimination. However since the equal employment opportunity pressures of the mid 1960s, a small network of private employment agencies specialized in placing minorities and women in

In part, because evidence of "good faith efforts" at affirmative actions is viewed by some as directly correlated with money spent rather than results achieved, a few firms have been willing to pay substantial fees in seeking qualified minorities. And, of course, private employment agencies have responded. However, precisely because of the greedy practices of a few private employment agencies, some employers view all such operations with distrust and consequently have adopted a formal policy forbidding the payment of fees to employment agencies. Other companies simply avoid such fees as a matter of standard practice. Thus, private employment agencies serve only a limited portion of the market.

Some have questioned why a targeted outreach program that performs such a valuable service cannot charge its clients at least enough to cover its operating costs such as do private employment agencies. One answer is that the program does exact an "in kind" fee from its clients—feeding back information on further job openings available and the like. More to the point is that an agency which charges a fee naturally tends to withhold job information from persons who do not use its services, so as to insure that it plays a direct role in as many placements as possible. But one of the goals of outreach is to disperse information widely in the community and affect the labor market orientations of large groups of people. Were the MWEP to charge for its services, this important educational function would be transformed into a highly unusual advertising campaign, whereby information would be given only to those who bought the product. In economic terms, because the benefits to the community exceed the benefits to a single individual, price rationing would be inefficient since too little of the service would be purchased, as each potential client evaluated the cost from her private perspective, failing to consider the benefits to others of disseminating information.

MWEP as a Special National Effort

Pressure for equal employment opportunity does not in itself put minorities and women into jobs. Nor does the

mere existence of a supply of educated minorities and women assure that they will obtain jobs. The individuals and jobs must be brought together and this does not happen automatically. The difficulties of surmounting screening procedures cannot be minimized. Attractive jobs are difficult to land—for everyone. The difficulties are only further complicated when an individual's sex/race group has historically been excluded.

The experience of the Minority Women Employment Program has demonstrated that a little assistance in the job entry process can go a long way in securing managerial and professional jobs for minority women.

Our review of existing labor market institutions shows that minority women are unlikely to receive such assistance without a special effort directed at them. This conclusion is not an indictment of a lack of performance on the part of public institutions such as the U.S. Job Service or local CETA program operators. Rather, the nature of the operations and the legal, regulatory and administrative environment in which they currently operate simply prohibit them from serving minority women in the specialized labor market for managerial and professional jobs. A gap exists in the employment and training system—a gap which can be filled by targeted outreach efforts such as the Minority Women Employment Program. Indeed, this is why MWEP was made a special national effort of the Labor Department.

From Pilot Project to Public Policy: A Difficult Leap

The Minority Women Employment Program remained a demonstration project for five years before becoming a regular program administered by the Labor Department's Office of National Programs. It survived primarily due to its record of performance and to the tenacity of a few individuals in the Office of Research and Development who believed in it and defended it.

The experience of the Minority Women Employment Program raises an important question for all social experimentation; namely, how can the successes of demonstration projects effectively be translated into policy?

There appear to be four key elements involved in "institutionalizing" or transforming a successful pilot demonstration into a permanent effort: (1) a conceptually sound idea, (2) an established track record of demonstrated performance, (3) documentation of that performance, and (4) the influence to implement the program on a permanent or institutionalized basis. The latter two are most often ignored or underestimated by individuals attempting to establish programs.

Identifying these elements is unfortunately far simpler than accomplishing the objective of institutionalizing a program. Many have examined the uncertain connection between research and policy.⁴ The stumbling blocks in translating demonstration projects into policy are numerous and include the multiplicity of decision-makers in the process ranging from Congress to offices of research and development in each executive department. Another factor is that narrowly-focused, single purpose programs have less political appeal in Congress than programs with a broad and ambiguous multiplicity of objectives such as the Head Start Program or public service employment.⁵ Political influence requires a constituency which is highly active and/or broad based. Only with the backing of a constituency can government action generally be mobilized in this society. The larger the constituency, the greater is potential political impact. However, programs with a narrow focus or single objective such as MWEP do not seem to be as politically attractive as programs which promise to solve a wide variety of problems for numerous groups of people.

Conclusion: the Need for Targeted Outreach Programs

The chief appeal of the outreach approach used by programs such as the Minority Women Employment Program is that it offers a means to achieve equal employment opportunity without ignoring the importance of job-related qualifications. As specifically-focused antidiscrimination efforts aimed at better paying jobs, targeted outreach programs fill a need not addressed adequately by existing institutions.

Of course, particular outreach programs such as the

Minority Women Employment Program are *not* meant to be replicated intact in every labor market. They are highly targeted efforts appropriate only to certain urban settings. In selecting project sites, offices should be established only in areas where there is a proven need for the program and where the project has a chance of accomplishing its objectives at reasonable costs.

Prior to the establishing of a program in any site, a feasibility study needs to be made. For example, in the case of the Minority Women Employment Program, this study should provide answers to the following questions: Are there sufficient present and anticipated future managerial, professional and technical job openings to support a program? Do the job openings offer sufficient variety to permit minority women of various backgrounds to be matched with them? Are qualified and qualifiable minority females available in sufficient numbers to support a program? Are available minority females underutilized in their current jobs? Are there any existing programs which might duplicate or compete with the proposed program? What is the outlook for securing continuous funding once the project has proven itself? Only if the answers to all these questions are satisfactory should a program be established.

It should be recognized that the Minority Women Employment Program offers a model for serving other underutilized groups. The argument for assisting minority women college graduates does not rest on their being the most economically disadvantaged or the only underutilized group or the most underrepresented. Clearly minority men and indeed all women—suffer from labor market discrimination and attention needs to be devoted to them. In fact, the strategy developed to serve college-trained minority women could also be utilized with other groups who are underrepresented in the labor market.

A natural development would be to try the employer persuasion-outreach model with other groups which are underutilized in managerial, professional, and technical jobs. In this regard, with minor adaptation, the program could be utilized with black and Hispanic men, white women, or handicapped workers.

In addition, MWEP has developed some techniques or program components which could be utilized in other employment and training programs. Such elements of the program as its marketing approach to employer contact and job development, the simulated or mock interview preparation or the interview referral and debriefing procedures used might prove helpful in other employment and training programs.

CHAPTER 7 FOOTNOTES

1. Comprehensive Employment and Training Act Amendments of 1978. (Public law 95-524) October 27, 1979, Section 2. "Statement of Purpose".
2. Comprehensive Employment and Training Act Amendments of 1978. (Public law 95-524) October 27, 1979. Title II, Part C. "Upgrading and Retraining".
3. Garth Mangum, "The Private Employment Agency As a Labor Market Intermediary," in *Labor Market Intermediaries*. Special Report No. 22 (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Manpower Policy, 1978).
4. For example, see Laurence E. Lynn, Jr. (ed.) *Knowledge and Policy: The Uncertain Connection*. (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1978); Martin Rein and Sheldon H. White, "Can Policy Research Help Policy." *Public Interest*, No. 49, Fall 1977, pp. 119-136; and Ray Marshall and Kathleen Brook, "Effectiveness of Social Science Research for Public Policy," Austin: Center for the Study of Human Resources, University of Texas at Austin, October 1972.
5. Martin Rein and Sheldon H. White make this point, using the Head Start Program as an example, in "Can Policy Research Help Policy," *The Public Interest*, No. 49, Fall 1977, p. 123.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY

The previous chapters have attempted to describe the economic status of minority women, the nature of employment discrimination in primary-sector labor markets and the origins of the Minority Women Employment Program. As a targeted outreach program, MWEP is a unique labor market intermediary which utilizes employers' self-interest as a lever in eliminating discriminatory hiring patterns.

The Minority Women Employment Program makes qualified minority women more available to private industry. It demonstrates that qualified minority women properly prepared for job search can make previously used discriminatory hiring patterns less profitable to employers. A specialized labor market agency such as MWEP can focus selectively on both employers and applicants. By providing necessary services of job development, applicant recruitment, screening, job-readiness preparation, referral and followup, the MWEP model has formulated a solution to discrimination that is simple, realistic and acceptable both to employers and minority women applicants.

If employers are willing to hire the best employee, then discriminating according to race or sex does not minimize the costs of employment or maximize the return on the firm's investments in the skills of its work force—especially if qualified women and minorities are available and can be hired with minimal difficulty. By locating

qualified minority women, providing them with job-readiness skills, counselling and making them available when jobs have to be filled, MWEF offers a viable means to realize equal employment opportunity.

The Minority Women Employment Program provides significant benefits to minority women, employers, and the public in general. MWEF has successfully demonstrated that a community organization limited in scope can serve a vital linkage function between the employment needs of an underemployed, underserved group of clientele and the hiring needs of employers.

Many of MWEF's placements are in occupations, traditionally filled by men. In some firms, they are the only professional women. In fact, it is estimated that one out of every nine individuals placed is the first minority or first minority woman in that job category. Almost half of the persons placed were unemployed at the time of application to MWEF, and over 40 percent were employed full time but in positions not fully utilizing their skills or career potential. The average annual starting salary for college-degreed applicants placed by MWEF was \$10,935, and the per person average increase over their prior best fulltime jobs was \$1,574. One out of six individuals placed made annual income gains of \$3,000 or more. As such, these individuals serve a vanguard function, becoming role models for other minority women. Employers' awareness has been increased to the extent that some now consider women candidates to fill jobs where no women had ever been considered previously. Also, from the complete set of services provided all MWEF applicants, the applicants are able to effectively conduct job search on their own. Another significant benefit of the Program beyond actual placements is a reorientation of minority women to the labor market through appearances, speeches, presentations, career day workshops, and other activities, especially at minority colleges. MWEF permits women to consider traditionally male occupations and careers in the private sector as very real possibilities.

The key benefit MWEF offers employers is the reduction in costs of applicant recruitment, screening and

referral. MWEF provides a necessary business service in this age of highly specialized recruitment efforts needed to comply with affirmative action requirements as well as to meet company hiring standards. MWEF is an efficient and effective labor market intermediary that has become accepted and professionally trusted by the employer community. Since all company standards are strictly adhered to, the applicants referred by MWEF give the employer an opportunity to consider a large supply of well-educated minority women for positions at no cost to the company. Most important in any long-term sense of program benefits is that MWEF serves an educational function for employers. MWEF informs firms in a personal way of the availability of another highly qualified and motivated group of potential employees. MWEF has effected some employer attitude changes in terms of widening the focus of expected employee characteristics. MWEF has persuaded employers to consider minority women as candidates for almost every type of position. Employers have benefited by gaining easily trainable, motivated employees who appear to remain on the job and advance in salary and position.

MWEF also benefits the public in general. By encouraging employers to hire minority women *without ignoring qualifications* productivity is enhanced and integration of the workplace is achieved with minimum social backlash. Society is best served if the interests and talents of workers are closely related to the jobs they hold. Finding such matches is exactly the point of the Program.

The Minority Women Employment Program is a successful and needed instrument in promoting equal employment opportunity. Despite recent progress, minority women continue to be subject to employment discrimination based on race and sex and are highly underrepresented in managerial, technical and professional occupations, especially outside of teaching and health services. While it is recognized that factors such as one's family background, quantity and quality of schooling received, field of specialization and native intelligence are all determinants of occupational achievement, factors such as dis-

crimination and misinformation are still present in the labor market. It is the latter against which such programs as MWEP can be effectively directed. Although it is no substitute for policies aimed at improving the quality of schools and school counselling services and vigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation, MWEP can help meet employers' claims that they cannot find qualified minority women. MWEP also has impact beyond its immediate client group by demonstrating success in attaining nontraditional occupations and engaging in counseling and speaking activities with women still in college.

The need for the Program is as strong today as when MWEP was initially conceived. Growth and expansion in job opportunities in managerial and professional positions in the private sector continues. The demand for minority women to be considered for those jobs have increased. Employers need the intermediary function MWEP provides in order to locate and have available qualified minority women when jobs have to be filled. The need for specialization in this area of business services continues to grow at the dramatic pace. Although the concept of equal employment opportunity may be better accepted by today's employer community, the means to achieve true equal opportunity have not yet been institutionalized into firms. Without functions provided by MWEP and other targeted outreach programs, equal employment opportunity may well remain a desirable concept with little movement toward reality.

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