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ABSTRACT

Two job search assistance programs for disadvantaged youth, funded under the Youth Employment and Demonstrations Project Act, were evaluated for both operation and impact. The two programs were the Cambridge, Massachusetts, Job Factory, which paid youths a stipend for doing the "job" of finding a job, while providing group activities, resume writing, job search skills and placement assistance; and the Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, Workshop, which assigned participants to one of three treatment groups to receive either individual career counseling and job placement services, career counseling, job placement services, and group job search skills workshops, or career counseling and job search skills workshops. No stipend was paid in the Pennsylvania project. In the Cambridge group, 203 youths were enrolled in the Job Factory while 165 served as controls; 396 youths were enrolled in the three treatment groups in Wilkes-Barre. The process evaluation showed that the Job Factory functioned fairly smoothly because it was a modification of an existing program, while the Workshop experienced difficulties in implementation because of its "top-down" model. The impact evaluation found that the Job Factory had a substantial effect in getting youth to work quickly, although these effects may not continue long-term, while in the Workshop, there were no significant differences in the rate of job finding for the three groups. Job Factory participants found moderately better jobs than the controls, while no major differences in the groups were found in the Workshop participants. In Cambridge, attitudes/knowledge areas did not contribute to job finding, while in Wilkes Barre, job search skills were a significant component of job finding. Overall, it was found that the intensity of the search fostered by the moral support of counselors was the most significant component in the job search assistance programs. (KC)

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The Effectiveness of Two Job Search Assistance Programs for Disadvantaged Youth

by

Andrew Hahn and Barry Friedman
with the assistance of
Cecilia Rivera and Robert Evans

[Final Report]

CE 030 429

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Only the authors are responsible for any deficiencies in the study.

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Executive Summary

High rates of unemployment among the nation's youth led the Congress to enact the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 (YEDPA). This Act recognized that detailed information on youth employment problems and the effectiveness of alternative youth employment and training programs were not available to Congress. The Act authorized basic research, demonstration programs and program evaluation.

In particular, one type of program authorized through YEDPA is Job Search Assistance (JSA). JSA programs make an effort to improve connections between youth and employers. Ordinarily, the job market process operates to match the demands of employers with the labor supplied by workers. High unemployment among low income youth occurs primarily because of the inadequate demand for workers with the skill, work experience and work patterns of low income youth. As a result, most youth programs focus on raising the effective demand for low income youth and/or on improving the education, skill and work experience of low income youth.

Job search assistance programs go beyond the traditional treatments of improving skills or stimulating demand. Instead, JSA is intended to improve skills for job search by developing connections with, and knowledge of the labor market. The U. S. Department of Labor financed several demonstrations to test the effectiveness of programs that educate low income youth about the job market, the nature of jobs and job search techniques. These job search assistance (JSA) programs are comprised of courses, workshops, counseling, role playing, simulated job search, and actual job search. Job search assistance programs teach participants how to prepare resumes,

prepare information over the telephone or during an interview, and impart common sense advice on how to approach employers and get jobs.

In early 1979, several agencies that had been providing job search assistance were selected as sites in a national project to determine whether direct instruction in job acquisition skills eases the transition of disadvantaged youth into the labor market. One program, the Job Factory, is run by the Cambridge, Massachusetts Office of Manpower Affairs (CETA). The other program is called the Workshop. It is run by a community based organization in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, called the Youth Employment Service (YES). This study reports on findings from an evaluation of both programs.

The Cambridge Job Factory

The Cambridge Job Factory was organized in five cycles of four weeks each. The first and last cycles were planned to serve 50 graduating high school seniors. Cycles 2-4 were funded to serve 50 unemployed youth each, including both high school graduates and dropouts. No in-school youth were to be served by the Job Factory program. Finally, youth who found jobs in the first three weeks of the various Job Factory cycles were to receive bonus payments (in addition to the minimum wage subsidy) equivalent to two days of program participation.

To be eligible for the program, youths had to satisfy CETA-established family income requirements. They were then randomly assigned by the researchers to either the experimental or the control group based on an assignment procedure which ensured that the two groups got an equal distribution of persons by sex, age and ethnicity.

The character of the Job Factory was to represent the real work environment. Participants were hired and paid to get a job. The program consisted of four components; orientation, group activities, workbook exercises, and actual job search. Orientation introduced participants to the history of the Job Factory, its success record, and its expectations. Participants were expected to treat the program as they would a job. The job in the Job Factory was to get a job. Group activities included classroom exercises in job finding and "decision making" exercises designed to foster creative problem solving. Participants also viewed and discussed videotapes on job finding and met "role model" guests.

Each participant was assigned workbook exercises which helped structure his/her job finding activities. The creation of "selling tools" such as introductory letters, resumes, and references was stressed. The development of a list of potential employers was also crucial. Interviewing skills were honed with practice interviews which were filmed and analyzed. After the first week, attention was focused on actual job search activities. Each program cycle lasted up to four weeks.

The Wilkes-Barre Workshop

The Wilkes-Barre design required random assignment of participants to one of three treatment groups. Each group represented a different type of job search assistance. Group 1 was to receive individual career counseling and job placement services (a type of job bank listing). Group 2 was to receive career counseling, job placement services and special group job search skills workshops. Group 3 was to receive career counseling and the

job search skills workshops. Participants in Group 3 would, however, be encouraged to find jobs on their own, since they were not to receive the job listings in the placement service component.

For research purposes, it is convenient to think of Group 1 in Wilkes-Barre as receiving a "lean" kind of job search assistance, perhaps similar to that provided by traditional labor market intermediaries, job listing and general one-to-one career counseling. Group 2 may be thought of as providing the full range of job search assistance services that a community group like YES is capable of providing. Group 3 was to receive the same as Group 2, except for the job placement services, that is, youth had to find a job on their own. Group 3 may, therefore, be considered a reference group of youth who received job search assistance but were completely self-directed in their active job search.

To be eligible for both programs, youths had to satisfy the following requirements established by CETA regulations: be between the ages of 16 and 21; be unemployed; and satisfy the low-income guidelines set by the Office of Management and Budget for families of different sizes.

Sample

The total number of youth on which the Cambridge analysis is based was 368; 203 in the Job Factory (experimental) group and 165 in the control group. In Wilkes-Barre 396 youth were enrolled in the three treatments.

Process Study Results

The two job search assistance programs were conceived, developed, and shaped by entirely different circumstances. The Cambridge Job Factory

used federal funds to modify an existing program model that in the pre-demonstration phase had undergone considerable experimentation and refinement. The demonstration funding did not create special constraints on the sponsor organization, partially because the latter was the source for the demonstration program design. In contrast, the origins of the Wilkes-Barre Workshop illustrate a "top down" model of implementation in which federal requirements, ranging from program design to recordkeeping, were followed with considerable difficulty. Almost overnight, the Workshop was required to switch from an "open door" youth-serving community agency to a formal employment program for disadvantaged youth. Not surprisingly, the program was changed substantially from the time it was proposed initially. Once initiated, the Workshop did not run smoothly. The process study identified the following difficulties in the Workshop's implementation:

- underenrollment by nearly half the proposed number of youth served;
- difficulty in income verification;
- recruitment methods based on an over-reliance on "walk-ins";
- recruitment difficulties traced to the fact that YES did not offer stipends for participation;
- the failure to deliver all planned services to the appropriate participants--39 percent of assigned youth did not receive job search skill workshops while 25 percent of assigned youth did not participate in one job interview as part of the job placement service;
- total direct service time was extremely limited and typically was less than ten hours;
- personnel experienced frequent turnover and disruptive reassignments; the organization lacked effective executive leadership during much of the demonstration;

- young participants generally enjoyed and rated as helpful those aspects of the Workshop program that were stressed in the service mix, such as counseling and actual job search; however, tangible elements of job search training, such as resume writing preparation, were not enjoyed or valued by the Wilkes-Barre youth.

The Cambridge Job Factory operated more smoothly than the Wilkes-Barre program, but it was not without implementation difficulties. In particular, the process study reveals that:

- Cycles that were designed to serve low income graduating seniors were the most difficult to implement. Local school systems overestimated the universe of need; other programs operated in the summer months that were attractive alternatives to the job search programs; many seniors disguised their intentions to return to school and were only temporarily unemployed.

- The importance of stipends for job search participation was dramatically revealed by the failure of the Cambridge program to operate an unstipended cycle of the Job Factory. Recruitment improved rapidly once the decision to pay participants the minimum wage for "working" in the Job Factory was resumed.

- In contrast to the cycles for graduating seniors, cycles that were designed to serve youth most in need--unemployed youth, both high school graduates and dropouts--reached 87 percent of planned enrollments and actually overenrolled the targeted number of dropouts.

- Much of the effective implementation of the Job Factory cycles can be traced to the executive leadership of the sponsoring organization; to the utilization of a private consultant to get the early program initiated; to effective ties with community resources; and to a stable and motivated staff.

Impact Study Results

The evaluation considered differences in the rate of job finding, the quality of jobs found, and the persistence of the job finding effect. These results were examined in the context of a number of channels of effect--ways in which the impacts came about. The channels include work attitudes/knowledge areas, learnable search skills, and intensity of search. The results of the evaluation of impacts are summarized below.

Job Finding

- Over all Cambridge cycles, the difference in job finding rates (without controlling for other factors) as of the first followup survey (ten weeks after enrollment) was 16 percentage points, favoring the treatment group. The difference in job finding rates diminished for subsequent followup periods. In sum, the Cambridge job search program had a large short-term effect, but going out to 45 weeks post-enrollment, there was no meaningful difference. Youth sooner or later find jobs anyway, treatment or not. The effect of the treatment is simply to speed up the proportion finding jobs.

- In Wilkes-Barre, there were no significant differences between treatment groups in rates of job finding (without controlling for other factors) at nine weeks after enrollment. Thereafter, small differences appeared with Group 2 (who received placement services, rather than self-directed job search) having the lowest rates while Group 1 (the "lean" approach that did not receive job search skills workshops) had the highest job finding rates. However, these differences were not significant.

- When variables such as sex, age, race, public assistance, education status and reading level were introduced as controlling factors on job finding, participation in the Cambridge JSA program was the only significant variable. Put differently, the Job Factory had a substantial effect in getting youth to work, independent of these other factors. In Wilkes-Barre, there was no significant effect of different types of treatment on job finding.

Quality and Stability of Jobs Found

- In Cambridge, wages, hours of work, and earnings were all slightly higher for the JSA youth than for the control group. Substantially more jobs were full-time for the JSA group. In sum, the quicker pace of job finding for Cambridge JSA youth led to modestly better jobs.

- In Wilkes-Barre, part-time work was more common than in Cambridge. The most enriched treatment group (Group 2) found more full-time jobs than the self-directed group (3) which resulted in higher weekly hours and earnings. Otherwise, there were no significant differences between treatment groups in quality of jobs found.
- In Cambridge, the rate of job leaving was lower for job search assistance youth than the control group. The data, therefore, gave no support to the hypothesis that speedy job finding ends in early job leaving.
- In Wilkes-Barre no clear differences in job stability were identified for the three treatment groups. Variations in treatment in Wilkes-Barre made no difference in this job holding impact.

Work Attitudes/Knowledge Areas

The study is part of a national effort to collect uniform data on youth participants enrolled in a number of special demonstrations across the country, funded by the Department of Labor. The effort consists of numerous independent program evaluations using a common data base developed by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) called the Standard Assessment System (SAS). The ETS/SAS includes a battery of seven pre- and post-program (exit) tests that measure various aspects of work-orientations. The seven scales measure: Job Knowledge Test; Job Holding Skills; Job Seeking Skills; Vocational Attitude Scale; Self-Image; Work Relevant Attitudes; and Sex Stereotyping of Adult Occupations. Findings from an analysis of these measures include:

- There were no significant positive gains in attitudes/knowledge areas from pre- to post-test in either program, with the exception of Vocational Attitudes in Cambridge.

- In a procedure to determine what factors, in addition to program treatment, are tied to attitudes/knowledge areas, we found that with the exception of Job Seeking skills in Wilkes-Barre, treatment group was never a significant determinant of attitudes/knowledge areas. The fact that Wilkes-Barre Group 3 (the self-directed job search group who did not receive placement services) scored significantly lower on job search skills, when other factors are controlled, suggested that the placement services were important in developing job search skills through a "learning by doing" process rather than the formal instruction in search techniques. Our interpretation must be tempered, however, by the fact that the process study reveals that services were not always delivered as planned.

- In Cambridge, attitudes/knowledge areas did not contribute to job finding. In Wilkes-Barre, Job Search Skills were a significant determinant of job finding. Thus, in Wilkes-Barre there may be an indirect effect of treatment on job finding, with Groups 1 and 2 having higher Job Seeking skills which in turn produce greater job finding. The distinguishing feature of Groups 1 and 2 was the inclusion of placement services.

Intensity of Search

- In Cambridge, JSA youth cited contacts with staff more frequently than any other item as a source used most helpfully in getting first jobs. Counselors provided emotional support rathan than placement assistance.

- Indicators of intensity of search included the number of applications filled and the number of interviews attended. We found in Cambridge that the intensity of search was significantly promoted by the JSA program, most notably for successful job finders. In Wilkes-Barre, the process study as well as the impact data on intensity suggested an uneven pattern of search effort between groups. Limited evidence suggested that Group 3 youth interviewed and filled out more applications; therefore, the placement services groups (1+2) do less searching. This finding, in combination with the data cited previously, suggested that in Wilkes-Barre, success came from the explicit assistance in putting youth into jobs. The program was too diffuse to generate successful self-directed and motivated search among the participants.

- In Cambridge through the first follow-up period, when we compare weeks to get first job among successful job finders, there are no meaningful differences in search time between JSA youth and

control group members. Thus, JSA leads to more job finding in the short run, but not necessarily to shorter search time among successful job finders.

Program Costs

Costs per youth served, excluding demonstration expenses and stipends, were $715 and $324 for Cambridge and Wilkes-Barre respectively. Costs per employed youth were a modest $1442 and $611 in Cambridge and Wilkes-Barre (excluding stipends and demonstration expenses). The cost per net net job created through job search assistance in Cambridge was $4468.

Policy Implications

Job search assistance works by sustaining interest in active search. It may do this through financial incentives, through a program that is perceived as "fun" by young persons, or through the fact that counselors are there to marshal and reinforce youthful energies that might otherwise be dissipated. Whether there are long-term impacts extending into future spells of unemployment from job search assistance cannot be deduced from our study. In fact, this study shows that there can be significant short-term effects, but these effects appear to diminish over time.

Successful job search assistance gets youngsters to initiate their search sooner than they had otherwise planned and to pursue search more intensively over a period of time. The curricula of the programs are undoubtedly important in attracting youth to and keeping youth in the

programs, but it is not clear whether the various JSA elements actually can be said to significantly alter participants' attitudes or knowledge areas. It is the intensity of the program that is clearly very important.

This then raises the question of what sort of incentive it takes to get youth to participate in such a program. We showed that in Cambridge the financial stipend used to attract and support youth during the program was a critical element of job search assistance. When the program tried to operate without stipends, it failed. Similarly, many of Wilkes-Barre's problems with underenrollment, failure to deliver all planned services, and low service hours can be attributed to a lack of financial incentive.

The importance of personnel in preparing youth, but more importantly, in reinforcing the search process, was illustrated in both the process and impact analyses. Certainly, the frequent staff turnover and disruptive reassignments in Wilkes-Barre influenced the employment-related impacts.

Another important element is program design. The Cambridge program is structured in a way that holds youths captive long enough to impart a sense of urgency and incentive to their search. By contrast, the Wilkes-Barre program is diffuse and characterized by a lack of enjoyable group activities, as well as a failure to routinely follow and support the youths during their search for jobs.

The conventional wisdom is that job search assistance works in part because of the peer support, group dynamics, and other program

elements directed at changes in self-esteem, knowledge of the world-of-work, and knowledge of the job search process. In this study, Cambridge's short-run success resulted from the high intensity of search effort generated by the program's service mix. We would argue that the program activities were important because they were fun and because they held the attention of the youth. This does not prove that the conventional wisdom is wrong--only that when job search assistance worked, it succeeded most importantly to the extent it increased the intensity of search. Job search assistance is important then not so much for what it teaches but for what it promotes--job finding.

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Chapter I

Introduction

A. Plan of Study

This report presents an evaluation of two job search assistance programs for youth. The programs serve low income disadvantaged youth and are members of a family of youth employment programs, demonstration projects and associated evaluations that were authorized through a 1977 amendment to CETA, the Youth Employment and Demonstrations Project Act (YEDPA). In early 1979, the Department of Labor selected two agencies that had been providing job search assistance as sites in a national project to determine whether direct instruction in job acquisition skills eases the transition of disadvantaged youth into the labor market. One program is the Job Factory and is run by the Cambridge, Massachusetts Office of Manpower Affairs (COMA-CETA). The other is administered by a small community-based organization in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania called the Youth Employment Service (YES). The YES program is called the Workshop.

The study involves impact and process analyses. The impact analysis is concerned with the effects of the experimental treatments--the job search assistance--on client's employment and job search behavior. We also explore through the impact study changes in work attitudes and knowledge areas related to job search procedures. The impact analysis relies on an experimental design in Cambridge which permits comparisons of these effects between a control group and an experimental group. In

Wilkes-Barre, there is no control group of non-program participants, but three groups of treatment youth are compared to one another. The three Wilkes-Barre groups receive different levels of job search assistance. A special feature of the impact analysis will examine variations in treatment outcomes across different types of clients.

The process study is needed to study the parts of the two job search assistance programs not subject to experimental variation, as well as to evaluate the experimental treatments in terms of whether they operated as planned. Matters such as how the origins of the programs shaped the final design; early implementation hurdles, such as enrollment; hours of participation; composition, training and turnover of personnel; and participants' experiences in the programs are all examined in the process analysis. A special interest will be to determine whether the preceding program elements differed from formal plans, since it is now a familiar fact that programs often perform differently than originally intended.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into two sections. The first describes the job search assistance program concept. Next, we describe the two job search programs evaluated in this study.

Chapter 2 presents a literature review of past experience in job search assistance for disadvantaged youth.

The process analysis is presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the impact analysis. Chapter 5 presents policy implications stemming from the evaluation.

Appendix A describes the two economies of Cambridge, Massachusetts and Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Appendix B presents the characteristics of the samples utilized in the impact chapter. Appendix C presents qualitative profiles of some clients who participated in the Cambridge program. Appendix D discusses a special topic-counselor ratings of participants' employment potential. Appendix E describes the administration of research instruments. Appendix F presents additional analysis tables recommended by the funding agency.

B. The Job Search Assistance Concept

Unlike other youth employment and training programs, job search assistance programs are relatively short, intensive interventions coupling formal instruction in job search techniques with experience and frequently supervision in looking for work. Job search assistance programs are distinct from long-term career development approaches, occupational guidance, vocational exploration, job placement, work experience and specific skill training. Although all of these interventions are attempts to ease the transition of youth into the world of work, they are different from the focus of this study--direct job search assistance (JSA) programs that prepare, inform and give practical experience to current or imminent job seekers.

There is widespread public interest in learning how to look for work; programs intended to meet this interest proliferate. Groups which work with special segments of the labor force, women, older workers, the handicapped, ex-offenders, veterans are developing materials and training in job search skills. Job counseling columns appear daily in the press and "how-to" manuals inundate the market. One of the most popular of these is Richard Bolles' What Color Is Your Parachute, which sells over 20,000

copies per month. There are more than 100 other titles, most of which are designed to increase (some authors claim, to guarantee) their readers' success in the labor market. The best-sellers vary in emphasis, but all authors argue that successful job search is a learnable skill that depends on four steps; a thorough self-assessment, a systematic job search approach based on factual information about the local labor market, a carefully prepared resume, and a skillful, relaxed interview. All job search assistance programs are built around the development of these skills.

In the past five years, manpower institutions have transformed job search training in both content and technique for their widely varied clientele. Job search training programs have been operating in the U.S. Employment Service, the Work Incentive Program, the national welfare reform Employment Opportunity Pilot Projects, and are now to be tested as part of one model of a work requirement in a new Food Stamp demonstration. Although there is much variation in specific elements of job search training programs, they usually follow the general models established by early investigators and program operators (see, for example, Azrin, 1975, 1978; Lathrop, 1978; Johnson, 1973).

Economists have long recognized the importance of public job search assistance programs. In the standard economic model, job search consists of a series of activities which can be grouped under two principal headings--exchange of information, and decision making. Both types of activities are engaged in by employers and job seekers, and are frequently mediated

through governmental labor market exchanges (e.g., the Employment Service), or informal exchanges such as job search assistance agencies in this study. The information which is exchanged may be of the general labor market information type (for example, the prominence of fast foods establishments in the industrial mix of the community) and specific job information. Examples of the latter would be actual job openings, pay rates and subjective features of the jobs, such as hiring preferences of one sort or another.

Three decisions are faced by job seekers and employers. The first is how to obtain or supply information. For the employer, this involves whether to hire from among those who apply directly to the organization, from among referrals from labor market intermediaries, or from posted advertisements. For the job seeker, the information problem involves choosing among channels of information--friends, newspapers or direct inquiries. The second decision is how to evaluate the information received. Here the burden is upon the employer who must assess the different applicants and make a few offers from among a larger pool of applicants. The third decision for the employer and job seeker is whether to offer (or accept) a job.

Most of the economic thought on job search is devoted to theoretical investigations of the process of maximizing the net benefits of search. Typically, an attempt is made to identify many of the variables involved, including non-pecuniary costs (cf., Alchian, 1970; Gronau, 1977; Holt, 1970; Mortenson, 1970; Phelps, 1969; Stigler, 1962). A significant subgroup of this economic literature is devoted to the development of relationships between search and unemployment. Few studies investigate the

empirical magnitude of the variables contained in the standard search model, and fewer still focus on the special problems of disadvantaged youth.

Job search training in the programs evaluated in this report is designed to improve the effectiveness and intensity of search by young men and women. In addition to increasing success and speed in obtaining a job, the expected benefits to the participant may also include higher wages, better working conditions, less foregone earnings and lower search costs. These benefits may be obtained in the programs in the following ways:

- o Providing the applicant with general and specific labor market information.
- o Teaching the applicant how to efficiently acquire information about specific jobs.
- o Teaching the applicant how to obtain job interviews.
- o Teaching the applicant how to present information to prospective employers about him or herself in an effective manner.
- o Improving an applicant's employability by making him or her more self-confident.
- o Minimizing the psychological costs of job seeking by providing various psychological supports.
- o Increasing the proportion of time devoted to job hunting by offering economic incentives, close supervision, and by applying pressure.

C. Description of the Two Job Search Programs

The funded proposals provided $202,940 in Cambridge and $164,162 to Wilkes-Barre, to serve 300 and 750 low income disadvantaged youth,

respectively. In Cambridge, there were to be five cycles of a four week Job Factory. The first cycle was planned to serve 50 graduating seniors (who would receive stipends of $3.10 per hour) in the last days of their senior year. Cycles 2-4 were funded to serve 50 unemployed youth each; each cycle would enroll half with and the other half without high school diplomas (that is, graduates and dropouts). Cycle 5 was to serve 100 graduating seniors again, although this time the seniors were not to receive paid stipends. The funding required that a control group of program eligible youth be selected for research purposes in each of the first four cycles. No in-school youth were to be served by the Job Factory program, with the possible exception of out-of-school youth working on their high school equivalency degrees (GED). Finally, youth who found jobs in the first three weeks of the various Job Factory cycles were to receive bonus payments equivalent to two days of program participation.

The Wilkes-Barre research design required random assignment of participants to one of three treatment groups. Each group represents a different level of directed job search. Group 1 was to receive individual career counseling and job placement services (a type of job bank listing). Group 2 was to receive career counseling, job placement services and special job search skills workshops. Group 3 was to receive career counseling and the job search skills workshops. Participants in Group 3 would, however, be encouraged to find jobs on their own, since they were not to receive the job listings in the placement service component.

For research purposes, it is convenient to think of Group 1 in Wilkes-Barre as receiving a "lean" kind of job search assistance, perhaps similar to that provided by traditional labor market intermediaries, job listing and general one-to-one career counseling. Group 2 may be thought of as providing the full range of services that a community group like Wilkes-Barre's Youth Employment Service (YES) is capable of providing. Group 3 was to receive the same as Group 2, except for the job placement services, that is, youth have to find a job on their own. Group 3 may, therefore, be considered a reference group of youth who receive job search assistance but are completely self directed in their active job search.

To be eligible for both programs, youths had to satisfy the following requirements established by CETA regulations: be between the ages of 16 and 21; be unemployed; and satisfy the low-income guidelines set by the Office of Management and Budget for families of different sizes.

Finally, assignment in Wilkes-Barre to the three treatment groups and in Cambridge to experiment and control groups was done by a random assignment procedure developed by the Brandeis research group. In Cambridge, the instructions assured that an equal distribution of persons by sex, age and ethnicity would be assigned to the treatment and control categories. In Cycles 1-2, 40 percent of the eligible youth were randomly assigned to a control group (in Cycles 3-4 it was 50 percent) after learning that "funding limits the number of program slots." There was no control group of youth for Cycle 5 of the Cambridge program. In Wilkes-Barre, youth

were randomly assigned to the three groups in equal proportions after stratifying by age and sex.

The treatments received by the majority of youth enrolled in the two job search assistance programs are described below. It is a summary picture of the services a typical client would receive in the programs. The process study in Chapter 3 will describe deviations from this descriptive overview.

1. Job Factory - Cambridge

a. Orientation

On the first morning of the Job Factory program the participant arrives at 8:00 A.M. to join a large group of 30 to 50 youth.[1] He/she is introduced to the program, its policies and its staff. This introductory session lasts half the morning and is conducted by the CETA director and Job Factory manager. In this session the participants learn about the program; particularly with regard to their individual responsibilities. The orientation covers:

- History of the Job Factory in Cambridge, including its experiences with disadvantaged groups, public service employees and youth.
- Statistical report of its success; "this program has a proven track record of success..."
- The Factory is a four week program in which participants are hired to find a job. The pay is $3.10 for each hour of participation. The "work day begins at 8:00 A.M. and continues

[1] This is usually a Friday for two reasons: the largest source of "help wanted" advertising--the Sunday newspaper--allows participants to run down a "hot" job lead on Monday; after an intense first session, the participant has a weekend to relax.

until 5:00 P.M. with an (unpaid) hour break at noon for lunch :

- Each "employee" must sign in upon arrival and sign out at the end of the work day.
- When going out on any job related activities, an "employee" must sign the "company sign out sheet" posted on the wall, and inform a counselor (supervisor) where he/she is going and when the participant is expected back. "This is your responsibility, and failure to follow this procedure will result in loss of pay."
- Each "employee" is expected to come to work dressed in a way appropriate for an interview in his/her field every day.
- Only one excused absence is allowed with full pay. An "employee" must call in him/herself to the supervisor before 9:00 A.M. to be excused. More than one absence or continual tardiness (15 minutes or more) can result in pay loss or termination from the program.
- Each participant's job is to find a job. Each day participants will receive work assignments from their supervisors to help them find a job. "Failure to carry out your work assignment will be grounds for termination from the program."
- Each person is responsible for knowing and abiding by the rules of the program. The idea that the participant is now in a work environment is heavily stressed.

b. Group Activities.

After the introductory session the participant is assigned to one of two groups and begins the classroom exercises in job finding.[2]

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[2] Counselors determined the composition of each group prior to the opening day session to achieve an equal age, race, sex, education mix.

Each of the two groups is led by two counselors (supervisors). The participant is asked to keep three major points in mind.

- "Develop and maintain a positive attitude toward this job of seeking employment even in the face of possible disappointment you may experience along the way. Remember that this process has worked for many other job seekers and it can work for you."
- "There is absolutely nothing to be bashful or timid about in your status as a job seeker. As a matter of fact, you may find that many prospective employers have a positive view about hiring young people whom they can train in the operations of their individual businesses."
- "The greatest single source of job leads comes from family and friends, so tell everybody that you are presently engaged in an extensive, well organized program to find a job. This may result in some very good job leads."

Next, the young person engages in various "group dynamic" exercises so that he/she might get to know the other "employees" in the group and gain a better understanding of his/her job goals. For example, a mneumonic device, the "name game," is played to insure each individual learns the other group members' names, followed by discussion of long-term and short-range job goals. The time devoted to the latter discussions of job goals and prior work experiences is frequently interspersed with new group exercises, since getting young people to concentrate on work-related experiences for sustained periods of time is difficult. There are, for example, "decision-making"exercises designed to foster cooperativeness and creative problem solving among the group. In one instance, a "deserted island" game leads to discussions on how people make decisions and the interests that people demonstrate that may be related to future job goals. In sum, the games are "ice breakers" leading to and from discussions of employment goals.

After returning from lunch, the participant views a videotape originally shown on national public television, "How to Find a Job." This is a documentary about a job finding club in California similar in ways to the Job Factory. In viewing the film the individual is given a clear introduction to the types of activities he/she will be involved with in the upcoming weeks. A discussion follows the film. Also, some cycles of the Job Factory invite "role model" guests at this point in the program to speak about their personal backgrounds and successes in the labor market.

During the remainder of the afternoon the participant engages in "skills search," a formal exercise to determine transferable job skills. The counselor explains to the participant that most people have skills used daily that can be transferred to jobs. Youth are asked to settle on particular "job targets." This objective proves to be among the most difficult for many of the young participants. Counselors return to it throughout the program. At 4:30 he/she "signs out" for the day.

c. The Workbook

On the following work day, the individual signs in, joins his group, and begins work in a workbook. The workbook structures activities for the remainder of the program. It covers seven sections:

1. Collection and organization of useful background information.
2. Review of goals, objectives and personal traits.
3. Use of information gathered in Steps 1 and 2 to create "selling tools" (introductory letters, resumes, references, interviewing skills).
4. Development of a list of potential employers and a plan (including schedule) for communicating with them.

5. Contact of potential employers and other people who may help.

6. Investigation of potential employers.

7. How to sell yourself in personal interviews.

The morning session is devoted to the first half of the participants' workbooks. In-depth discussion of individual sections of the workbook and problems are put forward. Special emphasis is given to individual counseling. As the week progresses, the emphasis shifts back and forth between the affective dimension ("you are a salesperson--sell yourself--believe in your product") and the more tangible aspects of job search education. Instruction in resume writing, for example, frequently takes up to two full days.

The latter part of the first week is spent on interview skills training, including mock interviews in which youth play both the role of employer and employee. These interviews are frequently filmed on videotape and analyzed in enjoyable "instant replays." The participants are drilled as to the questions likely to be asked in employment interviews and how to be ready with positive responses. Youth learn how to anticipate unasked questions and how to interject signals during the interview that he/she will be a reliable worker.

d. Actual Job Search

After the first week (and sometimes beginning in the first week) the bulk of the participant's time is spent in actual search activities--using the telephone to find job prospects, making personal "cold calls" on likely employers, following up on jobs that were advertised or listed with public employment services. Industrial directories, Yellow Pages, newspaper

wanted advertisements, street and transportation maps, free photo-copying are all provided. In the on-going counseling, considerable attention is focused on the "hidden job market" to balance the emphasis on formal search strategies. Daily logs are kept of scheduled activities. Participants who do not have scheduled interviews or planned employer visits return to the Job Factory at the end of each day to participate in group discussions about their experiences of the day.

2. Wilkes-Barre Workshop

a. Counseling

There are three treatment groups in Wilkes-Barre. All three groups receive career counseling. Youth are counseled on an individual basis with sessions scheduled according to their individual needs. Typically, youth attend one to two counseling sessions per month of program attendance. Each counseling session lasts up to one hour. Most counseling is for youth who are job seekers, although occasionally youth who hold jobs are counseled regarding on-the-job problems. Usually, during the first 15 minutes of the counseling interview, youth are asked to describe their past work-related experiences. On this basis, the counselor asks the youth to make connections between past jobs and jobs that are sought. In cases where youth are undecided about their interests, the counselor spends extra time probing for abilities and skills that can be utilized in the workplace.

A good example of counseling is the case of Anne, 16 years old, who expressed confusion over the type of job she would like to look for. Her initial request was to find "any job I can find." The YES counselor

probed, and asked her what her favorite leisure activities were. After a short dialogue, the counselor found that Anne likes to play with small children in the neighborhood and that she babysits on occasion for friends and relatives. The counselor then suggested that Anne might want to explore working at a day care center or a nursery school. Her first prescribed step would be to contact places that provide care for small children, and to set up informational interviews to learn "what it takes to do the job." The last 15 minutes of the counseling session were spent planning future activities, step by step. Anne was asked to maintain active communication with the counselor at every stage of the process.

b. Job Placement Service

Job placement service is the second program component and is provided to Groups I and II. Job placement service may be defined as a method to communicate local job vacancy information to program youth. The youth are shown a "job bank" that consists of a current list of local job openings for youth. The counselors interpret the list for their young clients. They match the needs of employers in the community to the interests, experiences and skills expressed by the youth in the counseling sessions. Frequently, the counselors get specific requests from youth for jobs where there are no current vacancies. The information is recorded on a file card and sent to the job developer who circulates the request in his/her routine contacts with employers. If a specific job opening becomes available, the counselors contact the youth to discuss the details.

c. Special Job Search Skills Workshops

The third YES component is the special job search skills workshops received by youth in Groups 2 and 3. The workshops teach youth practical job hunting skills that should make job search more efficient. Content includes how to identify employers, fill out applications, write resumes, and conduct job interviews. Through the workshops the youth are taught how to deal with limited work experience, lack of skills, how to listen to employers during job interviews, how to present oneself in job interviews--dress and personal appearance, what employers expect during job interviews and how to handle stress situations.

The YES workshops are conducted in a classroom style. Young people, for example, are instructed on the proper techniques of completing a job application followed by discussion and examples of "good" and "bad" applications. Toward the end of the 60 to 90 minute workshop, the youth are asked to use the yellow pages of the phone book and the want ads in the newspaper. The youth assemble a list of at least 10 employers and are encouraged to call for job interviews. Some youth in Groups 2 and 3 attend two workshops. The second workshop is a review session covering the application, interviewing skills, resume preparation (YES frequently restricts instruction in resume writing to job-ready youth, 18 years or older), and the list of employers.

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Chapter II

Related Literature

This chapter summarizes evidence from past experience in job search assistance for disadvantaged youth. The review concentrates on two principal topics of interest: 1) evidence of the employment impacts stemming from job search assistance; and 2) information on the feasibility of administering job search assistance programs for low income youth.

A. Evidence on the Employment Impacts of Job Search Training for Youth

There are virtually no completed studies of programs beyond the present one that enroll only disadvantaged youth and that have an experimental design including a control group to test the impacts of the job search training program. However, three clusters of related studies give some indication of the effectiveness of providing youth with job search skills. The first group of studies involve experiments in which adults and youth are mixed in heterogeneous programs of job search training. The second group involve programs that enroll disadvantaged youth exclusively in job search programs, but where there are no reliable or available impact data drawn from control groups. The third group of studies involve job search education programs for youth that are largely embedded within more comprehensive, in-school career development programs.

1. Age Mixed JST Programs

Azrin (1975, 1978) appears to be the first researcher to have applied the methods of behaviorism developed by psychologists (for example, group dynamics, "buddy" systems, peer support, positive

reinforcements) to the problem of job finding among low income clients in public employment programs. In a study of 1000 Work Incentive Program (WIN) clients in five different states, Azrin (1978) compared the job finding rates of persons under 21 years of age who were engaged in Job Finding Clubs (along with adults) to youth enrolled in regular WIN services. Although the numbers of youth in the clubs were small (N=46), the study found that 48 percent of the job club clients found jobs one month after leaving the program, in contrast to 25 percent among youth enrolled in routine WIN services.

A second study, conducted by Shapiro (1978), evaluated the Cambridge, Massachusetts "Job Factory" program for CETA participants. This program for CETA-eligible unemployed adult and youth predated the special youth-only Job Factory that is the subject of the present study. Shapiro's sample included only 18 young persons between the ages of 16 and 25 for whom there are post-program employment data. Over half (61 percent) found jobs within one month after program termination. In an internal study by the Cambridge CETA prime sponsor (1979) of yet another Cambridge program, its Title II-B four-week Job Factory, 46 low income participants 18-21 years of age were found to have a 76 percent placement rate--a higher rate than for persons of all ages (68 percent) or older persons 46 to 60 years of age (54 percent). Young participants in an abbreviated version of the Cambridge Job Factory called Job Shop also outperformed the entire sample of both young and older unemployed persons with an 89 percent employment rate (N=28).[1]

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[1] Other research studies involving youth and adults in job search programs are reviewed by Bruml (1981); Mangum (1981); Wegmann (1979); a U.S. Department of Labor monograph (1980); and a study by Olympus Research Corporation (1981).

2. Youth-Only Job Search Training Programs.

A number of new job search training programs for disadvantaged youth have begun in the past several years and their number are rapidly growing. These programs collect data on "enter employment" rates; the number of youth who entered into employment upon program termination divided by the total number of participants eligible for employment. One new program in Palm Beach County, Florida involves both CETA and the United States Employment Service. The Palm Beach County Job Shop program for young unemployed persons (16 to 21 years of age) found that its participants obtained an 88 percent entered employment rate (DOL, 1980-a). This rate may be compared quite favorably to the entered employment rate of 17 percent for low income youth from the same community enrolled in the Youth Community Conservation Improvement Program (YCCIP) and 16 percent for youth in the Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP).

Another job search assistance program is currently operating within the offices of the San Francisco Employment Service (the Job Track). This unstipended youth program is aimed at voluntary "walk-ins" and referrals from other agencies. It is very short in duration, only two days of job search training with access to further job search assistance after the two days upon demand. The study was not able to structure an experiment with random assignment to a control group, but it was able to select a group of comparison youth from the local Employment Service. Early evidence shows approximately a 51 percent entered employment rate (after six weeks) compared to a 42 percent rate among the comparison group of young Employment Service clients (Johnson 1981).

The net effect of the San Francisco program was to produce a job-finding rate of 55% for the JSA Group, compared to 37% for the comparison group, when adjusted for group differences in demographic characteristics.

Two other noteworthy findings from the Job Track study are: the program increases the frequency of direct contact with employers, but wage rates did not differ from those of the comparison group. Another Job Club operates in Lansing, Michigan under CETA Title IV funding for disadvantaged, unemployed, out-of-school youth. Modeled on Azrin's program, the self-reported program data on 99 terminations in 1979 show a 72 percent entered employment rate, down from a 79 percent rate in 1978 (Capitol, Area 1980).

3. Job Search Embedded in Career Development Programs

By far the most common approach to job search programming is one which limits job search education to a single component in a broader program of career development. These programs are largely, but not exclusively, aimed at in-school youth and may be found in dozens of school systems across the country, in special collaborative programs between schools and CETA, and in the efforts of community-based organizations. Under the Youth Employment and Demonstrations Project Act (YEDPA), several studies are currently underway that test the effects of providing enriched job search education to in-school youth. There is, for example, a comparative study involving a Philadelphia high school serving disadvantaged youth that imparts job search skills and information on the youth labor market (along with career education and work orientation) through a specially designed curriculum (USD, 1978). A similar study in Delaware (Jobs for Delaware Graduates) compares the effects of providing high school seniors (only about 20 percent would be considered CETA eligible by current income guidelines) from a group of high schools with labor market information and job search skills (along with career education and work orientation) and comparing them to youth not enrolled in the targeted schools (DOL, 1980-b). Preliminary results from the latter study show that 55 percent of the Delaware

high school participants were working full-time three months after graduation compared to 37 percent of youth in a comparison group (unpublished DOL/OYP data, 1980). However, non-participants attended school or training programs in greater numbers than JFD graduates. Considering only those not in school or training, about equal numbers in treatment and comparison groups worked full or part-time.

The most significant study to date, with respect to careful monitoring of employment outcomes, is the Youth Career Development (YCD) demonstration for low income CETA-eligible youth which measures the impact of six separate youth career development approaches in 30 sites across the country. Data from the Educational Testing Service (ETS) on 1755 students enrolled in the YCD projects and a non-random comparison group of 1684 are now available (Rock and Freeberg, 1980). The six separate approaches involve various national sponsor delivery agencies working with affiliated local operators. One YCD sponsor, the U.S. Employment Service, ran a number of projects which concentrated on the provision of labor market information. This latter sponsor is of particular interest since its emphasis most closely corresponds to the job search training programs under review in this report. In-school CETA eligible youth in the ES/YCD projects were involved in an average of almost five hours per week of career development activities. The majority of time was spent in receiving information about the youth labor market, being taught how to find jobs, and receiving assistance in assessing their own personal qualifications and readiness for employment. Three months after program completion, the ETS reported not even a minimal employment impact--30 percent of the ES/YCD youth were in full-time jobs compared to 32 percent of the comparison group. Finally, across all six sponsors, the YCD program is able to demonstrate only a marginal impact on employment--about 2 percent more of the program youth found full-time jobs three months after

program completion than did comparison group youth (26 percent, 24 percent, respectively). It is noteworthy that the absence of a demonstrable employment impact in the ES approach is duplicated in data from the YCD sponsor with the second greatest emphasis on labor market education--the National Urban League.

B. Feasibility of Job Search Assistance Programs for Youth

The job search assistance literature reveals a number of factors which affect the administration of job search programs. These factors are briefly reviewed below.

1. Institutional Factors

In the case of the United States Employment Service, the nation's largest labor market intermediary, self-directed job search assistance models must contend with the Wagner-Peyser Act which prevents the Employment Service from receiving financial credit for self-directed employment placements. This constraint lies behind Johnson's (1973) account of difficulties implementing the San Francisco Adult Opportunity Center within the California Employment Service. It has also been noted in the current San Francisco project for youth (Johnson, 1980), as well as the Palm Beach County Job Shop (DOL, 1980-a) for disadvantaged youth.

2. Staffing

A number of observers note that in CETA average job tenure for front-line job developers and counselors is quite short, perhaps only six months. The instability created by this fact touches every aspect of job search assistance programming for low-income youth. Several studies, for example, note that counselors are frequently slow or unresponsive to the need to transfer or refer clients to job search assistance programs (cf., DOL, 1980-a; Johnson, 1980). Under-enrollment and a lack of sufficient training skills among counselors for the job search approach can be read in these few available accounts of job search assistance program implementation.

3. Regulations

Within CETA agencies there are a number of subgrantees who administer JSA programs. In other instances, job search assistance programs are administered by collaborative agreements between schools, the Employment Service, CETA or community groups. Each of these delivery agencies has its own administrative regulations. Consider, for example, the CETA requirement in Florida which dictated that Job Shop youth could only enroll in the program at the beginning of a bi-weekly pay period, or the regulation requiring graduating seniors to be enrolled in the Summer Youth Employment Program rather than the Job Shop (DOL, 1980-a).

4. Financial Incentives

CETA programs are able to pay the minimum wage to youth who participate in JSA programs. As a matter of philosophy, many community-based programs, and, as a matter of custom, the U.S. Employment Service, do not generally pay stipends for job search training participation. Not surprisingly, unstipended approaches tend to be shorter, often only 1-2 days long, than stipended programs, and raise a number of special administrative problems associated with their tight, compact schedule. For example, in Employment Service approaches, the ES is caught between the self-directed JSA approach and the requirement not to deny services to applicants seeking placement assistance. The lack of financial incentive can also lead to problems of under-enrollment (cf., Johnson, 1980).

5. Curricula

The burgeoning job search training field has not had time to standardize its curricula, and as a consequence, is prey to consultants and advocates proselytizing one approach or another. The Job Track in San Francisco uses a youth-specific model, while the Job Factory staff in Cambridge uses

an "industrial model" in which clients "punch in" and "punch out" in a program designed to simulate the discipline of the workplace. Many programs build upon Azrin's (1975) first model in Carbondale, Illinois, with its psychological orientation, "buddy" procedures, peer and family support. Other programs are variants of Hoffman's Self-Directed Placement model (Wegmann, 1979) stressing interviewing skills and phone calls to prospective employers to "learn from doing."

If there is a lesson to be learned from the scanty literature, it is that very little is known about the effectiveness of one program curriculum over another. How much time should be spent, for example, in practice resume writing, simulated job interviews, guidance and counseling, group support, "cold calls" and actual job interviews? How necessary are fancy videotape recorders and banks of phones?

Implementation of JSA programs may be affected by the lack of information on effective curricula in two ways. First, organizations looking for guidance and finding none are likely to try to invent their own program model. The "home grown" approach risks a longer gestation period before routinization of operations. Moreover, a number of such programs will be likely to fail without benefit of institutional memory. Alternatively, organizations looking for JSA models are likely to choose an existing model only to find that the model chosen may not be effective in the new site. Moreover, there are costs associated with the dissemination of program models, i.e., costs usually stemming from the use of for-profit consultant firms. The WIN program, for example, has been operating job finding clubs since 1978, yet only recently has WIN begun the preparation of a technical assistance guide and formal regulations for operators within the WIN system.

Before this time, much of the dissemination of job search assistance within WIN was done by consultants under contract to the government. Evidently, it takes several years to move from a period of experimentation to widespread implementation in the field.

C. Conclusion

Several conclusions can be drawn from this literature review. First, there are no reliable data on the employment outcomes to youth enrolled in age mixed job search assistance programs. Azrin's (1978) sample is promising, but limited due to the small numbers. The present study will not be able to furnish new data on this topic since both programs under review restrict their enrollments to youth. We will, however, be able to present findings for different age groups within the 16 to 21 year old youth population.

Second, the placement rate from youth-only job search assistance programs appears to be quite high. Undoubtedly, this is one reason why the programs have proliferated. Although suggestions are made that such programs are a success, the claims cannot be distinguished from the argument that youth would have found work anyway, without the job search programs. A large number of studies suggest considerable flows of most youth among work, unemployment, school activity and withdrawal from the labor force (cf., Borus, et al., 1980). Many of the job search studies reviewed lack a satisfactory method to compare the entered employment rates with those that are normal or expected. (Researchers generally do not regard the use of comparison groups as desirable as random assignment to control groups.) The present study in one site (Cambridge) has a randomly assigned control group of youth. Many of the preceding problems, therefore, can be avoided.

Third, although not strictly job search assistance, in-school programs teaching labor market skills within broader career development programs are not encouraging with respect to positive employment impacts. Early data from the Delaware project and the employment outcomes from the Youth Career Development Project are marginal or insignificant (Rock and Freeberg, 1980).

Fourth, it has been demonstrated that non-stipended job search training programs and relatively short programs can operate effectively (the San Francisco Job Track), although no studies have been designed to compare carefully these approaches to longer, stipended programs. Some information on length of participation and the relative importance of stipends will be presented in the present study.

Fifth, the evidence is limited as to what ingredients go into the effective administration of job search assistance programs. One would expect that programs with a sufficient history; with reliable sources of referrals of youth; with sufficient institutional support allowing for staff training and stability; with cooperation between sponsoring organizations; and, programs that consciously choose an appropriate job search assistance curricula will operate smoothly, outside of normal problems inherent in program implementation. These factors are all suggested by the available evidence. No careful completed studies, however, have observed the operations of youth job search training programs. The present study examines these factors in the process study of program implementation.

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Chapter III

A Story of Two Programs: The Process Analysis

This chapter presents a process analysis of the administration of the Cambridge and Wilkes-Barre job search assistance programs. These subjects are of considerable importance. First, it is important to know whether those managing the programs succeeded in meeting standards of performance: Were disadvantaged youth attracted through outreach to the various program treatments? Were youth in the program the prescribed amount of time? How did youth divide their attention and time once in the program? Secondly, we need to understand deviations from plans, so that the feasibility of job search assistance for disadvantaged youth can be assessed and models of job search assistance can be replicated in different settings. The issue here is to separate the causes of deviations from plans into two categories. Are there deviations because the job search assistance program concept is inherently unworkable, or are there deviations because of the peculiar operations of the local delivery agents who provide JSA? Third, the process study is necessary to interpret the results of the impact analysis. The process study serves as a prelude to the impact data because it answers the question--what were the actual treatments?

Data for this chapter came from several sources. A variety of reports and documents were collected from the two programs, as well as from the funding agency (US/DOL, Office of Youth Programs) to describe the design and operation of the programs. The implementation of the programs also was followed closely. Numerous field visits were made to Wilkes-Barre and Cambridge. A participant-observer spent every day during each of the five

cycles of the Job Factory. Introduced to the youth as a "supervisor in charge of records," the participant observer was able to administer to youth many of the tests used in the impact study, survey all counselors in structured interviews, keep a diary, and generally observe the program from its inception to its execution.

The discussion in this chapter is organized around a framework which focuses on five elements of program implementation. The elements selected for this process study include:

(1) Origins of the programs--how did the pre-demonstration environments shape the experiments?

(2) Start-up and Enrollment--early implementation hurdles; recruitment and number of youth served;

(3) Participation in treatments;

(4) Participants' experience in the program;

(5) Personnel--composition, training, turnover.

The chapter begins by a brief discussion of conceptual models useful in understanding the implementation of federal programs. The chapter concludes by drawing lessons from the process analysis regarding design, replication, and the potential role of process in explaining the impact of youth job search assistance programs.

A. Plans and Actions

There are two models of federal program implementation that condition responses to the question--"why didn't the program(s) turn out as planned?" One view holds that local implementation is the action

phase that follows prior planning, that is, the "carrying through" of policies formulated by central authorities. In contrast to this two-stage, top-down model there is the perspective that implementation is an "iterative" process in which persons at all levels in the planning and delivery of the programs act, react and modify original intentions in a "learning by doing" process. These perspectives help clarify gaps between plans and subsequent program actions in the two youth job search assistance programs.[1]

The first model (top-down) holds that implementation difficulties stem from either misunderstanding or resistance. Federal authorities, for example, may have done a poor job in communicating their intentions or program management may not have been monitored in a timely way. The top-down model suggests that local implementors may not have understood their role and responsibilities because of poor communication between groups. Alternatively, the top-down model allows for the idea that the local delivery agent understood all that was required, but resisted the requirements for any number of reasons. For example, the plans might have been agreed upon as a way to obtain funds and to carry on the local agenda, paying only lip-service to federal intentions. Similarly, local groups might find after the fact that they were philosophically opposed to the program concept--"we didn't know we would hate it until we got into it..."

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[1] Similar perspectives are reviewed in detail in "Views From Below: Implementation Research in Education" by Eleanor Farrar, John DeSanctis, and David Cohen, Huron Institute, Cambridge--an essay prepared for NIE, April 1979. The two views are undoubtedly over-simplifications of the many complex activities that condition implementation. However, the models are useful for highlighting major issues.

The second model (iterative) suggests a number of alternative interpretations. Here the theme is not one of communication or resistance, but rather improvisation. Gaps between plans and actions are natural from this perspective, since "the plan" is no more (or less) a privileged blueprint for action than, for example, the intentions, goals and interim responses of program operators, participants and local officials. Seen from this perspective, gaps between program plans and actions are natural developments in a process of program survival.

Both these perspectives are useful in our consideration of the implementation of the two job search programs for youth. Consider, for example, the origins of the two programs, as described below.

B. Origins of the Job Search Assistance Programs

1. Cambridge Job Factory[2]

The Job Factory, as defined by the Cambridge Office of Manpower Affairs (COMA), is a "short, four week, intensive program combining labor market education and personal selling skills development with carefully planned and closely supervised job search activities."[3] The program was conceived in 1976 by Joseph Fischer, then the Director of COMA and Albert Cullen, Director of Motivational Development Associates, Inc., consultants to COMA. There were several versions of the Job Factory before the demonstration for youth described in this report.

[2] Much of the history of the Job Factory is reported in "Employment and Self-Esteem: An Evaluation of the Cambridge Job Factory," by Barbara Shapiro. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Medford, Ma.) Tufts University, 1978.

[3] Cambridge Office of Manpower Affairs, "The Job Factory--a Job Search Education Program." Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1979.

In 1976, with a surplus of Title I funds and an unemployment rate in Cambridge approaching 12 percent, Fischer sought ways to use these surplus funds to diminish the high jobless rate, and to serve low income persons not benefiting from standard CETA programs.

In a review of COMA files, both men observed that a large group of adult individuals were remaining jobless for lengthy periods of time. With no evidence in the clients' backgrounds to explain their lengthy unemployment, Fischer and Cullen hypothesized that these people were failing to secure work because of poor job seeking methods. As Cullen stated in a memo to COMA:

> "...for the majority of people in this group the causes of this situation are personal and largely superficial. As a group they are impeded in their job seeking efforts by some combination of the following: 1) lack of knowledge of effective methods of finding a job; 2) lack of communication skills (sic) to present themselves to employers as desirable applicants; 3) lack of confidence, drive, realistic job goals and perhaps honest motivation to apply to an aggressive job search."[4]

With the preceding as their guide, Cullen and Fischer devised a program to address these deficiencies.

Cullen, who had previously been Personnel Director of the Norton Company (a large, multinational manufacturer) in Worcester, Massachusetts, adopted elements of a successful Norton venture that had assisted professional personnel in finding employment to the needs of Cambridge's largely blue collar CETA population. Unlike other CETA programs in 1976, the Job Factory was not designed to provide vocational training or job development. Rather it was to be a short, intensive program in

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[4] Memorandum from Albert Cullen, Project Director, to Joseph Fischer Director of COMA, "The First Job Factory--May-July 1976." September 15, 1976.

which clients would receive formal instruction in job search skills as a supplement, rather than as a substitute for their own efforts to obtain jobs.

The character of the Job Factory was to represent the real work environment. The social relations between staff and clients were to be modeled after the workplace; the supervisor was to be the "foreman," the client a "worker," attendance was to be monitored by time cards, "termination" was to be equated with firing, stipends were wages, and so on. In other words, the program was designed so that participants had a job, and that job was to find a job.

From May through November 1976, the Job Factory was conducted on an experimental basis with various adult groups. In fiscal year 1977, it was introduced into the regular Title I (now Title II-B) service mix and made available to Cambridge area CETA clients. Since that time, the program has been replicated by CETA prime sponsors in other states in the nation. In each case, the staff from Cambridge provided technical assistance to the various organizations. With support from a grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Post Secondary Education (FIPSE), the Cambridge group has also taught interested counselors, educators, placement directors and youth program operators about the program.

Two variants of the adult Job Factory were also tried in Cambridge. A training subcontractor of COMA began a Job Shop program in 1978. This was an unstipended, three day job search assistance program for CETA Title II-B clients whose assessment and employability development plans

indicated a need for job search instruction. This abbreviated program was simply the "job market training and interviewing skills" element of the larger Job Factory, with follow-up services providing traditional employment counseling and job development. Another variation was a response to the need for a transition program for adults in CETA Public Service Employment (PSE). COMA initiated a two week Job Workshop training program in which the Job Workshop served as the PSE participants' work assignments for the last two weeks of their enrollment.

With the experience of the original Job Factory for adult unemployed persons, as well as two successful variants of the model for special populations, COMA proposed a demonstration program of job search assistance for youth. The proposal was transferred within the US/DOL to the new Office of Youth Programs where it was combined with the Wilkes-Barre proposal to form a demonstration project. The Cambridge Job Factory for Youth (JFFY) was budgeted to serve 300 Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP) income eligible youth from May 1, 1979 to October 31, 1979.

2. The Wilkes-Barre Workshop

In contrast to the rather lengthy and complex development of the Cambridge program, the Wilkes-Barre program was essentially a one-person creation. The Youth Employment Service (YES) was created by Joey Kelly, a young college graduate, in 1974. She saw the need for an employment-related community service after serving as a field agent for Luzerne County in a statewide research project involving a needs assessment of services for juveniles.

In 1974, Wilkes-Barre had no youth community center where young people between 15 and 21 years would be comfortable "dropping in" to discuss career goals or short-term employment needs. The local CETA office had only recently begun its operations and initially focused its attention on the adult population. Beginning with a "rent-a-kid" program to obtain jobs for young teenagers (12 to 15 years), Kelly sought to expand her program to assist older youth in entering the labor market. Most importantly, she sought to develop a motivational approach that avoided the "coddling" that she attributed to many stipended federal programs.

The Youth Employment Service (YES) was founded with funds from community sources, as well as the Pennsylvania agency charged with dispensing federal Law Enforcement Assistance Agency (LEAA) funds. It was designed to serve in and out-of-school youth in a variety of ways:

- Job placement to help 15-21 year old youth secure part-time temporary or volunteer jobs;
- Career and occupational counseling;
- Job readiness skills workshops, e.g., "how to fill out an application," "how to interview," "how to write a resume"...
- Employment search assistance for youth seeking full-time employment;
- General advocacy.

In 1977 Kelly initiated discussions with the local CETA agency to secure funds for service delivery under CETA subcontract. The negotiations broke down when the CETA agency made clear its intention not to expand its youth services through the new community group. Friction

between the groups persists today. Partially in response, YES directly sought funds from federal officials in the Office of Youth Programs who were looking for a site to demonstrate the effectiveness of job search assistance for low income youth. YES was invited to submit a proposal after extensive federal guidance was provided on a program design that would be compatible with the burgeoning "knowledge development" agenda authorized by YEDPA. After a period of concept design and redesign, it was decided that a non-stipended job search assistance program administered by a community group in Wilkes-Barre for disadvantaged 16 to 21 year olds would make a useful comparison to the CETA stipend approach in Cambridge.

3. Implications of the Origins for JSA Implementation

The Cambridge Job Factory is in the truest sense a "model," having both a record of experimentation and routinization of operations. The Cambridge operators of the Job Factory model welcomed participation in the job search demonstration because it allowed them to extend a standing capacity to deliver a service to greater numbers of disadvantaged youth. Even without the special demonstration funds under YEDPA, COMA may have begun to enroll more youth in CETA Title II-B job search programs. The Job Factory's origins, then, point to a model of implementation that is "iterative." The design was a natural outgrowth of prior program experience and the federal government's role was limited to that of financial support.

In contrast, the origins of the Workshop program in Wilkes-Barre suggest a "top-down" approach to implementation. The founding director originally established an open door, youth-serving agency that offered employment preparation services to youth from all incomes in the community who "dropped" by the program. The funding for the YEDPA demonstration placed three new requirements on YES. First, a program was designed by federal authorities around three principal services to enable research into the various aspects of job search education. Although YES had always provided these services, the three group design imposed a new formality to their rather casual, pre-demonstration service mix. Moreover, the design required the organization to cooperate with an outside research agency; this had the effect of diminishing the program's insularity.

Second, YES had to meet federal income guidelines for economically disadvantaged youth, a difficult task for a community group that had served all referrals and walk-in youth. Third, YES had to comply with a number of federal rules regarding program and financial records. Again, the local program did not have procedures organized to meet these requirements before the YEDPA demonstration. In many respects then, the Workshop's origin foretells a story of "top-down" implementation.

C. Start-up and Enrollment

1. Wilkes-Barre - Workshop

Three weeks after its federal contract was signed, the Workshop enrolled its first participant. This minor delay would not be cause for notice if all subsequent enrollments were on track. However, as Table 3-1 illustrates, the rate of new enrollees each month was below planned levels.

The 18 month contract called for 750 participants or an average of 41.6 youth per month. In the first year, the program enrolled 274 youth or 56 percent of planned enrollment. Each month the Workshop underenrolled, reaching only 32 to 88 percent of planned enrollments. Over the full contract period of 18 months, the Workshop enrolled 401 youth or 53 percent of the planned 750. There are several explanations for the underenrollment.

Much of the early underenrollment problem can be traced to collection of income verification forms. Our interviews and observations indicate that the Wilkes-Barre program was unaccustomed to this new requirement. Before the demonstration project, YES served a mixed income population and was not required to employ income verification procedures.

A second explanation for the underenrollment relates to methods of recruitment. YES records the referral source for each of its participants. Over half of the participants (54 percent) are walk-ins, compared to 29 percent referred from high schools, and 16 percent referred from social service agencies. Clearly, the origins of YES as a "drop-in" center persisted through the demonstration phase.

Program records maintained by YES indicate that one out of three youth contacted through outreach (high schools and social service agencies) ultimately enrolled in the Workshop (184 ÷ 510). Similarly of the walk-ins to the YES program, one in three (217 ÷ 606) enrolled in the Workshop. What happened to the remaining two thirds of the recruited youth? First,

only 59 percent returned the income forms (1116 contacts - 659 returns = 457 no returns). From the pool of completed forms, 62 percent were found eligible by CETA income standards (659 - 409 = 251 ineligible). In sum, of the total recruitment pool (N = 1116), 41 percent did not return income forms and 23 percent were not income eligible. This 64 percent loss from the original recruitment pool signals the difficulty the program had in both reaching and verifying income eligible youth. Put differently, the large recruitment pool contained many youth who were inappropriate for the new job search program. We suspect also that the recruitment effort failed to target low income unemployed youngsters.

At first glance, the recruitment effort for the Workshop appears adequate. Outreach began in May 1979 when two staff members visited a total of nine high schools in the area. Counselors also attended an annual Youth Job Opportunity Fair in the community where an information booth was set up to advertise YES and the Workshop Program. Press releases in local newspapers and radio announcements were also used as a means to attract potential participants to the program. The initial recruitment effort was expected to yield a starting pool of 100 youth. By the end of May, only 46 youth were enrolled in the program.

The recruitment of a large group of youth in the summer proved to be more difficult than was expected. Some high school graduates wanted to "take it easy" before enrolling in a formal job search program. Other youth had already made plans for the summer months. Also, the Workshop, with its special DOL funding, was now in competition with the local CETA agency with its year-round and summer youth employment programs.

Table 3-1

Enrollments

Wilkes-Barre

	Actual	% of Plan*		Actual	% of Plan
May-June 1979	55	____	Jan. 1980	13	32
July	34	83	February	19	46
August	26	63	March	16	39
September	14	34	April	16	39
October	36	88	Sub-total	274	56
November	27	66	May-Oct.31,'80	127	52
December	18	44	Workshop Total	401	53

*Actual ÷ Planned Monthly Constant (N=41)

Unlike the Workshop, the CETA program in Wilkes-Barre offered to pay participants the minimum wage during enrollment in its programs. The YES program had a difficult time competing with this CETA incentive.

Finally, we can speculate that YES may have exaggerated the number of youth it could serve in its funding proposal. It underestimated the difficulty in finding qualified youth to enroll, in part, because the top-down implementation had placed YES more in the role of respondent than initiator of program elements.

2. Cambridge Job Factory

The Job Factory program was divided into five cycles and as a consequence, there are five separate start-ups and enrollments to consider. Also, the research design called for different target groups in each cycle. The first and last cycles were aimed at graduating CETA-eligible high school seniors. The design called for the last cycle to be unstipended. Cycles 2-4 were aimed at unemployed, out-of-school youth--some of whom were to be high school graduates and the others school leavers. Rather than consider all Cambridge cycles together, we first examine cycles 1 and 5 for graduating seniors and then the middle cycles for out-of-school, unemployed youth.

One month after the effective date of the demonstration, COMA began its first Job Factory cycle for graduating seniors. Table 3-2 shows the number of youth recruited, found eligible, the reasons for ineligibility and enrollments as a percent of plan. The first Job Factory program enrolled 44 low income youth, just 12 percent short of the plan.

Table 3-2

Cambridge Job Factory

Recruitment and Enrollment

	Cycle 1 June 1- July22,1979 (Graduating Seniors)	Cycle 2 Oct.12- Nov.9,1979 (Unemployed Youth:Both HS Grad & Dropouts)	Cycle 3 Jan. 25- Feb. 2,1980 (Same as 2)	Cycle 4 Apr. 4- May 2,1980 (Same as 2)	Cycle 5* June 5- July 25, 1980 (Grad.Seniors)
1) Number recruited	150	130	120	120	89
2) Percent applications complete & eligible	53%	81%	63%	58%	29%
3) Percent applications ineligible	47%	19%	36%	42%	71%
4) Reasons for ineligibility in Cycle 2-4 as a percent of ineligible applications					
(a) not returning income statement		28%	39%	17%	
(b) ineligible because in prior Job Factory or control group		20%	15%	33%	
(c) found employment before day 1 of program		12%	34%		
(d) above income		20%			
(e) other/unknown		20%	12%	50%	
5) N in Exp. (Day 2)	44	56	38	36	26
(a) % HS Graduates		40%	34%	42%	
(b) % Dropouts		59%	66%	57%	
6) N in control	35	39	38	34	Not assigned
7) Planned Participant Enrollment	50	50	50	50	100

Table 3-2 (Continued)

8) Did enrollment of dropouts reach 50 percent.	Yes	Yes	Yes	
9) Percent of Plan (Line 5 ÷ 7*	88%	112%	72%	26%

NOTE: Average enrollment was 66 percent of plan; cycles 1 and 5, 47 percent of plan; cycles 2-4, 87 percent of plan.

Enrollment data from researcher's intake/exit form (IPP) Recruitment data from program records and cycle progress reports to Department of Labor.

Working with the Cambridge School Department and the Cambridge Youth Resource Bureau, a recruitment program was initiated through two fully staffed outreach stations located at two Cambridge high schools. The recruitment campaign included:

- o Three separate letters (with program brochures) sent to homes of graduating seniors;
- o Newspaper stories in Cambridge and Boston newspapers;
- o Special contacts with all local social agencies who had communications with low income families;
- o Contacts with Cambridge private schools whose student bodies included low income youth;
- o Staff presentations at Cambridge Rindge Latin High School;
- o Posters throughout high school buildings, housing projects, teen recreational, and "hang-out" locations. Posters promoted the financial incentive through slogans..."Take our money, please...$520 to find a job..."
- o Staff presentations to senior civics classes. Presentation at a final "Senior Assembly" of the academic year;
- o Front page news story in the final edition of a student newspaper for academic year;
- o An offer of a $2.00 "bonus" to all seniors who complete the application process.

Even the most aggressive recruitment campaigns, however, frequently confront unanticipated circumstances. First, the School Department grossly overestimated the number of graduating seniors who were income eligible for Cycle 1. It is conceivable that they misunderstood income eligibility standards for CETA programs in part because their involvement in local CETA programs had been limited in the past. Second, COMA counselors discovered in the fir

cycle campaign that they were in competition with one other CETA program, the Summer Youth Employment Program. They reported that the youths' primary questions about the two programs were concerned with payment. "What day do we get paid?" "Do we get paid for lunch hours?" "If I get a job early, do I get paid throughout the rest of the program?" Youth rarely made a choice on the basis of program content. Furthermore, our observations reveal that a number of youth never chose one program over another. They entered the Job Factory program in June 1979 while awaiting selection for SYEP in July. Interviews with counselors suggest that the reason for this was the program's "hard sell" recruitment effort with its "Take our money, please" slogan. Many counselors had mixed emotions over the use of bonus payments and stipends to get youth enrolled. In any case, the mixing of job search assistance and the summer program has obvious implications for the analysis of post-program outcomes in Chapter IV. Third, a number of qualified applicants made clear to our observers that they planned to enter educational institutions in the fall. To them, the recruitment stipulation "looking for full time, permanent employment" did not constitute a barrier to participation. In fact, COMA knew of their educational plans and did not deny participation for that reason.

Cycle 5 was also to serve graduating seniors, but the original design called for the program not to offer stipends. Experience with recruitment in Cycle 5 illustrates the importance of CETA minimum wage incentives and the difficulty operators have in functioning without this "carrot."

The recruitment tactics utilized for Cycle 5 were as vigorous as those employed in Cycle I; however, the results of recruitment were poor. At the close of the initial recruitment period, 10 complete and 14 incomplete applications had been received. A poll taken of the few senior year applicants found that half had heard of the Job Factory. Most were in school as juniors the prior year and had friends or relatives who had participated in the program. All of those familiar with the program knew that youth had been paid to participate in the past. As noted previously, past recruitment campaigns had stressed this element.

Clearly, the unstipended phase of the Cycle 5 program was a failure. Cycle 5 began with only 3 clients on June 5, 1980. On the second day, 2 of the 3 young people left the program. The third remained in contact with Job Factory staff until he found a full-time job. The COMA progress report for that cycle (dated May 1980) states, "it was our hope to keep the recruitment period open through June 4, 1980 to get as close to 100 applicants for experimental group status as possible" and places the blame for under-enrollment to the fact that, "all those familiar with the program knew that everyone else had been paid to do it (. . . Take Our Money, Please) even though this cycle was "sold" as a unique new service..." Following the unstipended experiment, COMA ran a stipended cycle "phase" which is reported in Table 3-2. The latter was implemented rapidly without significant implementation hurdles, much like the earlier Cycle I.

Analysis of the recruitment associated with Cycles 2-4 for unemployed high school graduates and drop-outs shows that the operators used the techniques of Cycles 1 and 5 with the exception of substituting lists of names from high schools for names submitted by community agencies serving low-income youth. Implementation of the programs proceeded evenly and without special events.

Three informal polls were conducted of applicants in Cycles 2-4 to determine the most common referral source to the program. Unlike Wilkes-Barre, where over half the recruitment pool are "walk-ins," the Job Factory youth responded to individual letters of invitation and acquaintance with previous program participants.

D. Participation in Treatments

The Job Factory program in Cambridge is a four week program that, by design, succeeds when youth find work and leave the program. As noted previously, the first week of the program is the most structured phase, followed by job search, feedback, and review of systematic job search skills. Positive terminations in the first week of the program were not uncommon. In contrast, the Workshop in Wilkes-Barre did not enroll youths for full days of treatment. Rather, youth came in for half-days, after school or in the evenings to receive counseling, job placement services, or to participate in the job search skills workshops, depending on their assignments to Groups 1-3. The only structured group activity was the workshop. These were scheduled when a number of youth in Groups 2-3 could be brought together, usually in the evenings. Because of the individualized approach in Wilkes-Barre, and a rolling enrollment policy, YES arbitrarily fixed active participation to three months post-application (or less, if youth terminated positively by accepting employment).

1. The Cambridge Job Factory

a. Attendance Procedures

Attendance was monitored quite closely in Cambridge as a matter of policy. One reason, of course, was to determine how many hours youth should be paid for participating in the Job Factory. A detailed monitoring system drawing on daily attendance records, logs of activity, and a computer system tied to the prime sponsor were used for this purpose. When

attendance problems were noted, individual letters were sent to participants' homes. On several occasions; mini Job Factory sessions were scheduled for youth who missed parts of the Job Factory due to flu epidemics or other reasons. The make-up sessions had strong requirements for attendance and punctuality. Youth were told that the special sessions were an alternative to termination. Finally, communications with youth who were in the process of withdrawing from the program or going "inactive" were recorded in short memoranda and discussed fully by the Job Factory staff.

b. Hours of Participation

Table 3-3 shows that the mean hours per participant spent in each cycle average 83. The fewest hours were spent in Cycle 3, followed by Cycle 4. The two cycles serving high school graduates enroll youth for nearly the same length of time, 87 to 89 hours.[5] In each cycle, except Cycle 3, over half of the participants stayed in the program two weeks--long enough to participate in the first week's structured activities and a second week of actual job search. In Cycle 3 most youth (63 percent) were in the program over 60 hours.

We explored a number of participant characteristics; sex, age, race, family status, economic status and educational background, to determine whether any were related significantly to hours of participation. Also, two separate ratings by counselors of the youth--one, a general assessment of the young job seeker and the other an assessment of relevant employment barriers (described fully in Appendix D)--were examined in terms of hours

[5] These data on hours of participation were recorded by the researchers and program staff on an exit form (IPP). The data are validated by the following estimation procedure: the Job Factory paid $59,343 in allowances ($3.10 per hour) to 200 youth. On an 8 hour per day basis, the average participant spent 95 hours in the Job Factory, or 12 days. However, we know that many youth who found jobs in the first weeks of each cycle received a bonus payment equal to two days of participation. If we assume that 50 percent of all participants received the bonus this would mean that, on the average, the typical program participant spent approximately 11 days in the program--88 hours.

Table 3-3

Cambridge Job Factory Participation In Hours - In Percents

Hours	Cycle I	Cycle 2	Cycle 3	Cycle 4	Cycle 5
1-8	5.3	2.1	8.7	3.1	___
9-25	7.9	4.2	8.6	3.1	7.6
26-42	5.2	12.7	17.2	9.3	3.8
43-59	7.8	8.5	2.9	15.6	7.6
60-76	15.6	14.7	17.3	18.7	7.6
77-93	10.6	12.8	11.6	12.4	30.6
94-110	2.6	19.1	8.7	18.7	11.4
111-127	18.3	10.6	5.8	9.3	19.0
128-144	13.0	6.4	8.7	3.1	11.4
145-161	13.1	4.2	5.8	3.1	___
162-169	___	4.2	2.9	3.1	___
Mean Hours	88.7	85.7	70.4	80.2	86.7
Number	38	47	35	32	26

Source: The Individual Participant Profile. Entries verified by participant-observer.

of participation. In Cambridge, no significant statistical relationships were identified except for one. Forty seven percent of the youth identified by counselors as having a medical or psychological health barrier to "getting or keeping a job" were in the program a long time (94-169 hours) and fewer (only 3 percent) were in a short time (1-25 hours). It is not a surprising finding that youth identified by staff as having a health-related employment barrier were in the program longer than those without such a barrier. Appendix D will consider whether significant relationships exist between such employment barriers and obtaining jobs.

2. The Wilkes-Barre Workshop

In Wilkes-Barre, the program operators found that providing adequate treatments to all eligible youth was the most difficult aspect of implementation. The scheduling of individual counseling sessions was not a difficult chore. However, the group activity, job search skills workshops were difficult to schedule. When workshops were scheduled, they frequently served fewer youth at a time (usually 2-3) than originally planned, and in many instances, workshops were not given at all. The third service, the job bank placement service, was not effectively delivered to many youth.

a. Job Counseling

Table 3-4 below summarizes much of the data on the number of treatments received by Wilkes-Barre youth in the Workshop. Counseling services were delivered to all active youth. On the average, there were nearly six sessions per participant. The numbers in Table 3-4 show that

Table 3-4

Workshop Service Mix

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Total
I Number	138	140	123	401
II Job Career Counseling *				
a) Average Number of Sessions	5.2	6.8	5.7	5.9
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
b) Percent Receiving Sessions 1	01	03	08	04
2-4	47	21	38	36
5-7	36	39	31	35
8-11	10	26	10	15
12-16	05	--	--	--
12-18	--	11	13	10
III Placement Skills Workshops *				
Percent				
No workshops	Not Assigned	39%	39%	39%
1 workshop		85%	66%	76%
2 workshops		13	25	18
3 workshops		02	04	03
4 workshops		--	05	02
average number of workshops		1.2	1.5	1.3
IV Interviews Through Job Placement Service *				
Percent				
No interviews	21%	30%	Not Assigned	26%
1 interview	53%	55%		56%
2 interviews	27	32		29
3 interviews	09	06		07
4-5 interviews	07	03		05
6-7 interviews	02	04		02
8 interviews	01	--		--
12 interviews	01	--		1
average number of interviews	1.9	1.8		1.9

(Continue Table 3-4 on next page)

Table 3-4 Cont'd

V.

Percent Spending Hours:**	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1-10	69.7	62.1	59.1
11-20	5.7	9.0	8.8
21-30	0.8	0.8	0.9
31-40	___	___	___
41-50	___	___	___
51-60	0.8	___	2.3
61-70	3.2	3.8	6.2
71-80	8.1	0.8	5.2
81-90	4.0	4.7	9.4
91-100	4.8	4.6	2.7
101-110	0.8	3.1	1.7
111-120	___	4.7	2.7
121-130	0.8	2.4	___
130-180	0.8	4.0	0.9
Mean Hours	26.0	35.0	31.3
Number	122	132	115

* Data provided by program operator to researchers and reported in program progress reports.

** Hours of participation recorded on Individual Participant Profile (IPP).

a few youth received 12 or more sessions in each treatment group; but overall, most youth received between two and seven sessions. Although there was random assignment to each treatment group, the number of counseling sessions per participant can be compared across groups to get a rough picture of where the most counseling took place. On that basis, Group 2 and then Group 3 show the highest concentration of youth receiving career counseling. Our interviews with counselors in Wilkes-Barre suggest that counselors felt unanimously that the individual counseling was the most helpful aspect of the program.

b. Job Search Workshops

The program feature in the Workshop that was most closely tied to job search assistance was the "job search skills workshops" in resume writing, search procedures, and interview skills. The workshops were not given to 39 percent of all eligible youth. Our interviews suggest that the YES operators had considerable difficulty in attracting youth back to the program for this group activity. The principal reasons were related to scheduling. Many youth were not motivated to return after school for workshop sessions. Evenings were seen as "free time," and some youth complained that the cost of bus transportation or parking outweighed participation. Several counselors told our interviewers that the lack of financial incentive contributed significantly to the failure of youth to participate in the workshops. Among youth who did return for the job search skills workshops, three quarters took only one workshop--18 percent participated in two workshops--while a few youth took three or four workshops.

c. Job Placement Services

There is no direct evidence on the number of youth who were given the job placement. Our interviews suggest that this feature was frequently tied to the counseling sessions and job search skills workshops. Program records provide the number of interviews that youth obtained who received job placement. The research design did not permit this service to be offered to youth assigned to Group 3. However, one in four youth in the other groups did not obtain even one interview as part of the job placement service. Over half of the interviewed youth (56 percent) got only one interview, while 29 percent got at least two interviews.

We can only speculate whether the job information in the job bank is useful or out-of-date for the young job seeker. The YES program reports that throughout their contract period, they contacted 425 prospective employers; 280 responded with job orders (66 percent)--a quite decent job development effort. The problem is that the Wilkes-Barre program does little to supervise the actual job search process. The program's highly individualized approach makes follow-up and supervision of job search effort difficult. Moreover, our interviews with youth and counselors indicate that the placement (job bank) feature of the program was particularly diffuse, and essentially organized by the youths themselves. For example, YES reports that only 51 youth took advantage of the 280 job orders received through YES job development. Expressed as a percentage of [illegible]th in Groups 1 and 2 who went out for interviews, the 51 job orders filled means that 25 percent of all youth interviewing can be attributed to program job development; 75 percent of the interviewing was with employers found by the youths themselves.

d. Time in Program

Based on the preceding information on the service mix in the Workshop, the amount of direct service time spent by youth in the Workshop program can be estimated. As noted previously, an estimate is necessary because the Workshop does not accurately record active service time for participants. Rather, the program considers youth "active" for up to three months after program exit; "exit" is defined on a case by case basis by the operators. On the average, each counseling session is equal to an hour of program time. Another hour should be added for the time associated with obtaining one job interview from the job placement service. Finally, the typical Workshop participant took one 90 minute workshop. On the average, then, a youth assigned to Group 2 spent approximately 9½ hours in the program (seven hours of counseling plus one hour interview plus 1½ hours in workshops). The typical youth in Group 3 spent approximately 7½ hours in direct service time. Youth in Group 1 participated in about six hours of the program.

Time spent in the program is available on an exit form by the program operator (as noted earlier, definitions employed varied on a client by client basis). The records for 369 youth correspond closely to the latter estimates upon close examination (see Table 3-4). Although the means of hours spent in the program were high (in Group 1 it was 26 hours, Group 2, 35 hours, and in Group 3, 31 hours), the medians are low. The reason is that the distributions of hours spent in each group were extremely skewed. Between 60 to 70 percent of each group spent only one

to ten hours in the program. Another 8 percent spent between 11 and 20 hours in the Wilkes-Barre program. There is some evidence that the operator did not directly service the remaining 30 percent of youth for the indicated hours in Table 3-4 and that in many instances time spent exclusively on research questionnaires or administration was counted as program hours. In any case, our conclusion is that in Wilkes-Barre the time spent in the program by participants was quite limited. Typically, it adds up to one and one half days of service time. Finally, we examined data to determine whether hours of participation varied by background characteristics of participants (e.g., sex, race, family status, economic status, and educational background) or with the counselor ratings and assessments of employment barriers. The only significant relationship (by chi squares with significant tests) was found for high school graduates. More high school graduates were in the program longer than non-high school graduates.

e. Participants' Experiences in the Programs

In this section, data are presented showing the young participants' evaluations of the two job search assistance programs. The responses come from a survey administered when youth left the programs (the Program Completion Survey).

Table 3-5 shows the most frequently mentioned job search assistance services in Cambridge in terms of the participants' assessments of whether they learned a great deal, liked the services very much, and found the services very helpful. From the participants' perspectives, skills that

teach how to prepare a resume are seen as the most valuable and enjoyable form of job search assistance. Mock interview practice appears second on the list of helpful aspects of job search training. It was also an enjoyable experience for many of the young job seekers. Contacting and arranging interviews with potential employers as well as personal job-related counseling round out the list of activities that the young persons found enjoyable, helpful and educational. Somewhat lower on the lists were group discussions. Finally, personal counseling about non-work themes is placed low on the Cambridge lists because this element is not a formal or important aspect of the Cambridge service mix.

In Wilkes-Barre, the rankings correspond closely to our previous descriptions of the Workshop program. The Workshop was primarily an individual employment counseling program, although counseling about "general things in life" also played an important role in terms of what youth enjoyed and found helpful. Beyond counseling, youth indicated a preference for actual interview and job contact elements. In sharp contrast to Cambridge, a tangible skill, such as resume writing, was last on the Wilkes-Barre list. Group activities were rated moderate to low in value by the Pennsylvania youth. These data round out the picture of the Wilkes-Barre community program as a "drop-in" counseling type of program, rather than a narrowly focused job search training program.

Finally, we asked a number of questions that probed general feelings about the programs. Overall, the vast majority of youth in both programs indicated that they got along well with the staff and other youngsters. Only a few youth in both programs indicated that they disliked the job search programs.

Table 3-5A

RANK ORDER OF CAMBRIDGE JOB FACTORY SERVICE MIX
(By Number of Youth Who Indicate Each)

Service	Learned a Great Deal	Most Helpful	Liked Very Much
Resume Writing	(1)	(1)	(1)
Contacting Potential Employers	(2)	(3)	(4)
Interview with Potential Employers	(3)	(5)	(5)
Mock Interviews	(4)	(2)	(3)
Personal Job-Related Counseling	(5)	(4)	(2)
Group discussion of the "world-of-work"	(6)	(8)	(8)
Group review of past-work experiences	(7)	(6)	(6)
Personal Counseling about General Things in life	(8)	(7)	(7)

Table 3-5B

RANK ORDER OF WILKES-BARRE WORKSHOP SERVICE MIX

(By Number of Youth Who Indicate Each)

Service	Learned a Great Deal	Most Helpful	Liked Very Much
Resume Writing	(8)	(8)	(8)
Contacting potential employers	(2)	(4)	(3)
Interviews with potential employers	(3)	(3)	(4)
Mock Interviews	(6)	(7)	(7)
Personal Job-Related Counseling	(1)	(1)	(1)
Group discussion of the "world-of-work	(5)	(6)	(5)
Group review of past-work experiences	(7)	(5)	(6)
Personal Counseling about General Things in life	(4)	(2)	(2)

f. Personnel

1. Job Factory - Cambridge

The executive leadership in the Cambridge program was quite sophisticated by CETA standards. The original director of COMA was a former director of the National Alliance of Businessmen and had extensive experience in administration and personnel in the private sector. His collaborator in founding the Job Factory was a private manpower consultant with considerable experience as the personnel director for a large manufacturer. Together they strengthened prior linkages in the community with social service agencies, business, and schools during the operation of the Job Factory.

The effective utilization of personal networks to make the local organizational infrastructure work, to link persons and organizations together, helps to account for the relatively smooth implementation of the Job Factory program. For example, in the first cycle, the consultant served as acting program coordinator; two staff members were borrowed from the Cambridge Economic Opportunity Committee (CEOC), a COMA-CETA subcontractor to serve as counselors; an associate of the consultant was hired as a counselor; and, the director of COMA reassigned a CETA staff person to serve as a counselor.

The COMA director was a persuasive executive. He motivated, for example, the counselors in the first cycles by promising that they would eventually participate in consultations to export the Job Factory model throughout the CETA system. Counselors' expectations of future financial

rewards were not always met and eventually contributed to morale problems. In the short run, however, this strategy proved quite effective. The COMA director also paid little attention to the day-to-day "front-line" aspects of the program. He was able to successfully delegate this authority to the Job Factory manager. In addition, he was able to retain the skills of the private consultant who served as a "fixer," a person who makes repairs and adjustments to keep a program on track, troubleshoot, see to the details of curriculum development, assign counselors, and the like. In sum, the CETA director fits the description of a "mover," who was able to delegate and get the Job Factory off the ground. Eventually, he moved himself out of his job to a new challenge in Washington, D.C.

Support staff can play a very important role in implementation. As noted previously, the counselors in the first cycle of the Job Factory were on loan from CEOC. There is some evidence that they were not enthusiastic about participating in the JSA program. They did not volunteer for the new assignment and resented somewhat their new COMA supervisors. Our interviews with them reveal that two counselors preferred working with adults and felt that the youth Job Factory model was "chaotic" and less effective than other training programs for youth. After the first cycle, the staff was let go and a permanent Job Factory manager with prior experience in CETA operations, private industry employment and adult Job Factory programs was hired. The manager, with the COMA director and the private consultant, hired several full-time counselors.

The new Job Factory manager and staff comprised a diversity of background and talent. The manager was a minority female. Among the five person staff, one counselor was Hispanic and another was a black male with over ten years' experience in personnel, mostly in the private sector. A third counselor had two years of experience as an employment counselor. A fourth counselor was fluent in Spanish, yet had limited experience as a CETA counselor. The fifth counselor was a female with two years experience as a counselor/planner at a youth advocacy center. This staff was generally more knowledgeable of the objectives of job search assistance than the Cycle 1 personnel, and expressed to our interviewers considerably more satisfaction with their jobs.

2. The Wilkes-Barre Workshop

The origins of the Workshop, described previously, demonstrate that the program was entirely the creative product of one person's effort. Unfortunately, the executive had difficulty in translating that creativity into a stable program. She encountered serious difficulties in the personnel area. Under considerable time pressure, three full-time counselors were hired for the demonstration, while a research coordinator was "borrowed" from the regular YES employment program. Two of the counselors were recent graduates of Wilkes College. One had a graduate degree in education and psychology. None had specific experience in job search assistance or group work with teenagers. All were expected to work in the new demonstration as well as regular YES activities for above income-eligible youth.

In the first year of program operation, the Workshop experienced considerable personnel turnover. Most significantly, the founding director of YES left Wilkes-Barre in March 1980 to work for the Department of Labor. In Cambridge, there was a sophisticated staff who was able to respond to the departure of the executive. In Wilkes-Barre, the departure of the Workshop director marked the beginning of an unraveling of the organization.

The YES founding director was replaced by the assistant director who had worked at YES for two years. Now serving as acting director, he was severely limited in his ability to operate the agency for several reasons. First, he had to defer to instructions from his employer (now in Washington) even though her ability to keep up-to-date was severely limited by distance. Second, the YES board of trustees began to fill the void of leadership, exerting itself where it hadn't before, and forming factions over program goals and personnel issues. Some board members were loyal to the acting director, while others were loyal to the founder. Unable to make key personnel decisions and general agency policy, the acting director lost face with staff and outside agencies who wondered who was running the program. Morale among counselors suffered due to the growing confusion over lines of communication and authority. The morale problem was exacerbated by frequent staff turnover.

The original staff in May 1979 was the Executive Director, Assistant Director, three counselors and one research coordinator.

Four months into the program, the research coordinator was fired. A counselor became the interim part-time research coordinator but resigned seven months into the program. Another counselor became acting research coordinator part-time, and counselor the rest of her time, until January 1980 when she became full-time coordinator. Three new persons were hired in December-January 1980; a part-time research coordinator; a new counselor; and a new job developer for the agency. The job developer was soon fired and the new counselor took her place, after sharing the responsibility for a short time with the two other counselors.

In sum, counselors in charge of program operations were switched back and forth to administrative positions, creating confusion and instability throughout the program. Moreover, interviews with the staff show that they universally preferred direct service time to administrative details related to the demonstration. Finally, the growing gap between the executive and counselor salaries was a source of dissatisfaction recorded in our interviews. Toward the end of the contract period, the founding director made arrangements to return to the program and the acting director left the agency. As of the writing of this study, the Workshop must answer a number of questions and conditions from its federal funder regarding future support.

g. Conclusion

The two job search assistance programs were conceived, developed, and shaped by entirely different circumstances. The Cambridge Job Factory used federal funds to modify an existing program model that in the pre-demonstration phase had undergone considerable experimentation and refinement. The demonstration funding did not create special constraints on the sponsor organization, partially because the latter was the source for the demonstration program design. In contrast, the origins of the Wilkes-Barre Workshop illustrate a "top-down" model of implementation in which federal requirements, ranging from program design to recordkeeping, were followed with considerable difficulty. Almost overnight, the Workshop was required to switch from an "open-door" youth-serving community agency to a formal employment program for disadvantaged youth. Not surprisingly, the program was changed substantially from the time it was initially proposed. Once initiated, the Workshop did not run smoothly. The process study identified the following difficulties in the Workshop's implementation:

- underenrollment by nearly half the proposed number of youth served
- difficulty in income verification
- recruitment methods based on an over-reliance on "walk-ins"
- recruitment difficulties traced to the fact that YES did not offer stipends for participation
- the failure to deliver all planned services to the appropriate participants--39 percent of assigned youth did not receive job search skill workshops while 25 percent of assigned youth did not participate in one job interview as part of the job placement service
- total direct service time was extremely limited and typically was less than 10 hours

- personnel experienced frequent turnover and disruptive reassignments; the organization lacked effective executive leadership during much of the demonstration

- young participants generally enjoyed and rated as helpful those aspects of the Workshop program that were stressed in the service mix, such as counseling and actual job search; however, tangible elements of job search training, such as resume writing preparation, were not enjoyed or valued by the Wilkes-Barre youth

The Cambridge Job Factory operated more smoothly than the Wilkes-Barre program, but it was not without implementation difficulties. In particular, the process study reveals that:

- Cycles that were designed to serve low income graduating seniors were the most difficult to implement. Local school systems overestimated the universe of need; other programs operated in the summer months that were attractive alternatives to the job search programs; many seniors disguised their intentions to return to school and were only temporarily unemployed.

- The importance of stipends for job search participation was dramatically revealed by the failure of the Cambridge program to operate an unstipended cycle of the Job Factory. Recruitment improved rapidly once the decision to pay participants the minimum wage for "working" in the Job Factory was resumed.

- In contrast to the cycles for graduating seniors, cycles that were designed to serve youth most in need--unemployed youth, both high school graduates and drop-outs--reached 87 percent of planned enrollments and actually overenrolled the targeted number of drop-outs.

- Much of the effective implementation of the Job Factory cycles can be traced to the executive leadership of the sponsoring organization; to the utilization of a private consultant to get the early program initiated; to effective ties with community resources; and, to a stable and motivated staff.

The preceding difficulties in Wilkes-Barre are by no means unique to job search assistance programs. In fact, a rather positive conclusion is that many of the documented difficulties in the Workshop are not easily traced to the job search assistance concept. Most of Wilkes-Barre's problems were due to the suddenness and newness associated with participation.

in a national demonstration. Also, many of the Workshop's problems were to be expected since any new program, job search or otherwise, will likely face major start-up difficulties. Unfortunately, in the case of Wilkes-Barre, our evidence was collected during the program's first year of operation of a formal job search assistance program for low income youth. Therefore, caution must be exercised in intepreting the results of the impacts in the next chapter since the Wilkes-Barre program was clearly not yet operating efficiently. It is unfortunate that most experimental programs must be evaluated during this uncertain phase of development.

The Cambridge program is a useful comparison since its operators had considerable experience in dealing with the federal government, researchers, and prior programs of job search assistance. The implementation of the Cambridge program yields more insights for the replication of job search assistance than in Wilkes-Barre. The process story regarding services for graduating seniors; unstipended approaches versus stipends; attracting drop-outs to job search assistance; the ability of job search programs to improve and learn over time; and the importance of leadership and trained staff are all topics of considerable importance to planners intent on expanding job search assistance programs to disadvantaged youth. Whether the programs actually work in terms of a number of outcomes is the topic considered in the next chapter.

Chapter IV

The Impact Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the impacts of job search assistance programs (JSA) in the Cambridge and Wilkes-Barre sites on the job seeking behavior of youth. Considering possible short-run impacts, the first question is whether the programs made a difference in the rate of job finding. Successful job finding, however, is sufficiently pervasive, even among youth, that a more pointed question is whether the program speeded up the process of finding a job.[1] Now suppose that a program does succeed in getting youth into jobs more quickly. This may be a favorable outcome, but to be sure, we must examine the quality of the jobs found. The quick results may come because youth are prematurely pushed into worse jobs, but alternatively, the JSA may have a double benefit of not only helping youth to find jobs quickly, but also helping them to find better jobs. We shall examine several dimensions of quality, such as wage rate, hours worked, earnings, and the rate of leaving the job.

Given the shortness of our period of observation, we cannot test directly whether these programs have effects that will persist on a long-run basis (over one year). However, we can obtain indirect information by examining the mechanisms by which JSA affects job search behavior. Knowing

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[1] For evidence on the patterns of job finding among youth over time, see Borus, Michael, et al., "Pathways to the Future: A Longitudinal Study of Young Americans--Preliminary Report," Center for Human Resource Research. Ohio State University. January 1980.

how JSA works can also be useful in designing the structure for a JSA program. One possible channel of effect is that JSA may transform the work-related attitudes of youth in a way that makes them more effective in finding (and perhaps, also in keeping) jobs. If attitudes are beneficially changed, an effect from the program is likely to persist beyond the initial spell of unemployment. We shall use measures of attitudes and knowledge areas developed by the Educational Testing Service (ETS). (These are described in Section C and Appendix E.)

A second channel of effect is that the JSA may teach youth valuable skills related to job finding (and perhaps job holding). If so, these skills are also likely to survive, producing benefits from the program that persist into the future. While we do not have good measures of search skills, we can look at the job finding techniques actually used by youth to see if the program makes any difference in these.

One additional channel of effect is that the JSA may induce or pressure youth to search more intensively. These three channels are by no means mutually exclusive. They could even reinforce each other, if, for example, improved attitudes led to more intensive search. However, it is conceivable that increased intensity is the only channel of effect. It is the channel least likely to produce lasting effects (beyond the experience that comes from searching for and holding jobs which is attributable only indirectly to the program). It may be that the effects of this channel alone are sufficiently impressive, that one would want to consider how to structure the JSA to provide the greatest inducement to youth to increase the intensity of their search.

The first section of this chapter will introduce the experimental design. The second will present our results on job finding rates and job quality. The next two sections will consider channels of effect, with Section C concentrating on attitudes and Section D on search techniques and the intensity of search. Section E will present the costs of the programs while Section F will summarize what we have learned about their benefits. Background information on the youth in our samples and on labor market characteristics of Cambridge and Wilkes-Barre may be found in Appendix A and B. Appendix E describes the timing of research surveys. Appendix F contains numerous tables of interest that are supplemental to the major effects described in this chapter.

A. Experimental Design

The study was able to structure an experimental design with random assignment among applicants to experiment and control groups in four out of five cycles of the Cambridge program (with procedures to assure equivalent distribution by age, sex, and ethnicity). All youth were CETA eligible. The first cycle served graduating seniors in the last days of their senior year; Cycles 2-4 served unemployed youth, some with and others without high school diplomas. Cycle 5 served graduating seniors again.

As noted in the previous chapters, the Wilkes-Barre design did not allow for a control group of non-treatment youth. Instead, the researchers randomly assigned participants upon program entrance to one of three treatment groups. Each group was designed to represent a different level of directed job search. Group 1 received job career counseling and job placement services (a type of job bank listing). Group 2 received job career counseling, job placement services and special job search skills workshops. Group 3 received job career counseling, and the special workshops. Participants in Group 3 were, however, encouraged to find jobs on their own, since they did not receive the job listings in the placement service component. These components are summarized schematically in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1

Components of Wilkes-Barre Treatments

Wilkes-Barre Experimental Design
(Random Assignment)

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Individual Job/Career Counseling	Yes	Yes	Yes
Job Search Skills Workshops	No	Yes	Yes
Job Placement Service	Yes	Yes	No

B. Results on Job Finding

This section presents our results on the extent and timing of job finding and on the characteristics of jobs found.

1. Job Finding Rate

The job finding rate is the proportion of people in a sample who find jobs during some interval of time. The first purpose of this section is to test whether JSA treatments make a difference in the extent of job finding. We shall examine whether job finding rates differ between groups receiving different (or no) JSA treatments over comparable time intervals. Second, the section will examine whether JSA treatments reduced the time taken to find a job. Our study of timing is facilitated by our use of multiple post-program follow-up interviews with persons. Thus for any treatment control group, we can measure the job finding rate from the time of enrollment to the first follow-up and again to the time of each of the succeeding follow-ups. (We always use the time of enrollment as the beginning of these intervals.) By comparing rates across treatment groups for successively longer time intervals, we can learn about the timing of treatment effect.

Table 4-2 presents the job finding rates as of the time of each follow-up interview. For Cambridge the rates are presented separately for each cycle, and within cycles for experimental and control groups. For Wilkes-Barre, the rates are presented separately for each treatment group. The rate as of the first follow-up measures the proportion who found jobs between the beginning of the program and the first post-program interview. The rate at the second follow-up measures job finding from the same beginning point, but up to the second follow-up. The difference in

Table 4-2

Job Finding Rates

(Expressed as percents, with sample sizes given in parentheses)

Cambridge

	Ave. No. of Weeks After Enrollment	Cycle I May 29- June 22, 1979		Cycle II Oct 12- Nov 9,1979		Cycle III Jan 25- Feb 22,1980		Cycle IV Apr 4- May 2, 1980		Cycle V June 5- July 28,1980	All Cycles Combined		All Follow-ups Complete	
		Exp	Cont	Exp	Cont	Exp	Cont	Exp	Cont	Exp	Exp	Cont	Exp	Cont
Rate at 1st follow-up	10.5	62.9 (35)	40.0 (30)	61.0 (41)	44.4 (27)	74.1 (27)	60.0 (20)	70.0 (10)	55.6 (9)	50.0 (16)	63.6 (129)	47.7 (86)	56.1 (41)	36.7 (30)
Rate at 2nd follow-up	26.5	75.8 (33)	71.4 (28)	71.9 (32)	60.0 (15)	88.9 (18)	92.3 (13)				77.1 (83)	73.2 (56)	68.3 (41)	73.3 (30)
Rate at 3rd follow-up	37.5	80.6 (31)	80.0 (25)	77.8 (27)	75.0 (16)						79.3 (58)	78.0 (41)	75.6 (41)	76.7 (30)
Rate at 4th follow-up	45.4	83.3 (30)	84.2 (19)	73.9 (23)	78.6 (14)						79.2 (53)	81.8 (33)	78.0 (41)	80.0 (30)

(Continued on next page.)

Table 4-2 (Continued)

Job Finding Rates

(Expressed as percents, with sample sizes given in parentheses)

Wilkes-Barre

	Ave. No. of Weeks After Enrollment	Group I	Group II	Group III	All Groups Combined	All Follow-ups Complete Group I	Group II	Group III
Rate from PCI	9.4	70.7 (58)	70.8 (72)	70.8 (65)				
Rate at 1st follow-up	24.1	77.4 (53)	68.9 (61)	76.0 (50)	73.8 (164)	80.8 (26)	60.9 (23)	73.7 (19)
Rate at 2nd follow-up	38.7	89.5 (38)	90.2 (41)	84.2 (38)	88.0 (117)	88.5 (26)	82.6 (23)	78.9 (19)
Rate at 3rd follow-up	47.9	92.3 (26)	83.3 (24)	89.5 (19)	88.4 (69)	92.3 (26)	87.0 (23)	89.5 (19)

job finding rates between the second and first follow-ups thus measures the proportion who found jobs between the first and second follow-ups and similarly for successive follow-ups.

Considering now the results for Cambridge, the job finding rate as of the first follow-up was substantially higher for the Experimental group than for the Control group. This was true for each cycle (except Cycle 5 where there was no control group), with the differences between Experimental and Control groups ranging from a high of .229 for Cycle 1 to a low of .141 in Cycle 3, all sizeable. That is, between 14 and 23 percent more of the sample found jobs by the time of the first follow-up if they participated in the Experimental treatment. Over all cycles, the difference in rates was .159.

In contrast to the large effect of the Experimental treatment up to the first follow-up, the difference in job finding rates is much smaller for subsequent follow-ups. Job finding rates rise for both the Experimental and Control groups as one moves down each column to successive follow-ups, but there is a bigger spurt in job finding in the Control group after the first follow-up so that the Experiment-Control difference diminishes. For those cycles having fourth follow-ups, the cumulative job finding record of the Control group is actually slightly better than that of the Experimental group.

There is a possible problem in these numbers in that there was substantial attrition in our sample beyond the first follow-up (see Appendix E, Table A-9). Thus, it is conceivable that the change between the first and fourth follow-ups could reflect differences in attrition patterns rather than changes in job finding experiences. To examine this possibility, we restrict

attention to those who completed all four follow-ups, and present their job finding rates in the last column of Table 4-2 (aggregated across cycles because the sample size is now small). The pattern in job finding rates is still similar even though there is no attrition within this subsample. In particular, there is a big difference in the job finding rate up to the first follow-up, but the difference diminishes subsequently, becoming negligible by the time of the fourth follow-up.

Table 4-3 presents the number finding their first post-enrollment job between successive follow-ups for Cambridge. Since variations in sample size by follow-up could distort these results, attention is restricted just to those who completed all follow-ups. This table shows more clearly the difference in timing between experimental and control groups. A majority of those in the experimental group found jobs by the time of the first follow-up (roughly 11 weeks after enrolling) in comparison to only a little more than a third for the control group. For the control group, job finding is spread fairly evenly up to the second follow-up (roughly 15 weeks later), while for the experimental group it is concentrated more heavily before the first. In both cases, however, close to 70 percent of the samples find jobs by the time of the second follow-up with only a trickle of first jobs later. Thus, the vast majority of job finding for both groups takes place within 27 weeks, but there is relatively greater concentration of job finding among those in the experimental group within the first 11 weeks. In this sense the JSA speeded up job finding.

Another insight into the process of job finding is obtained by looking at the employment-population (E/P) ratio at each follow-up. The E/P ratio provides somewhat different information than the job finding rate since it depends both on job finding and on job leaving. Table 4-4 presents

Table 4-3

Number Finding First Post-Enrollment Job* between Successive Follow-ups, Cambridge

	Experimental		Control	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Enrollment to First Follow-up	23	56.1	11	36.7
Between First and Second Follow-up	5	12.2	11	36.7
Between Second and Third Follow-up	3	7.3	1	3.3
Between Third and Fourth	1	2.4	1	3.3
Never Found Job	9	22.0	6	20.0
Total	41	100.0	30	100.0

*Derived from final column of Table 4-2.

Table 4-4

Employment-Population Ratios, Cambridge

	All Responders		Responders on all 4 Follow-ups	
	Experimental	Control	Experimental	Control
1st Follow-up	63.1	47.7	56.1	36.7
2nd Follow-up	55.1	55.1	51.2	46.7
3rd Follow-up	56.4	51.4	48.8	40.0
4th Follow-up	64.7	50.0	61.0	43.3

E/P ratios for Cambridge, first for all responders on each follow-up and second restricted to those who completed all four follow-ups. The E/P ratio is nearly identical with the job finding rate as of the first follow-up. However, it diverges increasingly for successive follow-ups. For the fourth follow-up it is considerably larger for the experimental group than for the control group, a sharp contrast to the case of the job finding rate which was nearly identical for both groups. The discrepancy at the fourth follow-up could be explained either by a greater rate of job leaving in the control group or by a pattern of attrition where early job finders are lost more frequently from the control group than from the experimental group. The results in Table 4-4 for those responding on all four follow-ups suggest that for this subsample involving no attrition, the discrepancy does remain. For this subgroup apparently there must be greater job leaving among control group members.

Job leaving and sample attrition patterns for Cambridge are examined more explicitly in Table 4-5. The table compares job finding experience as of the first follow-up with subsequent employment experience. Consider those who had found a job by the first follow-up (section 2 of the table). The table does show that about twice as many in the experimental group are known to have retained their job over all follow-ups as in the control group (line 2a). There is indeed greater sample attrition in the control group among these early job finders (line 2b). In addition, the rate of job leaving does appear higher for the control group (line 2c). The E/P ratio tells a more complex story than the job finding rate, but the data in Table 4-5 suggest that the two stories can be reconciled.

Taken at face value, these results suggest that the experimental treatment has a large short-term effect (within ten weeks of entering the program),

Table 4-5

Job Status at the First Follow-up Related to Subsequent Job Experience for Cambridge

Job Status at 1st Follow-up	Subsequent Job Experience	Experimental Group	Control Group
1. Did not find job	(Total number)	48	45
	1a. Found job on some subsequent follow-up, as percent of 1.	33.3	40.0
	1b. Never found job (complete information) as percent of 1.	18.8	13.3
	1c. No evidence that found job, but information incomplete as percent of 1.	47.9	46.7
2. Found job	(Total number)	82	41
	2a. Never left job (complete information), as percent of 2.	19.5	9.3
	2b. No evidence that left job, but information incomplete, as percent of 2.	59.8	63.4
	2c. Left job on some subsequent follow-up, as percent of 2.	20.7	24.3

but the control group does catch up soon afterwards. Apparently, the experimental treatment does get many youth to work quickly. Those in the Control group are just as likely to find jobs eventually, but the process of finding them is a slower one. Given the nature of the program, this is not a surprising result. It needs further verification and elaboration, but first consider the job finding rates in Wilkes-Barre which appear in the bottom of Table 4-2.

In Wilkes-Barre there is no Control group but there are three different treatment groups which can be compared. The follow-up surveys were administered later in Wilkes-Barre than in Cambridge. However, the timing of the Program Completion Instrument in Wilkes-Barre was similar to that of the first follow-up in Cambridge. The first row for Wilkes-Barre (Table 4-2) shows the job finding rates obtained from the Program Completion Instrument. Notice that the rates are virtually identical across Experimental groups. Moving now to the rates from the follow-ups, the differences across groups are small, but there is somewhat of a pattern. Group 1 generally has the highest job finding rates, while Group 2 has the lowest (with the exception of the second follow-up). This is surprising since Group 2 receives a more intensive treatment, but we have not yet tested whether the difference is significant. In the last three columns the sample is restricted just to those who completed all follow-ups. For this sample, the difference between groups becomes very small by the last follow-up, with all rates in a 5 percentage point range of one another.

2. Regression Analysis of Job Finding Rates

In this section we shall evaluate the impact of the experimental treatments on the job finding rate using regression analysis. The purpose of doing this is to test whether the effects observed in Table 4-2 are significant and persist when other variables are controlled for. In particular,

given the possibility of difference between treatment groups (even though there was random assignment in both cities), it is desirable to control for variables that may differ between groups.

The regressions are run only for job finding as of the first follow-up since sample sizes become too small for later follow-ups. The dependent variable is a dummy variable indicating whether or not the individual found a job by the time of the first follow-up. Independent variables include as control variables a series of dummy variables for sex, race, (not for Wilkes-Barre where the sample included too few non-whites), age, family status, receipt of public assistance, dropping out of high school, and high school graduation (not in Cambridge). In addition the STEP score of reading ability from the ETS instruments is used. To test the experimental effect in Cambridge, a dummy variable is used indicating whether the person was assigned to the Job Factory or the Control group. In Wilkes-Barre, two dummy variables were used, one indicating assignment to Group 2 and the other to Group 3. The implicit comparison here is to Group 1. Results appear in Table 4-6.[2]

In Cambridge participation in the Experimental group is significant and is the only significant variable. The overall explanatory power of the regression is weak. Basically, this regression result suggests that in our sample it is sufficient to compare job finding rates; there is no no gain from controlling for the other variables available to us.[3]

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[2]The use of OLS estimating techniques in the presence of a dichotomous dependent variable (such as Job Finding) introduces a number of problems. The use of OLS estimating techniques under such conditions will produce unbiased, but not efficient estimates of regression coefficients. The use of techniques such as logit would, however, not likely change the significance of coefficients reported in this chapter's tables. See: Johnston, J., Econometric Methods, McGraw-Hill Book Company: New York, 1963.

[3]We tested the regression results to make sure that the results were not influenced by the timing of the administration of the first follow-up questionnaire. They were not.

Regression Analysis of Job Finding Rate at First Follow-up

	Cambridge	Wilkes-Barre
Public Assistance	.0636 (.1277)	.2946 (.1521)
Female	.0062 (.0700)	-.0156 (.0709)
Black or Hispanic	-.0181 (.0696)	(excluded because of too few non-whites)
Age 16 or 17	.0184 (.1020)	-.0541 (.0777)
Head of Household-Independent of Parent	.1334 (.0784)	.2773* (.1182)
H.S. Dropout	-.0433 (.0791)	-.0661 (.1484)
H.S. Graduate	(not used in Cambridge)	.1010 (.0898)
STEP Reading Score	-.0012 (.0007)	-.0012 (.0006)
Experimental Group (Cambridge)	.2154* (.0846)	
Group 2 (Wilkes-Barre)		-.1414 (.0832)
Group 3 (Wilkes-Barre)		-.0325 (.0866)
Constant	.3522	.7255
R^2	.054	.114
n	207	165
F	1.41	2.22*

Notes:

1) Dependent Variable: equals one if person found job (full or part-time) by time of first follow-up, zero otherwise.

   All independent variables except for STEP reading score are dummy variables which equal one in indicated condition, zero otherwise.

2) *Indicates significance at .05 level using one tail test for experimental group; two tail test for all other variables.

3) Standard errors in parentheses.

4) Logit analysis yields essentially the same results.

In Wilkes-Barre, the only significant variable is whether the person lived independently of his/her parents. The variables for the treatment groups are not significant.

Basically, the regression results for Cambridge supports the impression from the job finding rates themselves that the Job Factory has a substantial effect in getting youth into jobs quickly. For Wilkes-Barre, however, the regression results suggest that any differences between groups are too small to be significant. If the supposedly more intensive treatments in Wilkes-Barre had an effect, we are unable to detect it. This finding was confirmed by the data reported earlier in the process chapter on hours of treatment among Wilkes-Barre groups.

3. Characteristics of First Post-Enrollment Jobs

Direct comparisons of both the job finding rates and the regression analysis support the idea that the Cambridge Job Factory treatment gets more youths into jobs more quickly than no treatment. However, the job finding rates show that those in the Control group are just as likely to find jobs eventually--within 45 weeks--as those who went through the treatment. Since the principal difference resulting from treatment is the speed of job finding, it is worth considering whether speed makes a difference in the quality of job found. Although youth in general take secondary labor market-oriented jobs, the shorter search could push them prematurely into the less attractive of these jobs. Alternatively, the treatment could reflect those who benefitted by finding good jobs quickly. This section will test whether there are noticeable differences between treatment groups in either direction along several dimensions of job quality.

Table 4-7 summarizes some observable characteristics of the first job found following enrollment in the program. In Cambridge the medians of the wage, of weekly hours worked, and of weekly earnings are all slightly higher for the Experimental group than for the Control group. Slightly

Table 4-7

Characteristics of First Post-Enrollment Jobs

	Cambridge		Wilkes-Barre		
	Experiment	Control	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Median Wage	$3.50 (88)	$3.40 (51)	$3.10 (43)	$3.10 (49)	$3.10 (36)
Median Weekly Hours	39.6 (91)	37.6 (51)	25.0 (43)	29.7 (49)	25.3 (38)
Median Weekly Earnings	131.25 (87)	124.03 (51)	62.00 (43)	92.94 (48)	81.85 (36)
Percent Unsubsidized	80.2 (101)	83.6 (61)	76.1 (46)	86.8 (53)	76.7 (43)
Percent Full-time	67.3 (101)	52.5 (61)	32.6 (46)	35.8 (53)	25.6 (43)

Sample sizes (in parenthesis) include only job finders for whom data are available on the indicated variable. The first job is identified by moving from one follow-up to the next until a job is reported. Full-time is defined as 35 hours or more per week. Full-time is defined as 35 hours or more per week. Mean wages, hours and earnings in Cambridge are reported in Appendix F and agree with the interpretation given in the text.

more jobs found by those in the Experimental group are subsidized.[4] Substantially more are full-time (35 or more hours per week) rather than part-time, accounting for the finding that earnings are slightly higher using Job Factory youth at each follow-up period. Most of these differences are small, but they are generally in favor of the Experimental group. We may conclude that the quicker pace of job finding for the Experimental group does not lead to worse jobs, but if anything, to slightly better jobs.

For Wilkes-Barre there is no difference in median wage across groups. There is, however, a larger number of full-time jobs in Group 2 and correspondingly higher weekly hours and earnings. Group 2 youth also find more unsubsidized jobs than Groups 1 and 3. Thus, although there is no apparent advantage in job finding for Group 2, this enriched version of the Wilkes-Barre program leads to slightly better paying jobs in the unsubsidized sector. Part-time work is much more common for all groups in Wilkes-Barre than in Cambridge.

Another measure of job quality is provided by the Occupations Status Scale which is shown in Table 4-8. The scale runs from 1 to 5 with 5 the highest status. However, except for a handful of cases in Cambridge, youth in our sample do not score above status 3. The Control group in Cambridge has a higher percentage in status 3 than the Experimental group. In Wilkes-Barre the proportions in status 3 are higher for Groups 2 and 3 than for Group 1. Although status 3 includes occupations like file clerk, receptionist, and cashier, it is not obvious that these jobs really represent higher status than laborers (status 1) for the youth who are in our sample. The information in Table 4-8 is perhaps best treated as a description of the distribution of occupations without being too concerned about the ranking in terms of status.

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[5]This may be explained by the slightly higher rate of SYEP participation after Cycle 1 among participants than controls--see Chapter III.

Table 4-8

Occupational Status Scale for First Job
(Percents of Job Finders as of First Follow-up)

	Cambridge		Wilkes-Barre		
	Experiment	Control	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. Laborers and low level service workers	23.1	19.4	33.3	17.9	14.7
2. Service workers; lower level crafts and operations	21.5	16.1	41.0	46.2	44.1
3. Clerical, crafts and kindred	47.7	64.5	25.6	35.9	41.2
4. Higher status	7.7	0	0	0	0
Sample Size	65	31	39	39	34

Source: The Occupational Status Scale uses status codes from "1" (low) to "5" (high). It is a composite scale developed by ETS of several conventional status scales (e.g., North-Hatt, Bose, Siegal Prestige Scales). Codes are available from the Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey.

One important concern when evaluating job quality is how long the job lasts. If a job search program rushed youths into jobs only to have them leave soon afterwards, the success in job finding would be less valuable than it initially appeared. Table 4-5 has already presented data relevant to this question for Cambridge. (For Wilkes-Barre where there is little difference between groups, it is not an issue.) It should be noted that sample sizes are small, so that these results cannot be considered definitive. In addition, the most common category of subsequent experience is that of incomplete information (1c in Table 4-5 for those initially working, 2b for those who had found jobs). Nevertheless, it is interesting to note in Cambridge that the rate of job leaving (2c) is lower for the Experimental group than for the Control group. While not conclusive, this result certainly lends no support to the hypothesis that speedy job finding ends in early job leaving. The record of job holding among those going through the Job Factory appears at least as stable as among those in the Control group.

Considering the various measures of job quality that we have presented, the numbers on most suggest at least slightly higher quality in Cambridge for those going through the Job Factory. Allowing for the small samples, we can say at least that we have no evidence that the Job Factory leads to jobs of lower quality (within the range of jobs in the youth labor market). For Wilkes-Barre there are limited data that youth enrolled in the most enriched Wilkes-Barre treatment (Group 2) find slightly more full-time jobs and unsubsidized jobs. Overall, however, there is no clear indication that one treatment group leads to higher--or lower--quality jobs than the others. Added to the earlier finding of no significant effect on job finding rates, this reinforces the impression that variations in treatment in Wilkes-Barre made no difference.

C. Results of a Psychometric Analysis

One possible channel by which a JSA program may affect youth labor force and employment behavior is that it may transform youth attitudes or knowledge areas in a way that makes them more likely to find jobs quickly. This section will present an analysis of whether such a transformation took place in the programs we studied. The analysis is assisted by the development of a set of instruments to measure work-related attitudes and knowledge developed by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) for the Department of Labor's Office of Youth Programs.

A large number of previous studies examined the sociological, economic, and attitudinal predictors of early work experience and career choice. A smaller number of other studies have focused on the social-psychological orientations of youth in training programs. No study beyond the present one has examined the specific role that job search assistance may play in transforming orientations to work.[5]

After first presenting the ETS measures, this section will evaluate whether there is any effect on attitudes and job knowledge attributable to a JSA program. It will then examine whether our measures of attitudes or knowledge areas are related to success in job finding.

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[5] Pre-YEDPA studies are numerous: for a literature review of the role work attitudes play in the school-to-work transition, see Raelin (1980). See also Gottlieb (1974) and Hahn (1978) on the general topic of work attitudes.

On the longitudinal relationship between work attitudes and work experience, see Andrisani (1977);

On youth in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and MDTA programs, see Coonan (1977); Egloff (1970); Gurin (1970); and Walter, et al. (1968);

On young welfare recipients, see Goodwin (1971);

Relevant YEDPA studies are noted in the text. One recent study by Rock and Freeberg (1980) is of particular interest.

1. The ETS Psychometric Scales

Our study is part of a national effort to collect uniform data on youth participants enrolled in a number of special demonstrations across the country funded by the Department of Labor. The effort consists of numerous independent program evaluations using a common data base developed by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) called the Standard Assessment System (SAS). The ETS/SAS includes a battery of seven pre- and post-program (exit) tests that measure various aspects of social-psychological work orientations, as well as a reading test (STEP) administered during the pre-program testing period.

The seven pre- and post-psychometric scales derive from relatively short paper and pencil tests. The tests can be presented orally to small groups and are designed to be suitable for adolescents from low income backgrounds. In the context of job search assistance programs, not all the scales are of equal interest. Several, such as the Job Seeking, Job Holding, Job-Knowledge and Work Relevant Attitudes scales are especially relevant because the purpose of job search assistance is to teach such skills. Other scales such as the Vocational Attitude, and Knowledge of Sex Stereotyping of Occupations tap dimensions of knowledge or awareness that are only indirectly associated with the job search assistance concept. The self-esteem scale may be relevant if one believes that it is group process and individual counseling that is the root of the job search assistance program concept.

The seven scales are briefly described below:[6]

1. Job Knowledge Test (JK)--a scale dealing with the requirements, tasks, and qualifications of various jobs depicted in verbal and pictorial formats.

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6 For further information and reproduction of the tests, see The Standardized Assessment System for Youth Demonstration Projects, Educational Testing Service, March 1980, Princeton, N.J. Printed as Department of Labor Report 1.6, Youth Knowledge Development Series, GPO, Washington, D.C.

2. Job Holding Skills (JH)--a scale dealing with the youths' understanding of appropriate behavior on jobs and interactions with supervisors and co-workers.
3. Job Seeking Skills (JS)--this scale provides an assessment of skills necessary to begin job search, sort information relating to potential jobs, and understand the requirements of a job application.
4. Vocational Attitude Scale (VOCAT)--this is an abbreviated form of a well-known scale probing levels of vocational development.
5. Self-Image (SELF)--this scale plumbs the participants' feelings of personal worth and his/her expectations for the future.
6. Work Relevant Attitudes (WORKATT)--the scale measures a variety of work orientations, such as optimism and self-confidence in the world of work.
7. Sex Stereotyping of Adult Occupations (SEX STEREO)--this scale asks participants to rank different adult occupations in terms of "who should be a _____."

In Cambridge, youth in the Job Factory program took all the pre- and post-program tests, while control group youth took only the pre-test at the time they were administered the first post-program follow-up questionnaire (timed at about six weeks after the participant youth left the program). In Wilkes-Barre, all youth were supposed to take the full set of pre- and post-tests.

We tested the reliability of the scales for our samples. The measure of reliability is strictly a statistical one.[7] Table 4-9 shows the reliability of the scores. Examining samples of youth from each community, the scales possess sufficient reliability to warrant confidence that potential change from pre- to post-test could be documented. When disaggregated by sex, however, three scales have low reliability scores. Table 4-9 indicates that female scores on the Job Holding scale in both study samples, and female scores in Wilkes-Barre on Job Knowledge are examples of scales with low reliabilities. Data involving these female scores must therefore be interpreted cautiously.

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[7] "Reliability" is defined here in statistical terms. The Cronbach Alpha coefficient formula for standard scores is calculated from the number of items comprising a scale and the ability of the items to share common meaning. The formula is:

$$\bar{r}_{kk} = \frac{k}{k-1} \cdot \frac{\bar{R}-k}{\bar{R}}$$

where k = number of items

$\bar{R} = k + k^2\bar{r}ij - k\bar{r}ij$

$\bar{r}ij$ = average inter-item correlation

The validity of the ETS/SAS scales will not be discussed in the text, that is, whether the scales are appropriate to the purposes for which they are used. Data on criterion-related and construct validity are adequately presented in publications cited in Rock and Freeberg (1980) and available from the Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J. A third form of validity--content validity--is more difficult to document empirically, since as Nunnally has noted, it "inevitably--rests mainly on appeals to reason regarding the adequacy with which the content has been cast in the form of test items." (1978:93). There has been debate in the field over the content validity of the ETS/SAS measures. To the best of the authors' knowledge, however, no better standard measures exist for the purposes described in this section. Nonetheless, the field would certainly benefit from improved measures of job seeking skills and the like. These "measurement issues" are important in interpreting results in the following sections.

Source: Nunnally, 1967:195

Table 4-9

Characteristics of the ETS Pre-Test Measures[1]

ETS Measures	#Test Items	Cambridge Pre-test Means[2]	Wilkes-Barre Pre-test Means[2]	Cambridge Pre-test Reliability[3] (alpha)	Wilkes-Barre Pre-test Reliability[3] (alpha)	Reliability Alpha[3] Cambridge Male	Cambridge Female	Wilkes-Barre Male	Wilkes-Barre Female
Vocational Attitude	30	21.3 (4.0)	22.9 (3.8)	.735	.712	.686	.797	.735	.589
Job Knowledge	30	22.6 (3.7)	23.9 (3.0)	.690	.598	.533	.785	.712	.369
Job Holding Skills	11	30.0 (2.5)	31.1 (2.0)	.541	.548	.617	.256	.590	.200
Work Related Attitudes Inv.	16	48.3 (7.0)	51.4 (6.3)	.787	.774	.750	.833	.760	.791
Job Seeking Skills	17	12.9 (3.2)	12.9 (2.2)	.750	.602	.717	.768	.633	.483
Sex Stereo-typing	21	48.0 (8.6)	46.4 (8.5)	.912	.911	.915	.892	.889	.912
Self-Esteem	15	36.1 (3.3)	36.2 (2.9)	.606	.627	.517	.658	.639	.624

[1] Data reported for sample of Cambridge experiment (N = 104) and Wilkes-Barre youth (N = 224) with matched pre and post-tests.

[2] Standard deviations in parentheses.

[3] Nunnally (1967: 226) considers reliabilities between .50 and .80 adequate for basic research on the differences between means for experimental treatments.

2. The Effect of JSA on Attitudes/Knowledge Areas

Since the attitude scales were measured both before and after program participation, we can subtract the pre-test score from the post-test score to construct a gain score for each individual. Effects on attitudes will be studied first by comparing gain scores and second by introducing control variables other than JSA treatment that might affect attitudes through the use of regression analysis. Throughout these tests, each of the seven scales is tested separately.

In evaluating the gain scores it should be remembered that we have no post-test scores for the control group in Cambridge and therefore no gain scores for these individuals. However, the time between pre- and post-test for the Experimental group is sufficiently short (about three weeks on the average) that it may be reasonable to assume that in the absence of treatment there should be no gain. Assuming zero gain for the Control group, a test of treatment effect is whether the gain score for a treatment group is significantly greater than zero.

Table 4-10A presents mean gain scores for Cambridge, Table 4-10B for Wilkes-Barre. The only positive significant gain is in Vocational Attitudes in Cambridge. This is a scale we would not have expected to be influcenced by a JSA program. Three scales actually had negative significant gain scores, including Job Seeking skills in both cities. Other score changes were simply insignificant. Thus, this test provides no evidence of significant positive gain resulting from treatment except for Vocational Attitudes in Cambridge, where the gain is difficult to interpret. In the

Table 4-10A

Gain Scores

Cambridge

ETS Measures	(1) Pre-test $\bar{x}$	SD	(2) Post-test $\bar{x}$	SD	(3) Gain Scores* (Post minus Pre)	(4) Gain ÷ By ** Pre-test SD
Vocational Attitude	21.3	4.0	22.1	4.5	.739*	.18
Job Knowledge	22.6	3.7	22.0	4.6	-.571	-.15
Job Holding Skills	30.0	2.5	29.3	3.9	-.679*	-.27
Work-Related Attitudes	48.3	7.0	49.0	8.2	.487	.07
Job Seeking Skills	12.9	3.2	12.2	4.1	-.692*	-.22
Sex Stereotyping	47.9	8.6	47.2	10.1	-.841	-.10
Self-Esteem	36.1	3.3	35.7	4.1	-.445	-.13

*Mean score differences are significant at the .05 confidence level by t - tests for paired samples.(two tailed test)

**We employ t - tests to determine the significance of differences between pre and post-test means (Col. 3). This approach utilizes the standard deviations of before and after tests. Some authors using the ETS/SAS data have used t - ratios (gain scores divided by pre-test standard deviation. The latter approach (Col.4) employs less information and therefore we prefer to use Col. 3.

latter case, there is nothing in the JSA program concept to suggest that change in vocational attitudes would be likely.[8]

[8] Comparable results have been reported in recent studies. For example, Chapter II noted that the Youth Career Development project involving the U.S. Employment Service is related to the job search assistance concept. Pre- to post-change on 3 ETS/SAS scales tied to job search education--Job Seeking, Job Knowledge and Job Holding skills--were all unchanged positively by participation in the ES/YCD program (Rock and Freeberg, 1980).

Table 4-10B

Gain Scores

Wilkes-Barre

ETS Measures	Pre-test $\bar{X}$	Pre-test SD	Post-test $\bar{X}$	Post-test SD	Gain Scores* (Post minus Pre)	Gain ÷ By Pre-test SD
Vocational Attitude	22.9	3.8	23.0	4.3	.107	.03
Job Knowledge	23.9	3.0	23.7	3.7	-.214	-.07
Job-Holding Skills	31.1	2.0	30.7	3.0	-.398*	-.20
Work-Related Attitudes	51.4	6.3	51.2	7.2	-.167	-.03
Job-Seeking Skills	12.9	2.2	12.7	2.7	-.228	-.10
Sex Stereotyping	46.4	8.5	46.1	9.0	-.364	-.04
Self-Esteem	36.1	2.9	36.1	3.3	.017	.01

The observed gain scores may, of course, be attributed to some factor other than treatment. The ideal test would be to regress gain score on treatment and other control variables. Unfortunately, we do not have gain scores for the Control group in Cambridge; the Control group would have to be included to test the treatment effect. As a second best option, we could think of regressing post-test score on treatment and other variables. Although there are no post-test scores for the Control group, we could again assume no systematic difference between pre-test and post-test for the Control group. This suggests a dependent variable equal to the post-test score for those in the Experimental group and to the pre-test score for those in the Control group. What emerges is thus a test of whether post-test scores of the Experimental group differ significantly from pre-test scores of the Control group after controlling for other variables.

Each attitude scale was used as a dependent variable in this type of regression. In Wilkes-Barre, with the exception of the scale for Job Seeking skills, treatment group was never significant, with other background variables occasionally significant. For evaluating a JSA program, the most relevant of the psychometric variables is probably Job Seeking skills. Thus, Table 4-11 presents the regression results for this dependent variable. In Cambridge, experimental treatment was not a significant determinant of this scale; again, it was not significant for any other attitude scale. However, in Wilkes-Barre, Groups 1 and 2 had significantly higher job seeking skills scores than Group 3. This is a perplexing finding since Group 3 was supposed to

TABLE 4-11

Regression of Job Seeking Skills Scale on Treatment and Background Variables

Independent Variables	Cambridge	Wilkes-Barre
Education Status: Dropout	-1.7011* (.6797)	-.5793 (.6828)
High School Graduate	--	.9111 (1.2432)
Sex: Female	.5742 (.6039)	.5679 (.3747)
Age: 16 or 17	-.0938 (.7529)	-.0602 (.3894)
Reading Level Scale	.0039 (.0058)	.0028 (.0035)
Family Status: Head or non-dependent	.8449 (.6546)	.3975 (.5689)
Public Assistance	.4582 (1.0643)	-1.4750* (.6875)
Ethnicity: Black or Hispanic	-.8544 (.6099)	--
Experimental Group (Cambridge)	-.2108 (.6807)	
Group I (Wilkes-Barre)		1.4737* (.4560)
Group 2 (Wilkes-Barre)		1.1310* (.4482)
Constant	13.0028	13.0325
R^2	.0660	.1025
N	160	222
F	1.34	2.69

Dependent variable in Cambridge = post-test score if individual in experimental group
= pre-test score if individual in control group

In Wilkes-Barre, dependent variable = post-test score for all.
Two tail tests at .05 significance level.

receive job search skills workshops. The one treatment it did not receive was job placement services. On the other hand, the process study reveals how few workshops were actually run. If our result is valid, it perhaps means that formal instruction in search techniques is a less useful way to develop skills than the "learning by doing" that might result after receiving placement services. Given the process results, even this interpretation for Wilkes-Barre must be treated cautiously.

3. The Effect of Attitudes/Knowledge Areas on Job Finding

This section will test whether any of the scales has a significant effect on the job finding rate. Basically, this analysis extends the regression analysis of the job finding rate in Section B by adding the attitude scales as independent variables. Each attitude scale is tested in a separate regression. In Cambridge, no attitude/knowledge area scale emerges as a significant variable and therefore are not shown here (except as noted below). Together with our earlier finding of no significant effect of treatment on these scales, this suggests that attitudes/skills areas as we measure them do not contribute to an understanding of how the program in Cambridge worked.

In Wilkes-Barre the scale for Job Seeking skills is a significant determinant of the job finding rate. Table 4-12 presents the regression results for both Cambridge and Wilkes-Barre with t his scale included as an independent variable. The post-test score is used for all those in an experimental treatment group and the pre-test score for those in the Control group in Cambridge. Since Groups 1 and 2 in Wilkes-Barre had significantly higher scores on Job Seeking skills and since this variable affects the job finding rate, it appears that treatment may indeed have an effect in Wilkes-Barre, although the earlier test omitting attitude variables found no effect. The effect does not show up directly, but rather in the two steps presented

Table 4- 12

The Effect of Background Characteristics and Job Seeking Skills on Job Finding (First Follow-up) With JSA Treatment

Independent Variables	Cambridge	Wilkes-Barre
Job Seeking Skills	-.0022 (.0212)	.0373* (.0167)
Education Status: Dropout	-.0869 (.1142)	.0229 (.1697)
: High-School Graduate	- -	-.1266 (.4668)
Sex: Female	-.0578 (.0937)	-.0414 (.1697)
Group: Cambridge Experimental	.2221* (.1059)	- -
: W-B Group 1	- -	-.0316 (.1049)
: W-B Group 2	- -	-.1507 (.1013)
Age: 16 or 17	.0090 (.1140)	-.1115 (.0898)
Reading Level	-.0007 (.0010)	-.0010 (.0007)
Family Status: Head or Non-dependent	.2172 (.1090)	.2768* (.1292)
Public Assistance	-.0310 (.1652)	.3470 (.1900)
Ethnicity: Black or Hispanic	-.0286 (.0947)	- -
Constant	.4367	.1984
R^2	.0822	.1584
N (Listwise Deletion)	129	125
F	1.084	2.165*

NOTES: See tables for variable definitions

* Denotes significance at the 5 percent level

Standard errors in parenthesis

Attitudes: Post-tests for all Wilkes-Barre regressions. Pre-tests for the experimental group and post-tests for the control group in Cambridge.

Two tail tests for independent variables at .05 level of significance.

here. Since the distinctive element shared by Groups 1 and 2 was job placement services, we already argued that it may be the placement services that contributed to the growth in job search skills. Now if our measure of these skills contributes to job finding, it appears that job placement services may indirectly affect job finding. However, some caution is urged in accepting this interpretation in view of our inability to find any direct effect of Groups 1 and 2, and hence of placement services, on the job finding rate when the attitude variables are omitted from the regressions. Also, as the process chapter shows, not every youth received the planned treatments. We can say with certainty, however, that job search skills as measured by ETS scale among youth in the self-directed JSA group (3) do not contribute to job finding.

D. Job Search Techniques and the Intensity of Search

This section examines additional channels by which the JSA treatments might affect job finding. One type of channel is specific techniques that youth might learn from the program. The other is simply whether treatment makes youth search more intensively. Actually, some of the psychometric scales supposedly measured skills as well as attitudes. In this section we approach the question of skills indirectly by observing whether youth use different techniques in finding jobs depending on the kind of JSA treatment received. Recent evidence from the National Longitudinal Survey indicates that, among unemployed youth, 86 percent reported using only one or two methods of job search, with younger youth favoring the more informal sources of information.[9] Other studies have shown that the great majority of youth take the first job offered, regardless of the search method.[10]

[9] Borus, Michael, et al., "Pathways to the Future: A Longitudinal Study of Young Americans--Preliminary Report," Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University, January 1980.

[10] Stephenson, Stanley, Jr., "The Economics of Youth Job Search Behavior," The Review of Economics and Statistics, 1973, 104-111.

Sources of jobs are reported in Table 4-13A for Cambridge and Table 4-13B for Wilkes-Barre. For Cambridge one notable, but not unexpected feature of the table is the heavy reliance on assistance from program staff for those in the Experimental group. Recall that the assistance rendered is of the advice and emotional support type, rather than with actual job placements. Whether considering source of first job or most useful source, program staff are used at a rate almost twice that of any other source. The Control group, lacking this source, must rely more heavily on alternatives. In particular, they rely much more heavily on friends or neighbors and on public (non-program) employment agencies. This type of information does not reveal directly the level of job seeking skills. The results do, however, suggest an important aspect of treatment that makes it work: those in the Experimental group have easy and frequent access to professional assistance. It may be that this access is more valuable than any body of skills the youth may develop. Indeed, to the extent that this is the case, there is no assurance that benefits of the program will carry over to the next spell of job search when the youth will no longer be participating in such a program.[11]

For Wilkes-Barre the sample sizes are so small that significance cannot be judged. There is still a heavy reliance on program staff, but it is not as large relative to other sources as in Cambridge. Of course, the treatments in Wilkes-Barre did not involve as frequent or intensive contact with program staff either.

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[11] See Appendix D for a discussion on how counselors' ratings of youth are related to job finding among the youth.

Table 4-13A

Job Finding Sources Used in Cambridge

Source	Percent Who Used Source[a,b] in Getting First Job		Percent Who Found Source the Most Useful One	
	Experimental	Control	Experimental	Control
1. Program staff	33.0	0	26.8	0
2. Friends or people in the neighborhood	18.2	36.5	7.3	17.0
3. Newspaper	17.1	14.7	10.9	9.9
4. Family	8.4	7.4	4.9	4.8
5. Help-wanted sign	3.6	12.2	1.3	0
6. Church or community leaders	0	2.5	0	2.5
7. Public employment agency	12.2	26.9	7.3	14.7
8. Private employment agency	3.6	4.8	2.4	2.5
9. Other	14.6	19.5	10.9	17.0
10. None of the above: I got it on my own	12.2	12.2		
Sample size (restricted to job finders)	82	41	82	41

[a] May add to more than 100 percent since more than one source could have been used.

[b] Excludes respondents who did not indicate a most useful source.

4-13B Job Finding Sources Used in Wilkes-Barre

Job Source	Percent Who Used Source in Getting First Job			Percent Who Found Source the Most Useful One		
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. Program Staff	22.0	28.6	18.4	22.0	21.4	13.2
2. Friends or People in the Neighborhood	17.1	23.8	28.9	9.8	21.4	15.8
3. Newspaper	7.3	7.1	18.4	4.9	4.8	5.3
4. Family	12.2	11.9	13.2	7.3	4.8	7.9
5. Help-Wanted Sign	0	0	2.6	0	0	0
6. Church or Community Leaders	0	0	2.6	0	0	0
7. Public Employment Agency	9.8	9.5	13.2	7.3	10.3	5.3
8. Private Employment Agency	0	0	2.6	0	0	0
9. Other	7.3	4.8	15.8	7.3	2.4	10.5
10. None of the above: I got it on my own	17.1	16.7	13.2			
Sample size (job finders)	41	42	38	41	42	38

Now consider the intensity of search. Table 4-14 presents two measures of intensity: the number of applications filed and the number of interviews attended. In Cambridge, there are more applications and many more interviews in the Experimental group than in the Control group. The differences are particularly pronounced for successful jobfinders. For non-finders the finding does not even hold. It appears that an important element in the success of the Cambridge program is its effectiveness in increasing the intensity of job search efforts, although the result for non-finders suggests that the Cambridge program was not uniformly successful in motivating all its clients.

Consider a related piece of evidence--weeks to get the first job. The mean weeks for the Cambridge Job Factory youth was 4.77 compared to 4.61 among the control group youth. Thus, although more youth get jobs in the short run through job search assistance, comparisons between successful job finders (experiment and control) shows no advantage in length of time to find first job. Similarly, when we examine the ratio of applications to weeks to get a first job (at first follow-up) we find that the experimental group fills out more applications to get this first job, but the differences are statistically insignificant (0.7 vs. .02 applications/week to get job). Over all four follow-up periods, the raw differences are even smaller (.06 vs. .04 applications/week.) Thus, job search assistance leads to more job finding in the short run, but within the short run and among successful job finders, not necessarily significantly shorter job search time.

These results raise the question of what it takes to motivate increased intensity. The question of motivation can be considered in two parts: first, what does it take to get a person into the program; and second, once in, what does it take to motivate intensity of effort. The process study shows that an important part of the motivation to join in the first place came from a monetary stipend paid the youth who attended.

Table 4-14 Measures of the Intensity of Search[a]

A. Cambridge

	Experimental Group	Control Group
Average Number of Applications Filed	5.84	4.41
a. Among Job Finders	7.39	3.73
	(70)	(30)
b. Among Non-Finders	3.57	5.38
	(23)	(21)
Average Number of Interviews	4.38	2.47
a. By Job Finders	6.02	2.23
	(59)	(26)
b. By Non-Finders	1.73	2.79
	(22)	(19)

B. Wilkes-Barre

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Average Number of Applications Filed	4.70	3.75	7.70
a. Among Job Finders	4.86	3.75	8.77
	(28)	(32)	(26)
b. Among Non-Finders	4.40	3.75	4.90
	(15)	(20)	(10)
Average Number of Interviews	1.20	1.45	2.63
a. By Job Finders	1.39	1.41	3.00
	(28)	(32)	(26)
b. By Non-Finders	.88	1.52	1.83
	(17)	(21)	(12)

[a] Sample sizes are given in parentheses. Samples are restricted to those who answered the respective questions on applications and interviews.

While we do not have a formal test, the power of the stipend is supported by one development. Although each of the first four cycles in Cambridge paid stipends, Cycle 5 was planned as a cycle that would not pay one. However, only three youth signed up. As a consequence of this lack of response, a stipend was reintroduced, attracting a sufficient number of youth to run the cycle.

Once in the program we may speculate about what motivates search. First, there were penalties for not cooperating. In Cambridge, a youth could be "fired" in which case the stipend payment would be lost. The program also provided positive support to overcome the discouragement of rejections. It structured activities to get youth out in the field, applying and interviewing. Perhaps not least important, it must in some sense have been fun to participate. These motivations did not work with all participants, but they apparently succeeded with the majority.

Given the importance of intensity of search, we must consider whether the benefits of the Cambridge program are likely to carry over to future spells of unemployment. It is possible that some youth would learn the lesson of the importance of intensity and repeat the effort again in the future. On the other hand, it is likely that for many, the high intensity was a direct result of the immediate motivations the program offered. When unemployed without such a program available, it is reasonable to expect that intensity for many will be less because the structural motivating forces will be missing.

Consider now the three groups in Wilkes-Barre. The intensity levels in terms of both applications and interviews are markedly higher for Group 3. Group 3 received job search skills workshops, but not placement services. Of course, Group 2 received the workshops also, but had a lower intensity level. If the observed intensity levels reflect differ-

ences in treatment, it must be that those receiving placement services do much less searching. Combining this argument with the previously observed indirect effect of placement services on job finding, we might conclude that in Wilkes-Barre, success comes from explicit assistance in putting youth into jobs. Attempts to induce self-motivated search do succeed in getting youth to search more, but have no major payoff in terms of job finding. It should be emphasized that the results and interpretations for Wilkes-Barre may not be completely reliable. However, they support the same notion as in Cambridge that any success of the JSA results from the direct short-term services provided rather than from any transformation of the youth who go through the programs. Our arguments suggest little basis for expecting future benefits from the treatment in subsequent spells of unemployment.

E. Program Costs

Costs in both programs are not kept on an individual participant basis. Instead, we must take total program expenditures and disaggregate the figures into per person costs. Moreover, we should separate out costs that were supplementary to the direct provision of job search assistance. The most notable example of the latter are costs associated with the administration of the survey aspects of the demonstration. In Cambridge, there was no staff time devoted to survey administration since this function was assumed by a full-time on-site researcher. Therefore, the expenditure data for Cambridge in Table 4-15 are accurate in portraying actual program costs. In Wilkes-Barre, costs are deflated (column 3 of Table 4-15) to account for research costs "passed on" to the program operator.

Table 4-15

Program Expenditures

	(1) Cambridge Job Factory[1]	(2) Wilkes-Barre Workshop	(3) Wilkes-Barre Less Demonstration
		Actual	
Personnel, Consultants & Fringe Benefits	$ 83,342	$127,747	$102,198[2]
Rent	16,214	11,150	11,150
Telephone	6,534	5,090	5,090
Printing/Xerox/Advertising	4,298	2,880	2,880
Video	3,191	NA	NA
Supplies	10,055	3,250	3,250
Furniture/Equipment	8,062	5,525	5,525
Travel	NA	8,520	None[3]
Incentives/Recruitment	2,240	NA	NA
Stipends	54,843	NA	NA
General & Admin.	9,048	NA	NA
	$197,827	$164,162	$130,093

Notes:

[1]The Cambridge budget is not the "close-out" budget; the latter is $5,110 higher.

[2]Total expenditures at Wilkes-Barre for personnel, except Project Director, are deflated by 20 percent to account for costs attributable to testing and other demonstration activities. The 20 percent figure is an informed estimate.

[3]Excludes travel funds related to demonstration.

Consider now the costs reported in Tables 4-15 and 4-16. The Cambridge program served 200 youths at a cost of $197,828: $989 per youth served. From a social perspective, the JSA costs might be calculated without the wages and bonus payments to participants. Of course, there are social costs with eliminating wages and bonus payments since there are real costs in keeping JSA youth in alternatives; recall that nearly one quarter of the Cambridge group receive public assistance. Nonetheless, on the basis of more wages and bonus payments, the per unit cost was $715 per youth. In Wilkes-Barre, the program served 401 youth at $410 per youth. The cost of running the Workshop without the special expenditures of the demonstration would be $324 per youth.

Next, we calculate costs per employed youth for each program separately. We determine the number of youth served who ever found jobs through the periods covered by our follow-up surveys and divide that figure by total costs (net of demonstration and stipend expenditures). Table 4-16 line 5, shows the results. The Wilkes-Barre cost per employed youth is $611. In Cambridge, it is $1442. However, employed youth includes all those who found jobs. Some of these jobs may be attributable to the program treatment while others would have been found anyway. In Cambridge, because of our experimental design, we are able to identify the net effect of program treatment. The net short-run cost per new job created by the Cambridge JSA program is shown on line 6 of Table 4-16. The cost is $4468 and is based on the following procedure. Since we argued that the principal effect of treatment appears in the short run, we take the difference in job finding rates between treatment and control groups by the first follow-up survey for all cycles combined (see Table 4-2).

Table 4-16

JSA Unit Costs

	Cambridge Job Factory	Wilkes Barré Workshop
(1) Total costs per youth served	$989	$410
(2) Without stipends	715	410
(3) Without demonstration expenses	715	324
(4) Costs per employed youth (no stipend)	1442	711
(5) Costs per employed youth without demonstration expenses	1442	611
(6) Costs per net new job found at 1st follow-up	4468	N/A

The period covered is 10 weeks after JSA enrollment and the difference in rates is 16 percentage points. Multiplying the latter difference times the total number of youth served (200) gives the denominator which is divided into total costs (net of stipends). This yields the net cost per youth added to the world-of-work through job search assistance.

The cost data are valuable in providing an overall picture of expenditures, but the figures have limitations. First, the impact and process study make clear how very different the two JSA programs are with respect to philosophy, approach and intensity of treatment. As a consequence, comparisons between the two programs are hazardous. Second, direct service costs in the context of a federal demonstration are not reflective of the economies that would be made through local replications of the programs. Demonstration projects frequently involve large budgets that permit organizations to plan Start-up and Phase-down activities as well as to "pass-off" expenses (e.g., rent and equipment) normally absorbed by the recipient of federal funds. Third, some cost data may be difficult to evaluate. Consider the $4468 in Cambridge per net new job. The figure could be overstated because the net benefit is expressed in short-term job finding and the jobs may be temporary. On the other hand, the benefit may be understated. There could, for example, be long-term effects attributable to improvement in job search skills. In earlier sections of this chapter we explored both hypotheses. Recall that we rejected the idea that the jobs found through JSA were more temporary than control group jobs. But, we also rejected the hypothesis that JSA leads to long-term effects. Instead, we argued that the principal effect was in getting youth into jobs quickly. The short-run new job cost of $4468 may, therefore, be

fairly accurate. But, with no comparative data from other controlled job search experiments, the figure cannot be judged expensive or inexpensive.

F. Summary of Impacts

In this chapter we evaluated the impacts of job search assistance programs on the search behavior of participants. We considered differences in the rate of job finding, the quality of jobs found, and the persistence of the job finding effect. These results were examined in the context of a number of channels of effect--ways in which the impacts came about. The channels included: work attitudes/knowledge areas; learnable search skills; and, intensity of search. The results of the evaluation of impacts are summarized below. Discussion of these results will be presented in Chapter V, Policy Implications.

Job Finding

- Over all Cambridge cycles, the difference in job finding rates (without controlling for other factors) as of the first follow-up survey (10 weeks after enrollment) was 16 percentage points, favoring the treatment group. The difference in job finding rates diminished for subsequent follow-up periods. In sum, the Cambridge job search program had a large short-term effect, but going out to 45 weeks post-enrollment, there was no meaningful difference. Youth sooner or later find jobs anyway, treatment or not. The effect of the treatment is simply to speed up the job finding.
- In Wilkes-Barre, there were no significant differences between treatment groups in rates of job finding (without controlling for other factors) at nine weeks after enrollment. Thereafter, small differences

appeared with Group 2 (who received placement services, rather than self-directed job search) having the lowest rates while Group 1 (the "lean" approach that did not receive job search skills workshops) had the highest job finding rates. However, these differences were not significant.

- o When variables such as sex, age, race, public assistance, education status and reading level were introduced as controlling factors on job finding, participation in the Cambridge JSA program was the only significant variable. Put differently, the Job Factory had a substantial effect in getting youth to work, independent of these other factors. In Wilkes-Barre, there was no significant effect of different types of treatment on job finding.

Quality and Stability of Jobs Found

- o In Cambridge, wages, hours of work, and earnings were all slightly higher for the JSA youth than for the Control group. Substantially more jobs were full-time for the JSA group. The Control group, however, found slightly more unsubsidized jobs, partially in response to SYEP enrollments after Cycle 1. In sum, the quicker pace of job finding for Cambridge JSA youth led to modestly better jobs.
- o In Wilkes-Barre, part-time work was more common than in Cambridge. The most enriched treatment group (Group 2) found more full-time jobs than the self-directed group (3) which resulted in higher weekly hours and earnings. Otherwise, there were no significant differences between treatment groups in quality of jobs found.

- In Cambridge, the rate of job leaving was lower for job search assistance youth than the Control group. The data therefore gave no support to the hypothesis that speedy job finding ends in early job leaving.
- In Wilkes-Barre no clear differences in job stability were identified for the three treatment groups. Variations in treatment in Wilkes-Barre made no difference in this job holding impact.

Work Attitudes/Knowledge Areas

- There were no significant positive gains in attitudes/knowledge areas from pre- to post-test in either program, with the exception of Vocational Attitudes in Cambridge.
- In a procedure to determine what factors, in addition to program treatment, are tied to attitudes/knowledge areas, we found that with the exception of Job Seeking skills in Wilkes-Barre, treatment group was never a significant determinant of attitudes/knowledge areas. The fact that Wilkes-Barre Group 3 (the self-directed job search group who did not receive placement services) scored significantly lower on job search skills, when other factors are controlled, suggested that the placement services were important in developing job search skills through a "learning by doing" process rather than the formal instruction in search techniques. This interpretation must be tempered, however, by the fact that the process study reveals that services were not always delivered as planned.
- In Cambridge, attitudes/knowledge areas did not contribute to job finding. In Wilkes-Barre, Job Search Skills were a significant de-

terminant of job finding. Thus, in Wilkes-Barre there may be an indirect effect of treatment on job finding, with Groups 1 and 2 having higher Job Seeking skills which in turn produce greater job finding. The distinguishing feature of Groups 1 and 2 was the inclusion of placement services.

Intensity of Search

- In Cambridge, JSA youth cited contacts with staff more frequently than any other item as a source used most helpfully in getting first jobs. The help was of the emotional type rather than placement.
- Indicators of intensity of search included the number of applications filled and the number of interviews attended. We found in Cambridge that the intensity of search was significantly promoted by the JSA program, most notably for successful job finders. In Wilkes-Barre, the process study as well as the impact data on intensity suggested an uneven pattern of search effort between groups. Limited evidence suggested that Group 3 youth interviewed and filled out more applications; therefore, the placement services groups (1-2) do less searching. This finding, in combination with the data cited previously, suggested that in Wilkes-Barre, success came from the explicit assistance in putting youth into jobs. The program was too diffuse to generate successful self-directed and motivated search among the participants.
- In Cambridge through the first follow-up period, when we compare weeks to get first job among successful job finders, there are no meaningful differences in search time between JSA youth and control group members. Thus, JSA leads to more job finding in the short-run, but not necessarily to shorter search time among successful job finders.

Program Costs

Costs per youth served, excluding demonstration expenses and stipends, were $715 and $324 for Cambridge and Wilkes-Barre respectively. Costs per employed youth were a modest $1442 and $611 in Cambridge and Wilkes-Barre (excluding stipends and demonstration expenses). The cost per net new job created through job search assistance in Cambridge was $4468.

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Chapter V

Policy Implications

Job search assistance for youth appears to work by sustaining interest in active search. It may do this through financial incentives, through a program that is perceived as "fun" by young persons, or through the fact that counselors are there to marshal and reinforce youthful energies that might otherwise be dissipated. Whether there are long-term impacts extending into future spells of unemployment cannot be deduced from our study of job search assistance. In fact, this study shows that there can be significant short-term effects, but these effects appear to diminish over time.

Successful job search assistance gets youngsters to initiate their search sooner than they had otherwise planned and to pursue search more intensively over a period of time. The curricula of the programs are undoubtedly important in attracting youth to and keeping youth in the programs, but it is not clear whether the various JSA elements actually can be said to alter participants' attitudes or knowledge areas. It is the intensity of the program that is clearly very important.

This then raises the question of what sort of incentive it takes to get youth to participate in such a program. We showed that in Cambridge the financial stipend used to attract and support youth during the program was a critical element of job search assistance. When the program tried to operate without stipends, it failed. Similarly, many of Wilkes-Barre's problems with underenrollment, failure to deliver all plann services, and low service hours can be attributed to a lack of financial incentive.

The importance of personnel in preparing youth, but more importantly, in reinforcing the search process, was illustrated in both the process and impact analyses. Certainly, the frequent staff turnover and disruptive reassignments in Wilkes-Barre influenced the employment-related impacts cited in Chapter IV.

Another important element is program design. The Cambridge program is structured in a way that holds youths captive long enough to impart a sense of urgency and incentive to their search. By contrast, the Wilkes-Barre program is diffuse and characterized by a lack of enjoyable group activities, as well as a failure to routinely follow and support the youths during their search for jobs.

The conventional wisdom is that job search assistance works in part because of the peer support, group dynamics, and other program elements directed at changes in self-esteem, knowledge of the world-of-work, and knowledge of the job search process. In this study, the program's short-run success resulted from the high intensity of search effort generated by the program's service mix. We would argue that these program activities were important because they were fun and because they held the attention of the youth. This does not prove that the conventional wisdom is wrong--only that when job search assistance worked, it succeeded most importantly to the extent that it increased the intensity of search. Job search assistance is important then not so much for what it teaches but for what it promotes--job finding.

Success from the job search assistance programs results from direct services provided rather than a serious transformation of the youth who go through the programs. We found little or no evidence that work attitudes

or knowledge areas were shaped by job search assistance pedagogy, or that such attitudes lead to job finding indirectly through program participation. As a matter of fact; in Cambridge the direct effect of the job search program was found to lead to positive short-run employment effects, independent of these other factors. It is clear that the social-psychological orientation placed on job search assistance by early investigators (see Chapters I-II) is overstated. This type of orientation is important instrumentally as a means to an end; it strengthens the intensity of the program experience which in turn leads to job finding.

An important finding is that fears that job search assistance would lead to worse jobs for participants than youth who shopped around longer for jobs was unjustified. The evidence in Cambridge is that the first jobs found after job search assistance are modestly better jobs, although few youth through the mechanism of JSA break out of the conventional youth labor market. Similarly, we find that the jobs found through JSA were retained for longer periods of time.

We learned also that job search assistance works well in the short run for a number of different groups. Dropouts, for example, were actually overenrolled in Cambridge, while employment outcomes in both communities did not favor high school graduates, dropouts, or in-school youth. An important finding for program operators is that no one group of youth stands dramatically outside the service possibility of JSA; welfare recipients, males or females, over 17 years or under, good and bad readers. We might note that family heads and youth who lived independently of their parents were particularly good prospects for job search assistance (at least in Wilkes-Barre).

There are several considerations in assessing the implications of these findings. While the report is not aimed at the development of a national agenda for federally supported job search assistance (indeed, one of the refreshing aspects of JSA is that it can be run without federal assistance by any number of local delivery agents), we would mention several noteworthy guidelines for policy. First, the job search field is in tremendous need of demystification. The job search concept has been embraced by many in the employment and training community as a "quick fix" to unemployment. It has been moved in the welfare area, for example, from an employment transition service at the completion of training to a work test before provision of services or in-kind benefits. Hopefully, this report will defuse some of the wildest claims for the effectiveness of job search assistance, claims often made by vendors of JSA curricula and consulting services. Second, while the research in this study has been extensive, improvements could be cited. For example, we would have liked to observe more closely the actual job search process. Unfortunately, no one has devised a way to unobtrusively study this subject directly. Third, we would have liked to compare the costs of the programs to other JSA programs for youth and adults. Such data are not available in reliable form. Finally, we have not answered the most important question of whether job search assistance is more or less effective than other youth interventions, such as conventional counseling or placement programs. The latter question will be the subject for further research and syntheses across youth employment program projects. This study can be seen as the beginning of that effort, by showing how and under what conditions job search assistance works for disadvantaged youth.

Guide to Appendices

Appendix A

Appendix A contains a profile of the two local economies; Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania and Cambridge, Massachusetts. This material should be useful background for understanding both the process and the impact analysis reported in Chapters III-IV.

Appendix A

The Local Context

The two sites are different in many significant ways. Cambridge, with a total population of 106,000 and a density of over 16,000 persons per square mile (it's the third most densely populated city in the nation), is famous as an academic center (Harvard University and MIT are the city's largest employers), but it has the same population mix and range of problems as other northern industrial cities. For three decades its manufacturing industry has been migrating south, dramatically affecting the local labor market. Cambridge's stable population, is older, poorer, and less educated than the average for the surrounding metropolitan area. Its largest ethnic groups are Portuguese and blacks; they comprise 11 and 10 percent of the population respectively and a disproportionate share of families living below the poverty level. About 11 percent of Cambridge youth, 16 to 21 years, live in families below the poverty level. All these groups were affected adversely by the loss of manufacturing jobs and the increasingly complex entrance requirements for the service sector.

Despite these problems, Cambridge's unemployment rate has remained below the national average during the months corresponding to the operations of the Job Factory for Youth program (Figure 1).[1] The youth labor market in Cambridge, as measured by the unemployment rate of 16-19 year olds, improved between 1978 and 1979 (see Table A-1) by one percentage point. The rate of improvement was greater than the nation as a whole and considerably better than Wilkes-Barre, where teenage unemployment increased by 1.4 percentage points between 1978 and 1979. In the year of the demonstration projects, teenage unemployment in Cambridge was

[1] Local unemployment data are not collected separately and are based on 1970 Census adjusted rates for regional trends.

lower than the U.S. and Wilkes-Barre rates. Averaging three years (1977 to 1979), the Cambridge youth unemployment rate was 13 percent, well below the nation's average of 16.5 and Wilkes-Barre's 21.6 percent.

Luzerne County is located in northeast Pennsylvania and has a total population of 337,500 (Wilkes-Barre's population is 55,969) with a density of 382 persons per square mile. Overall, the county population has declined 1.2 percent between 1970 and 1978. The city of Wilkes-Barre's population decreased nearly 6 percent between 1970 and 1978. The county's non-white population has increased from 1970 to 1978; but still comprises less than 2 percent of the county population.

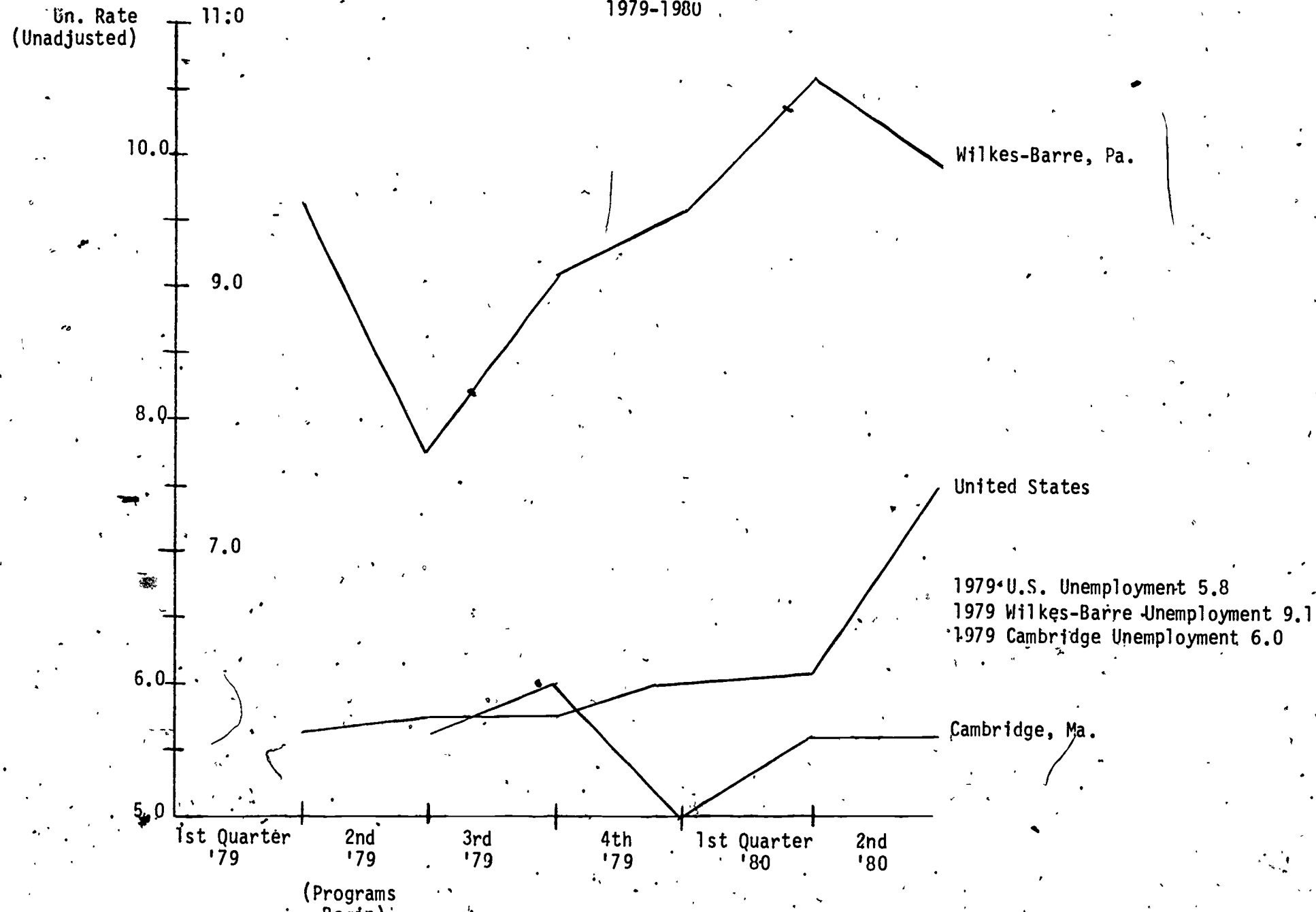
Unemployment and poverty are critical problems in Luzerne County. Nearly one out of every nine persons in the county live below federal poverty standards. Industries which once dominated the region no longer provide jobs. The coal mining industry, once the leader among county industries, is currently last after retail trade, services, government, small manufacturing and other sectors. The possibility of a revitalized coal industry, in response to the national energy crisis, remains strong but to date has had only a marginal impact on employment.

Many youth in Luzerne County leave school early to seek employment outside the area. About 20 percent of poor youth aged 16 to 21 leave school before graduating in contrast to 10 percent of non-poor youth. A higher percentage of Luzerne County youth are jointly out of school, not high school graduates, and not employed, than in Pennsylvania as a whole (5.5 and 4.7 percent respectively). In sum, youth opportunities in the

Wilkes-Barre area are constrained by the fact that it is a small city surrounded by a rural county suffering from severe changes in the industrial structure, out-migration, and a youth labor market that ranks unfavorably compared to the state and U. S. population.

Figure 1

Quarterly (Unadjusted) Unemployment Rates
1979-1980



Sources: U.S. Data: Employment & Training Report of the President - 1980, G.P.O., Washington, D.C., 1980.
Wilkes-Barre Data: "Labor Market Letter," and "Annual Planning Report." (Hazleton) Pa. Area, Pennsylvania State Employment Service.
Cambridge Data: Bureau of Labor Statistics, USDOL, Region 1. Personal Communication.

Table A-1

Total and Youth Unemployment Rates

		U.S.A.	Wilkes-Barre, Pa. (Luzerne County)	Cambridge, Mass. (Boston SMSA)
	1978			
1)	Total Unemployment Rate	6.0	8.7	6.6
2)	16 to 19 years	16.3	22.7	12.3
3)	Youth/total ratio (line 2 ÷ 1)	2.32	2.61	1.86
	1979			
4)	Total Unemployment Rate	5.8	9.1	6.0
5)	16 to 19 years	16.1	24.1	11.3
6)	Youth/total ratio (line 5 ÷ 4)	2.40	2.64	1.88
7)	Estimated 1977-1979 Youth Unemployment Rate	16.5	21.6	13.0

Sources: See Figure 1 - Estimated 1977-1979 youth unemployment rates are CPS averages adjusted for Census.

Appendix B

This appendix describes general characteristics of the sample utilized in the impact analysis - Chapter IV.

Appendix B
Impact Analysis Sample

Demographic characteristics of the impact sample are described in Table A-2. Table A-3 compares the characteristics of first follow-up respondents to non-respondents.

The total sample on which the present analyses are based is 764 youth. The participant sample in Cambridge was on the average 18 years of age, just one year older on average than in Wilkes-Barre. There were slightly more males in Cambridge but equal numbers of females to males in Wilkes-Barre. The Wilkes-Barre program is situated in the predominantly white community of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. The Cambridge program enrolled significantly greater numbers of black (36.5 percent) and Hispanic youth (8.4 percent). In terms of economic status, all youth meet CETA/YETP income eligibility guidelines. However, in Wilkes-Barre, the average family income of participants is higher than in Cambridge. More youth in Wilkes-Barre, for example, are from families 71-85 percent, and 85 percent or higher, than the lower living standards established by the Office of Management Budget and DOL. Also, in Cambridge, double the number of program participants receive public assistance (27.6 percent) than in Wilkes-Barre. And, one third of the Cambridge youth head their own households or live apart from their parents' homes. The comparable figure in Wilkes-Barre is 11.9 percent. Most youth in both communities have some previous work experience and just over a quarter of the youth have been involved in CETA programs in the past. (Wilkes-Barre is a community program that receives YEDPA funds but "competes" for low income youth with the local CETA agency.) Overall, the Cambridge experiment and control groups are similar in the major demographic characterisitcs displayed in Table A-2.[1]

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[1] The preceding is a statistical profile of the samples. To give the reader a better "feel" for the job search assistance participants, Appendix C presents qualitative profiles.

Table A-2

Sample Description by Demographic Characteristics

		Cambridge		Wilkes-Barre
		Experiment	Control	
N of Participants:		203	165	396
Age:	X years	18.3	18.7	17.2
	Percent 16-17	19.2	13.3	39.6
	Percent 18-21	80.8	86.7	60.4
Sex:	Male	54.7	63.0	49.5
	Female	45.3	37.0	50.5
Race:*	White	40.4	44.2	97.2
	Black	36.5	37.6	2.8
	Hispanic	8.4	10.9	-
	Other	6.3	4.3	-
Family Status:*				
	Family Head	4.4	4.8	5.6
	Family Member	55.2	50.3	68.2
	Indepen. Member	28.1	33.9	6.3
Education Status:*				
	H.S. Student	-	-	43.7
	H.S. Leaver	31.5	37.0	8.3
	H.S. Graduate	55.0	48.4	19.9
Ex-Offender Status:				
	Prior Records	9.4	8.2	13.5
Public Assistance:				
	AFDS, SS, Other	22.7	26.1	11.6
Previous CETA Experience:				
	Yes	26.6	25.5	31.1
Previous Work Experience:				
	Yes	82.3	90.3	60.4
Economic Status:*				
	70% Lower Living Standard	52.0	44.0	37.0
	71-85% Lower Living Standard	15.3	8.0	16.0
	86% - More	3.4	2.4	16.0
	Other	1.0	1.8	2.2

*Percentages do not add to 100 percent. Missing category excluded.

Table A-3

Characteristics of First Follow-up Respondents and Non-Respondents

(Percents)

	Cambridge				Wilkes-Barre	
	Exp.		Control			
	R	NR	R	NR	R	NR
Male	51.5	60.3	40.7	32.9	53.9	48.1
Age: 16-17	22.3	11	3.5	2.5	37.0	41.6
Dropout	30.8	32.9	29.1	45.6	6.1	10.0
H.S. Grd.	—	—	—	—	25.5	25.1
Prev. CETA	34.9	39.5	34.7	24.2	43.1	56.9
Prev. Work	84.6	79.5	94.2	86.1	60.0	61.0
Pub. Asst.	5.4	5.5	11.6	7.6	5.5	7.4
Family Head or Non-Dep.	26.2	43.8	29.1	49.4	9.7	13.4

Table A-3 compares characteristics of youth who returned the first follow-up and those that did not respond to the first follow-up. In Wilkes-Barre, the group of non-respondents are quite similar to follow-up respondents. Among the treatment youth in Cambridge, non-respondents are more likely to be male, 18 years or older, and separated from their parents' homes. Within the control group, the notable differences include the following: non-respondents are more likely to be females, dropouts, have no previous CETA experience, and head their own households.

Appendix C

Job Factory for Youth: Client Profiles

The following are selected profiles of some clients in the first three cycles of the Cambridge Job Factory. They were recorded by the participant observer and are deliberately impressionistic. Names have been changed and events rearranged to ensure confidentiality. Their purpose is to provide insight into the personal factor, as a counterpoint to the analytical and statistical data. The profiles selected for presentations give a flavor for the clients served by the Cambridge job search assistance program; they are, however, not a representative sample in a statistical sense.

Mary had graduated from a local parochial school. Her only prior work experience had been part-time as a receptionist and kitchen aide during the last four years in a local church rectory. Mary was constantly referred to as "the model Job Factory client," and she secured a job at a large insurance company as a statistical analyst by the end of the second week of the program. She was also offered another job during the same week as a teller trainee at a bank, which she turned down. She was recommended to the bank by a program counselor after learning of the vacancy on her own, and was referred to the insurance company by her sister, an employee of that company.

Hormitas, a Haitian living in Boston with relatives, missed much of the the first week of the program because of academic commitments at the high school. He also worked the graveyard shift at a local fast food restaurant as a cook through his senior year and during the program. Seemingly financially independent, he had little regard for the structure

of the program. He was terminated during the last week of the program. At the follow-up interview, he claimed to be working at a state hospital as a housekeeper.

Katie, the youngest child in a large family, attends a New England state university, and plans to major in social service administration. Katie is a real achiever--a member of the National Honor Society, varsity athlete (tennis and swimming), industrious. She hawked newspapers for five summers and throughout the 1978-79 school year. She also has been a life guard at a local pool during 1978. She secured a job at a YWCA pool for the summer after a self-directed telephone search of the Boston area.

Grace is a Haitian girl recently graduated from high school. Though she spoke very little English, she was fiercely determined to do all that was expected of her, insisting on completing all the research questionnaires without assistance. She secured a job at a manufacturing company adjacent to the Job Factory building as an assembler at $3.08 an hour. She got a tip from another Job Factory client who was also hired there. She presently lives in Boston with her cousin.

Contessa, white female, eager and ambitious, but unfocused, became very dependent on the program staff. As the program progressed, she consulted staff heavily at every stage for everything. She completed the program without placement. She enrolled in SYEP after the Job Factory. She is presently attending a community college and is looking for a part-time job.

Tony is a Haitian male who excused himself for his extreme tardiness the first day with promises that it would never happen again; the promise proved hollow. He is trilingual and is an experienced martial arts instructor. He is also an accomplished song writer and guitar player who in his resume describes himself as in very good health with a positive attitude toward life and work. He has worked as a fast foods cook's aide part-time for two years in a restaurant, and as a counselor-in-training at the YMCA during a summer. When contacted after the program, we learned from his family and friends that he was sick and in a hospital in New York. Tony contacted the researchers in December for the second wave follow-up, and claimed that he was a student at a local university, and was working in the psychology department.

Ray, one of only three white males in the first Job Factory cycle, established good rapport with one of the counselors but related little with other peers in the program. Though he had various job interviews during the four weeks of the program, he finished without placement. On follow-up in August he was in basic training with the U.S. Navy in Florida.

Harold, a taciturn, young black man, stated on the first day of the program he wanted a job where he would not get his hands dirty. He is presently attending a local university. His work experience includes three months as a stock boy at a travel agency, one month of Upward Bound, and a summer with SYEP as a gym instructor. Also, he had worked part-time five months washing cars. He kept a low profile during much of his time in the Job Factory, generally doing what was expected of him. He did not, however, pursue a job with any ardor. He quit the program after the third week.

Later he participated in an Upward Bound Program.

Ellen, an 18-year old H.S. graduate, secured a job at the end of the second week of the program as a teller trainee at a local bank. She had heard from a friend that they were hiring and set up an interview on the phone. Her plans are to continue at her present position.

James is a young black man who stayed in the program for three weeks before being dismissed. He made only a minimum effort at job search. He was referred to the Job Factory from another public program where he had worked six months doing home rehabilitation.

Lee Ann, a 20-year old white woman, is a high school graduate with severe emotional problems. She had no work history. She was terminated during the second week of the program for her repeated flute playing during work sessions. She was totally incapable of any sustained work and presented an unusual problem for the Factory staff because of her bizarre behavior.

Robert is a 21-year old white man with a high school diploma. With some prodding, he was motivated in his early job search to complete an acceptable resume. However, he soon became easily discouraged, complaining incessantly of nervousness. He was terminated at the end of the first week. His work history includes one brief stint with a local company as a truck loader and a summer job as factory worker.

Betty is a 21-year old bilingual (in English and Portuguese) woman with her G.E.D. She worked diligently to find a job as a receptionist/secretary with a real estate company, only to find herself out of work when her new boss hired his girlfriend. She immediately found a position as a receptionist at a tax consulting firm, and credits the Job Factory with her fine resume and good advice. She has a three-year work history in the clerical field.

Caesar is a 22-year old white man with an admitted alcohol problem. He has three years experience as a chef trainee at a large Boston hotel. He finished the program without placement. Caesar was capable of diligent and cooperative job search, but was unable to sustain it. He finally admitted to staff that he had a drinking problem that was interfering with his work.

Cecile, an 18-year old bilingual Hispanic woman, found a job over the phone as a file clerk for a credit agency, beginning at $3.50 an hour. She had worked as a receptionist in a hospital (one year). Cecile did not graduate from high school.

Janice is a twenty-one year old woman with a tenth grade education. She is presently separated from her husband, has two small children, and lives with her grandparents. She last attended school in February, 1976, though she is currently taking night classes for the GED. Her work experience includes two stints as a machine operator in garment factories. From August 1977 to October 1979, she worked for a dress manufacturing company at $3.15 an hour, and from October 1976 to December 1976, she worked for a fabric firm. She left the latter employer because of "poor working conditions." She was an enthusiastic and

diligent member of her JSA class. She initially listed her ideal job as a computer operator but after seeking information regarding this choice, she switched and pursued a job in a bank. A week after searching, Janice got a job as a teller trainee at a large commercial bank. She attributed her success to her high score on a standardized "intelligence" test. She expressed satisfaction with her new position.

Robert is a 22-year old white male with a tenth-grade education. He listed his most recent employer as the U.S. Marine Corps. Prior to entry into the service, he worked for $3.15 an hour at a large department store. He stated that his reason for leaving was a criminal conviction on a breaking and entering charge for which he went to jail. Prior to that, he worked in the maintenance department of a large company for $3.50 an hour.

Peter was a regular participant in his JSA class and wished to find a job as a furniture mover. After a week of active searching, (he visited 5-6 moving companies) he landed a job with a furniture company in Cambridge. At the first follow-up period, we were unable to reach Peter. His mother informed us that he had gotten a place of his own and had no phone. In the summer, a researcher happened to see Peter on a street in Cambridge. He said that he was no longer working at the furniture store; he had been arrested again for breaking and entering and would probably be going back to jail.

Cecilia is a 19-year old, unmarried Hispanic girl with a young child. Her mother took care of her child while Cecilia regularly attended Job Factory. Cecilia wanted to get a job in day care. After a week of searching, she landed a job as a teacher's aide in a suburban Head Start Program.

Aaron is a twenty-year old black man. His participation was erratic and he was terminated at the end of the second week of the program. His previous work history is very spotty; he listed having a "minor breakdown" as a reason for leaving his last job as a laborer. At the first follow-up, he was unemployed.

Peggy is a self-supporting twenty-one year old white woman with an Associate Degree who hoped to break into the communication/personnel field. She had been working part-time as a waitress, hoping to save enough money to return to college and to travel. She was an active member of her Job Factory class, continually offering support and ideas to others. After the formal classroom training, she pursued a number of informational interviews at such places as local newspapers, radio stations, and colleges. Finally, she accepted a position as an admissions secretary at a college in Boston.

Mel is a twenty-year old black man who has completed one year on a football scholarship at a large southwestern university. He has returned home because of "personal" problems. He expressed interest in returning to college to pursue his education and what he hopes will be a career in professional football. He would always appear at the Job Factory well-dressed, but his attendance was erratic. According to his sign in/out sheet, he sought work at an insurance office, a hospital, a bank and several retail stores. He was offered and accepted a position as a messenger at a finance company.

Sara is 22-year old high school drop out, who has been unemployed since Spring, 1979. She found a job as an assembler on a cold call. She has two years of bartending and waitressing experience in a small bar.

Fred is a recent honors graduate from a rural high school where he excelled in sports and academics. He has had three unskilled jobs during previous summers. He landed a job as a researcher at a service company on a cold call the third week of the program.

Lenny is a 20-year old high school dropout. He claimed that he had been recently dishonorably discharged from the U.S. Marine Corps for stealing an officer's jeep. He had no other work history of note. In contrast to his alleged escapades in the service, he presented himself as a diligent and competent individual intent on finding a good job. Initially he wanted to find work in hotel management. He secured two interviews at local hotels. He finally accepted a position as a printer's assistant at $4.00 an hour at a printing company in downtown Boston. Our one-month follow-up revealed that he had been promoted and was now making $4.75 an hour.

Appendix D

Counselor Ratings of Participants' Employment Potential

In this Appendix, we consider an important topic, but one that is ancillary to the major themes presented in the process and impact analyses. The topic is the job search assistance counselors' assessment of participants. Our interest in counselor ratings of clients' employment potential stems from two concerns. First, the JSA programs attract a relatively homogeneous group of low income volunteers (see Table A-2). We would like to know how the counselors differentiate among the participants in terms of the youths' readiness to work. The counselors are, in a sense, much like the potential employers that youth hope to impress. Therefore, the counselors' judgments are important trial balloons of the real world-of-work. Second, the variability in counselor ratings may be related in some way to post-program outcomes. Consider, for example, whether counselors who perceive their young clients as suffering from many disadvantages and employment barriers treat these youth differently. Perhaps youth who are perceived as more disadvantaged are overlooked for intensive supported job search through a "creaming" process. Alternatively, such youth could be selected for special treatment. Both possibilities may lead to unique outcomes. We have no direct evidence of such phenomena, but through two survey instruments we can explore some of these ideas.

Two instruments were utilized in this study to assess counselor ratings of participants. The first, called Summary Rating, was provided

as part of the ETS/SAS system. It asks 17 questions about each participant's attitude and program experience; about whether the participant pays attention to grooming and dress; is open about discussing job problems; shows resentment and hostility; makes realistic plans, and is coherent in expressing him/herself. The other instrument was developed by the researchers and has been used successfully in a number of evaluations of welfare recipients. This "Barrier" form asks counselors to rate the youths in terms of barriers to getting or keeping a job. The 14 barriers may be grouped into four categories: educational (e.g., reading, writing difficulties, not enough education); medical-psychological (e.g., handicaps, alcoholism, drug abuse, tense, nervous); social service barriers (e.g., child care, transportation problems); and direct employment barriers (e.g., lacks job experience, references, specialized skills).

Table A-4 shows the percentages of youth viewed as having particular categories of employment-related barriers as well as the relationship between the counselor views on barriers and the summary counselor ratings. The most prominent type of barrier is the direct employment type (e.g., lack of references and specialized skills). In both communities, between 60 and 66 percent of all JSA youth are labeled by counselors as experiencing this barrier. About one-third of youth in both communities have educational barriers, and just over a quarter of the youth in both programs have psychological-medical barriers. The counselors' assessments are similar across communities with the exception of the social service barrier. In Wilkes-Barre, transportation problems

account for more youth having this latter barrier than in Cambridge.

As expected, Table A-4 shows that youth who are not designated as having a particular barrier receive higher scores on the ETS/SAS Summary Counselor Ratings. The variability of the ETS/SAS counselor ratings, however, is rather narrow when comparing among youth with barriers or between youth with barriers and no barriers. Most youth are rated low on Summary Counselor Rating.

Next, we consider whether the employment barriers are related to job finding in the post-program period. Table A-5 shows the following: In Cambridge, youth with the medical-psychological and direct employment barriers actually work in greater proportions than those without such barriers. On the other hand, those with educational barriers work less than youth without such barriers. Apparently, the latter educational barrier is a greater detriment to employment than lack of work experience or health-related problems. In Wilkes-Barre, in each case having a barrier leads to less employment, except for the social service barrier, where the effect is reversed.

To learn whether job finding differences persist between youth with barriers and those without barriers after other variables, such as age, sex, reading level, education status, ethnicity, family status and welfare status are introduced, we performed a number of regressions involving the various employment-related barriers. The pattern of job finding holds regardless of employment barriers. None of the regressions resulted in significant barrier coefficients, with the exception of a Cambridge regression involving the educational barrier. (There, youth who do not have the education barrier were found to obtain higher rates of job finding,

Table A-4

Employment Barriers and Counselors' Ratings

Percent of Youth Having Employment-Related Barriers

	Social Service	Psych-Medical	Educational	Direct Employmen
Cambridge (N = 93)	4	29	37	66
Wilkes-Barre (N = 195)	18	27	33	62

The Relationship Between Employment Barriers and Counselor Ratings -

Mean Scores on Counselor Rating

	Social Service		Psych-Medical		Educational		Direct Employmen	
	Barrier	No Bar.	Barrier	No Bar.	Barrier	No Bar.	Barrier	No Bar.
Cambridge (N = 93)	3.5	3.6	2.9	3.9	3.3	3.8	3.4	4.0
Wilkes-Barre (N = 195)	3.3	3.9	3.3	4.0	3.3	4.1	3.5	4.3

Table A-5

Job Finding and Employment Barriers in Percents (Number)

	Social Service	Medical-Psychological	Educational	Direct Employment
Wilkes-Barre				
Percent of Persons with Barrier Who Work at 1st Follow-up	75.0 (20)	61.8 (34)	60.0 (35)	63.2 (68)
Percent of Persons without Barrier Who Work at 1st Follow-up	68.0 (100)	72.1 (86)	72.9 (85)	76.9 (52)
Cambridge				
Percent of Persons with Barriers Who Work at 1st Follow-up	-- (2)	67.9 (81)	46.7 (30)	72.5 (51)
Percent of Persons without Barriers Who Work at 1st Follow-up	65.4 (104)	52.0 (25)	71.1 (76)	56.4 (55)

ceteris paribus.) This finding is consistent with the data described above for Table A-5.) Similarly, we tried regressions with the ETS/SAS counselor rating variable as an independent variable on the job finding dependent variable (at first follow-up). In Wilkes-Barre, counselor rating was significant (see Table A-6). In Cambridge, the ETS/SAS counselor rating scale was not significant.

To summarize, the results show that in Cambridge there is no simple relationship between counselors' designations of the various employment barriers and subsequent job finding. In fact, when various background characteristics are introduced, the employment barriers are diminished to insignificance (with the exception of education barrier in Cambridge). In Wilkes-Barre, the overall counselor rating scale is significantly related to job finding, after the various controls are introduced.[1]

The data on counselor ratings suggest that although an important feature of job search assistance may be the way counselors perceive young clients, the counselor assessments--both with respect to employment barriers and overall ratings--are not completely reliable guides to the subsequent employment success of youth in the labor market. In job search assistance, counselors may be able to quickly assess a young person's strengths and weaknesses, employment barriers and advantages. It cannot be said, however, that the counselors know best which youth will succeed and which will fail before the youth leave the program. Moreover, there is no evidence in our data of discrimination of one sort or another by the counselors. Youths with employment barriers, for example, are not disproportionately minorities, dropouts, or the like. Finally, the most reliable guide to success appears to be the education-related employment barrier.

[1] We investigated several explanations for the finding that Summary Counselor Ratings in the Wilkes-Barre program are significant in job finding. Were the ratings, for example, related to hours spent in the program or the background characteristics of the youth? We could find no significant differences along these dimensions.

Table A-6

The Effect of Counselor Rating on Job Finding - Wilkes-Barre

(First Follow-up)

Independent Variables	Regression
Counselor Rating Score (ETS/SAS)	.1606* (.0594)
Education Status: Dropout	-.0753 (.1103)
High School Graduate	.1390 (.1103)
Sex: Female	-.1372 (.0957)
Age: 16 or 17	-.0874 (.0971)
Reading Level	-.0012 (.0008)
Family status: Head or Non-dependent	.2454 (.1425)
Public Assistance	.2879 (.3244)
Group 2	-.0590 (.1028)
Group 3	-.0164 (.1090)
Constant	.1270
R^2	.191
N (Listwise deletion)	108
F	2.31*

*Significance at .05 percent level (2 tail test for independent variables).
For variable definitions see Chapter IV.

Appendix E

This appendix describes the research instruments and data collection procedures utilized in the evaluation.

Appendix E
Research Instruments

Listed below are the research instruments used in the study. All, except for the STEP Reading Scale and the battery of seven pre-post-tests organized by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) for use by researchers in a Department of Labor supported national data bank, were developed or modified by the researchers for this project. (See Rock & Freeberg, 1980, cited in Chapter 2 for a detailed account of the measures used and information pertaining to the ETS Standard Assessment System.

1. Individual Participant Profile (IPP) -- includes enrollee characteristics, program status, and termination status. The IPP was given to all youth in the study.
2. STEP Reading Scale -- a short 10-15 minute measure of reading level ranging from fourth to ninth grades. The STEP is actually a composite of items from several locator tests designed to assess quickly which level of a full reading test is appropriate for a given student. The STEP was given to all study youth.
3. Pre- and Post-Psychometric Tests -- These include seven relatively short tests. The tests were described in Chapter IV.
4. Program Completion Survey (PCS) -- an exit questionnaire to determine what youth did in the program, attitudes toward the program, aspirations and expectations was given to treatment youth in Cambridge and all youth in Wilkes-Barre.

5. Counselor Rating Form -- this form is filled out by the JSA counselors and asks them to assess individual participant youth in terms of the youth's attitudes and overall likelihood of success in the labor market.
6. Employer Rating Form -- This is a short questionnaire given to employers who hired JSA participants. The response rate was too low to reliably report results in this study; the sample of employers was limited to youth and firms who consented to its administration.
7. Employment Barrier Forms -- This form was developed by the researchers and used to assess the JSA counselors' opinions as to employment-related barriers of individual clients.
8. Follow-up Surveys -- these personal, phone and mail surveys were given to all youth, treatment and control. They record labor force participation and a range of other post-program experiences.
9. Wilkes-Barre Comparison Group -- Brandeis obtained a list of approximately 125 positive and negative terminees from the Wilkes-Barre CETA program (Title II-B and YETP). The same follow-up surveys as in #8 were used. Tracking CETA youth in Wilkes-Barre proved very difficult and began too late in the study to obtain reliable results. They are not reported.
10. Program applications were examined for research purposes.
11. Program records, such as sign-up sheets, attendance records, progress reports, and budget reports were examined for research purposes.

12. ETS/SAS Program Information Questionnaire and Brandeis open-ended program operator questionnaires were used, especially for the process study.

Data Collection

Collection of data for the process and impact studies was the main responsibility of the researchers in coordination with the program agents in each of the sites. Data collection arrangements varied between the two program sites due to differences in program design and geographic location. In Cambridge, because of its proximity to Brandeis University (10 miles), a staff member from the evaluation team was assigned as a participant-observer to each cycle of The Job Factory. He was responsible for monitoring the testing activities of the experimental group, with the assistance of program staff members when necessary. Brandeis researchers conducted the follow-up surveys. The first follow-up was generally a personal interview; a combination of personal and telephone interviews were used for remaining follow-up surveys.

With the exception of the follow-up instrument, testing activities in Wilkes-Barre were supervised by the researchers but administered by the program counselors. In an effort to gather accurate follow-up information from participant youth, a research field agent was hired and trained by the Brandeis evaluation staff to conduct personal (1st follow-up) and telephone follow-up (remaining three follow-ups) interviews.

The sequence of follow-up data gathering was not consistent across sites. In Wilkes-Barre, youth were regarded as participants

for up to three months after program entry, unless they terminated positively for jobs. Brandeis received the names of both categories of youth and interviewed them six weeks after they obtained jobs or six weeks after they left the active list. Therefore, with the exception of early job finders, the first follow-up survey in Wilkes-Barre could take place up to 3 months plus 1½ months -- 4½ months after program entry. The information collected, however, was retrospective to program exit. The Cambridge administration of follow-up instruments was more uniform since the program was divided into separate cycles. Table A-7 below illustrates the actual timing of research instruments. Note that in Wilkes-Barre, the average time from program entry to the first follow-up is 24 weeks in contrast to the 10 weeks in Cambridge. Table A-8 shows the planned administration of research instruments. Table A-9 shows the number of respondents for each category of research instruments.

Table A-7

Research Instrument Administration

(Mean Weeks)

Cambridge	Cycle I	Cycle II	Cycle III	Cycle IV	Cycle V
Experimentals:					
Program Entry to First Follow-up	10.57	9.36	12.93	11.00	7.81
Controls:					
Assignment to First Follow-up	11.06	9.32	11.78	10.88	N/A
Time Between First and Second Follow-up					
Experimental:	17.25	14.51	12.22	N/A	N/A
Control:	19.42	17.13	13.75	N/A	N/A
Time Between Second and Third Follow-up					
Experimental:	12.59	9.05	N/A	N/A	N/A
Control:	11.96	7.08	N/A	N/A	N/A
Time Between Third and Fourth Follow-up					
Experimental:	8.83	8.66	N/A	N/A	N/A
Control:	8.26	9.55	N/A	N/A	N/A

Wilkes-Barre	Group I	Group II	Group III
Time Between Program Entry and Program Completion	10.69	8.20	9.41
Time Between Program Entry and First Follow-up	26.04	21.78	24.74
Time Between First and Second Follow-ups	14.14	14.41	14.24
Time Between Second and Third Follow-ups	10.36	8.60	8.68

Table A-8

Planned Testing Schedule for the Job Factory and the Workshop Programs

	Cambridge Cycles 1-5						Cycles 1-3	Cycles 1-2	Cycles 1-2
	IPP	Pre-Test	STEP	Post Test	PCS	1st Fol-up	2nd Fol-up	3rd Fol-up	4th Fol-up
Job Factory Participant Group	Enrollment	3rd day in program	3rd day	Program Exit	Program Exit	6 weeks after Program Exit	14 weeks after 1st Fol-up	8 weeks after 2nd Fol-up	8 weeks after 3rd Fol-up
Job Factory Control Group	Enrollment	Time of 1st Fol-up	Time of 1st Fol-up			6 weeks after Program Exit	14 weeks after 1st Fol-up	8 weeks after 2nd Fol-up	8 weeks after 3rd Fol-up
Wilkes-Barre Participant Groups	Enrollment	3rd day in Program	3rd day in Program	Program Exit	Program Exit	6 weeks after Program Exit	14 weeks after 1st Fol-up	8 weeks after 2nd Fol-up	8 weeks after 3rd Fol-up

Table A-9

Respondents
(Numbers)

	Cambridge		Wilkes-Barre	Total
	EXP.	CONTROL		
IPP	203	165	396	764
Pre-test Only.	62	66	132	260
Post-test Only	13	N/A	6	19
Matched Pre & Post Test	106	N/A	224	330
First Follow-up	129	86	164	379
Second Follow-up	83	56	117	256
Third Follow-up	58	41	69	168
Fourth Follow-up	53	33	N/A	86
PCS Survey	155	N/A	271	426
STEP Test	168	67	365	600
Control Pre-test and First Follow-up	N/A	64	N/A	64
Pre-Post, First Fol-up	71	N/A	125	196
PC Survey, First Fol-up	106	N/A	120	226

Appendix F

Supplemental Analysis Tables

The Department of Labor, through a contractor, the Educational Testing Service, has sought to standardize program assessment activities funded under the 1977 amendment to CETA entitled the Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA). The goal of the Standard Assessment System (SAS) is to establish a common data base for a variety of programs and to encourage generalizations across programs. The ETS/SAS system described in the text is both a set of research instruments (see Appendix E) and a set of common analysis tables. The latter are presented in this Appendix.

It should be noted that other analyses suggested by the ETS/SAS system appear in the text of this report. Appendix F therefore provides additional material. Much of the material in Appendix F involves disaggregated data with rather small cell sizes. Extreme caution should be applied in drawing inferences from these data. Another limitation stems from the fact that the two job search programs were funded before the start of the ETS/SAS and therefore the present research was not structured to correspond perfectly to its requirements. The most notable example is the failure to post-test control group youth in Cambridge (see Chapter IV-Section C for details) on a variety of tests. Another reason for caution in reading these tables is that many tables present simple two variable relationships and do not control for other variables. The multiple regression procedures in the text of the report do, however, try to control for the effects of several explanatory variables. We have interpreted some of the tables in this Appendix that have noteworthy findings.

Guide to Appendix F Tables

Appendix F tables are clustered in three categories shown below.

1) Attitude/Knowledge Areas Tables

Table A-10 Split Halves Reliability

Table A-11 and A-12 Wilkes-Barre Gain Score Analysis

2) Employment Impacts

Table A-13A, B Employment Rates by Pre-Program Work Experience

Table A-14 A, B Employment by Hours of Participation

Table A-15 A, B Employment by School and Ethnic Status

Table A-16 Mean Wages and Earnings

3) Post-Program Activity Status

Table A-17 A, B Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Table A-18 A, B Post-Program Status by Low Reading Level

Table A-19 A, B Post-Program Status by High Reading Level

Table A-10

Split-Halves Reliability

(Number)

ETS Measures	Cambridge Pre-tests Experimental	Cambridge Pre-tests Controls	Wilkes-Barre Pre-tests
Vocational Attitude	.64 (136)	.66 (48)	.78 (301)
Job Knowledge	.47 (133)	.47 (55)	.59 (306)
Job Holding Skills	.47 (147)	.40 (59)	.50 (330)
Work Relevant Attitudes	.70 (155)	.67 (60)	.83 (346)
Job Seeking Skills	.69 (134)	.78 (52)	.62 (322)
Sex Stereotyping	.87 (160)	.89 (60)	.93 (351)
Self-Esteem	.37 (145)	.38 (61)	.61 (330)

Table A-11 Part A

Wilkes-Barre Gain Score Analysis--Adjusted Post-Test Means*
(List 1 Control Variables--See Below)

Scale	Group 1 vs. Groups 2 & 3 (combined)		Group 2 vs. Groups 1 & 3 (combined)		Group 3 vs. Groups 1 & 2 (combined)	
Vocational Attitudes	22.99	23.05	23.23	22.92	22.84	23.11
Job Knowledge	23.79	23.70	24.18	23.47	23.13	24.00
Job Holding	30.86	30.64	31.05	30.52	30.16	30.96
Work Attitudes	51.53	51.01	50.71	50.91	50.26	51.59
Job Seeking Skills	12.95	12.45	12.88	12.45	11.93	12.91
Sex Stereotyping	47.05	45.60	46.27	45.96	44.80	45.50
Self-Esteem	36.04	36.22	36.17	36.16	36.28	36.11

* Adjusted for pre-test; public assistance; household status; educational status.

Table A-11 Part B

Wilkes-Barre Covariance Adjusted Gains*

Scale	Group 1 vs. Groups 2 & 3 (combined)	Group 2 vs. Groups 1 & 3 (combined)	Group 3 vs. Groups 1 & 2 (combined)
Vocational Attitudes	-.014	.072	-.062
Job Knowledge	.024	.192*	-.235*
Job Holding	.073	.176*	-.266*
Work Attitudes	.072	.027	-.185*
Job Seeking Skills	.185*	.159*	-.363*
Sex Stereotyping	.161*	.034	-.077
Self-Esteem	-.055	.003	.051

* Difference between adjusted means divided by scale standard deviation. Significance is ≤ .10.

Table A-12 Part A

Wilkes-Barre Gain Score Analysis--Adjusted Post-Test Means*
(List 2 Control Variables--See Below)

Scale	Group 1 vs. Groups 2 & 3 (combined)		Group 2 vs. Groups 1 & 3 (combined)		Group 3 vs. Groups 1 & 2 (combined)	
Vocational Attitudes	23.30	22.77	23.23	22.78	22.11	23.26
Job Knowledge	23.87	23.57	24.18	23.35	22.69	24.05
Job Holding	30.95	30.75	31.36	30.49	29.91	31.17
Work Attitudes	51.85	51.37	52.44	50.96	49.86	52.18
Job Seeking Skills	12.81	12.40	12.98	12.27	11.59	12.90
Sex Stereotyping	46.76	45.34	46.08	45.66	44.32	46.41
Self-Esteem	36.08	36.18	36.45	35.97	35.82	36.28

* Adjusted for pre-test score, sex, reading score, income/lower living standard.

Table A-12 Part B

Wilkes-Barre Covariance Adjusted Gains*

Scale	Group 1 vs. Groups 2 & 3 (combined)	Group 2 vs. Groups 1 & 3 (combined)	Group 3 vs. Groups 1 & 2 (combined)
Vocational Attitudes	.123*	.105*	-.267*
Job Knowledge	.081	.224*	-.368*
Job Holding	.066	.290*	-.420*
Work Attitudes	.066	.205*	-.322*
Job Seeking Skills	.151*	.262*	-.485*
Sex Stereotyping	.157*	.046	-.232*
Self-Esteem	-.030	.145*	-.139*

* Difference between adjusted means divided by scale standard deviation. Significance is $\leq .10$.

Table A-13A

Employment Rates by Pre-Program Work Experience

Cambridge (First Follow-Up)

	Experimental	Control
Minority Male Experienced	68.4 (19)	56.3 (16)
Minority Male Limited	50.0 (10)	46.2 (13)
Non-Minority Male Experienced	60.9 (23)	55.6 (9)
Non-Minority Male Limited	53.3 (15)	46.2 (13)
Female Minority Experienced	60.0 (10)	50.0 (10)
Female Minority Limited	50.0 (22)	33.3 (6)
Non-Minority Female Experienced	82.4 (17)	40.0 (10)
Non-Minority Female Limited	78.6 (14)	44.4 (9)

Definition - Experienced: Reported job previous to program (source IPP) at more than 25 hours per week, wage greater than $4.00/hour.

Limited: All else.

Comment: Cell sizes are small. Nonetheless, this table shows that among youth receiving job search assistance, previous work experience is associated with higher employment rates, particularly among minority youth. Among control group youth, differences in employment rates between youth with previous work experience and those without work experience are also most significant for minority youth.

Table A-13B (Continued)

Employment Rates by Pre-Program Work Experience

Wilkes-Barre (First Follow-Up)

Cycle	I	II	III	All Groups
Male - Experienced	75.0 (12)	100.0 (7)	66.7 (6)	80.0 (25)
Male - Limited	93.3 (15)	58.8 (17)	68.4 (19)	73.0 (51)
Females - Experienced	58.3 (12)	71.4 (10)	77.8 (9)	68.0 (31)
Females - Limited	78.6 (14)	62.5 (24)	87.5 (14)	73.0 (52)

Comment: Cell sizes are small. Nonetheless, this table shows that previous work experience is modestly associated with higher employment rates for males but not for females.

Table A-14A

Employed Youth (Full- or Part-Time) at First Follow-Up
by Hours of Participation in Program

Wilkes-Barre

Program Hours	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Total	Percent
1-20	24 (29)	25 (34)	22 (24)	71 (87)	82.0
21-60		0 (1)	2 (2)	2 (3)	67.0
61-80	7 (10)	3 (3)	3 (8)	13 (21)	62.0
81-100	7 (9)	6 (10)	6 (9)	19 (28)	68.0
>100	3 (3)	6 (11)	4 (6)	13 (20)	65.0
TOTAL				118 (159)	74.0

Comment: Cell sizes are small. Nonetheless, this table shows more job finding among youth receiving the fewest program hours in the Wilkes-Barre program.

Table A-14B (Continued)

Employed Youth (Full- or Part-Time) at First Follow-Up by Hours of Participation in Program

Cambridge Job Factory

Program Hours	Number	Percent
1-42	14 (21)	67.0
43-76	30 (39)	77.0
77-110	20 (30)	67.0
111-169	21 (39)	54.0

Comment: Cell sizes are small. Nonetheless, the table shows more job finding among youth in the program 1-76 hours than among youth in the program 77 or more hours.

Table A-15A

Wilkes-Barre

Percent Employed Full- or Part-Time at First Follow-Up

by School and Ethnic Status

(Number)

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Total Percent
Male Dropout	50.0 (4)	100.0 (2)	50.0 (2)	63.0 (8)
Male Graduate	87.5 (8)	85.7 (6)	66.7 (3)	82.0 (17)
Female Dropout	100.0 (2)			100.0 (2)
Female Graduate	100.0 (5)	83.3 (12)	71.4 (7)	83.0 (24)
Male & Female Dropouts	66.7 (4)	100.0 (2)	50.0 (2)	75.0 (8)
Non-Dropout	78.7 (47)	66.7 (60)	77.1 (48)	74.0 (155)

Comment: Cell sizes are small. Nonetheless, the table shows that in Wilkes-Barre, the employment rates among graduates and drop-outs are similar. Females have higher employment rates than males.

Table A-15B (Continued)

Cambridge

Percent Employed Full- or Part-Time at First Follow-Up
by School and Ethnic Status

(Number)

	Control	Experimental
Non-Minority Male Graduates	50.0 (14)	50.0 (20)
Non-Minority Male Dropouts	50.0 (6)	57.1 (14)
Minority Male Graduates	52.6 (19)	52.6 (19)
Minority Male Dropouts	50.0 (10)	80.0 (10)
Non-Minority Female Graduates	42.9 (14)	82.6 (23)
Non-Minority Female Dropouts	25.0 (4)	66.7 (6)
Minority Female Graduates	36.4 (11)	56.5 (23)
Minority Female Dropouts	60.0 (5)	44.4 (9)
All Minorities	48.9 (45)	57.4 (61)
All Non-Minorities	44.7 (38)	65.1 (63)
All High School Graduates	63.3 (90)	47.5 (61)
All High School Dropouts	62.5 (40)	48.0 (25)

Comment: Cell sizes are small. Nonetheless, the table shows the following for Cambridge. First, both minorities and non-minorities who went through the job search assistance (JSA) have higher employment rates than control group members; the differences between JSA and control group members are larger among non-minorities than minorities. Second, by school status alone, there is no advantage to JSA. Third, combining school status with ethnicity, the following notable patterns are evident: Employment rates are higher among non-minority female graduates than among minority female graduates. In the case of dropouts, male minorities do better than other groups. In terms of experimental-control group differences, the largest advantage among males is for minority male dropouts. Minority female graduates do benefit from JSA over their control group counterparts, while minority female dropouts in the control group actually do better than their JSA counterparts.

Table A-16A

Cambridge: Mean Wages and Earnings at First Follow-Up

	Cycle 1	Control 1	Cycle 2	Control 2	Cycle 3	Control 3	Cycle 4	Control 4
Wages ($/hour)	$ 3.15	3.36	3.78	3.46	3.84	3.59	3.81	4.68
Hours	36.8	33.18	34.85	31.11	36.69	38.6	35.2	29.4
Earnings	$ 115.92	109.49	131.73	107.64	140.89	138.57	134.11	137.59
N =	21	11	21	9	16	10	5	5

		Experimental	Control
Cambridge Total	Wages	$ 3.58	3.64
	Hours	36.17	33.65
	Earnings	$ 129.49	122.49
	N =	71	35

Table A-16B

Wilkes-Barre: Mean Wages and Earnings at First Follow-Up

Mean Wages ($/hour)	$ 3.00	2.98	3.14
Mean Hours	24.6	26.1	25.24
Mean Earnings	$ 73.80	77.78	78.25
N =	31	33	31

Comment: The text reports median earnings. This table presents mean values. The latter are consistent with the interpretation in the text of the report.

Table A-17A

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Cambridge

ALL

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Experimental					
N	54	4	7	8	28
Row %	53.5	4.0	6.9	7.9	27.7
Col %	67.5	66.7	53.8	57.1	48.3
Control					
N	26	2	6	6	30
Row %	37.1	2.9	8.6	8.6	42.9
Col %	32.5	33.3	46.2	42.9	51.7
Total N	80	6	13	14	58
% Total	46.8	3.5	7.6	8.2	33.9

$X^2 = 5.458$
4 d.f.
Sig. = 0.2435

MALES

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Experimental					
N	27	1	2	7	16
Row %	50.9	1.9	3.8	13.2	30.2
Col %	64.3	33.3	33.3	63.6	53.3
Control					
N	15	2	4	4	14
Row %	38.5	5.1	10.3	10.3	35.9
Col %	35.7	66.7	66.7	36.4	46.7
Total N	42	3	6	11	30
% Total	45.7	3.3	6.5	12.0	32.6

$X^2 = 3.327$
4 d.f.
Sig. = 0.5047

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Cambridge (cont'd)

FEMALES

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Experimental					
N	27	3	5	1	12
Row %	56.3	6.3	10.4	2.1	25.0
Col %	71.1	100.0	71.4	33.3	42.9
Control					
N	11	0	2	2	16
Row %	35.5	0.0	6.5	6.5	51.6
Col %	28.9	0.0	28.6	66.7	57.1
Total N	38	3	7	3	28
% Total	48.1	3.8	8.9	3.8	35.4

$X^2 = 8.67$
4 d.f.
Sig. = 0.069

WHITES

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Experimental					
N	24	2	4	3	11
Row %	54.5	4.5	9.1	6.8	25.0
Col %	66.7	100.0	80.0	100.0	37.9
Control					
N	12	0	1	0	18
Row %	38.7	0.0	3.2	0.0	58.1
Col %	33.3	0.0	20.0	0.0	62.1
Total N	36	2	5	3	29
% Total	48.0	2.7	6.7	4.0	38.7

$X^2 = 10.553$
4 d.f.
Sig. 0.032

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Cambridge (cont'd)

MINORITY

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Experimental					
N	27	2	3	4	16
Row %	51.9	3.8	5.8	7.7	30.8
Col %	67.5	50.0	37.5	40.0	61.5
Control					
N	13	2	5	6	10
Row %	36.1	5.6	13.9	16.7	27.8
Col %	32.5	50.0	62.5	60.0	38.5
Total N	40	4	8	10	26
% Total	45.5	4.5	9.1	11.4	29.5

$X^2 = 4.422$
4 d.f.
Sig. = 0.352

LOWER LIVING STANDARD EQUALS 70% OF OMB STANDARDS FOR FAMILY INCOME

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Experimental					
N	24	1	1	3	16
Row %	53.3	2.2	2.2	6.7	35.6
Col %	60.0	33.3	50.0	75.0	59.3
Control					
N	16	2	1	1	11
Row %	51.6	6.5	3.2	3.2	35.5
Col %	40.0	66.7	50.0	25.0	40.7
Total N	40	3	2	4	27
% Total	52.6	3.9	2.6	5.3	35.5

$X^2 = 1.325$
4 d.f.
Sig. = 0.857

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Cambridge (cont'd)

LOWER LIVING STANDARD IS GREATER THAN 70% OF OMB STANDARDS FOR FAMILY INCOME

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Experimental					
N	11	2	2	2	5
Row %	50.0	9.1	9.1	9.1	22.7
Col %	91.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	45.5
Control					
N	1	0	1	0	6
Row %	12.5	0.0	12.5	0.0	75.0
Col %	8.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	54.0
Total N	12	2	3	2	11
% Total	40.0	6.7	10.0	6.7	36.7

$X^2 = 7.957$
4 d.f.
Sig. = 0.0932

COMMENTS ON TABLE A-17A

Cambridge: The short-term advantage in employment attributable to JSA is evident from this summary table. A higher proportion of JSA youth work full-time than control group youth. About equal numbers of JSA and control group youth are out-of-school and working part-time. Comparing JSA to control group youth, nearly equal numbers of youth go to school full- or part-time (although the program was not intended to return youth to school). Finally, the category of "neither working nor in school" (some have referred to this as a "high risk" group) is considerably lower among JSA youth. Thus, JSA increases full-time work and reduces the "at-risk" group in the short run.

Consider now the post-program activities by sex, minority status, and lower living standards. There are some important variations. Most notably, JSA's advantage in reducing the "high risk" category is more pronounced for females than males. Also the school effects appear to be concentrated among males. There are no important differences, however, by sex or ethnicity in the full-time working category. More minority youth, however, appear to fall into the "at risk" category, regardless of JSA treatment. Finally, by OMB lower living standards, it is evident that proportionately more JSA youth than control group youth find full-time jobs from higher family

income backgrounds (greater than 70% of Lower Living Standard) than JSA-control comparisons among youth with low family incomes. All youth in the study were CETA-income eligible. These experiments refer to variations within the lower income population. Similarly, comparing the proportion of JSA youth relative to control youth who neither work nor attend school, shows that JSA does not reduce the "neither" category if they come from very low family incomes.

Table A-17B (Continued)

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Wilkes-Barre

TOTAL

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Group 1					
N	11	12	0	13	2
Row %	28.9	31.6	0.0	34.2	5.3
Col %	30.6	34.3	0.0	37.1	12.5
Groups 2 & 3					
N	25	23	6	22	14
Row %	27.8	25.6	6.7	24.4	15.6
Col %	69.4	65.7	100.0	62.9	87.5
Total N	36	18.0	6	35	16
% Total	28.1	27.3	4.7	27.3	12.5

$X^2 = 6.097$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.192

Group 3					
N	11	14	3	8	8
Row %	25.0	31.8	6.8	18.2	18.2
Col %	30.0	40.0	50.0	22.9	50.0
Groups 1 & 2					
N	25	21	3	27	8
Row %	29.8	25.0	3.6	32.1	9.5
Col %	69.4	60.0	50.0	77.1	50.0
Total N	36	35	6	35	16
% Total	28.1	27.3	4.7	27.3	12.5

$X^2 = 5.163$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.271

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Wilkes-Barre (cont'd)

MALES

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Group 1					
N	6	6	0	5	2
Row %	31.6	31.6	0.0	26.3	10.5
Col %	33.3	33.3	0.0	45.5	22.2
Groups 2 & 3					
N	12	12	1	6	7
Row %	31.6	31.6	2.6	15.8	18.4
Col %	66.7	66.7	100.0	54.5	77.8
Total N	18	18	1	11	9
% Total	31.6	31.6	1.8	19.3	15.8

$X^2 = 1.727$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.786

Group 3					
N	5	9	0	2	5
Row %	23.8	42.9	0.0	9.5	23.8
Col %	27.8	50.0	0.0	18.2	55.6
Group 1 & 2					
N	13	9	1	9	4
Row %	36.1	25.0	2.8	25.0	11.
Col %	72.2	50.0	100.0	81.8	44.4
Total N	18	18	1	11	9
% Total	31.6	31.6	1.8	19.3	15.8

$X^2 = 5.56$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.235

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Wilkes-Barre (cont'd)

FEMALES

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Group 1					
N	5	6	0	8	0
Row %	26.3	31.6	0.0	42.1	0.0
Col %	27.8	35.3	0.0	33.3	0.0
Groups 2 & 3					
N	13	11	5	16	7
Row %	25.0	21.2	9.6	30.8	13.5
Col %	72.2	64.7	100.0	66.7	100.0
Total N	18	17	5	24	7
% Total	25.4	23.9	7.0	33.8	9.9

$X^2 = 5.555$. 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.2350

Group 3					
N	6	5	3	6	3
Row %	26.1	21.7	13.0	26.1	13
Col %	33.3	29.4	60.0	25.0	42.9
Group I & 2					
N	12	12	2	18	4
Row %	25.0	25.0	4.2	37.5	8.3
Col %	66.7	70.6	40.0	75.0	57.1
Total N	18	17	5	24	7
% Total	25.4	23.9	7.0	33.8	9.9

$X^2 = 2.765$. 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.5978

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Wilkes-Barre (cont'd)

LOWER LIVING STANDARD EQUALS 70% OF OMB STANDARDS FOR FAMILY INCOME

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Group 1					
N	5	5	0	3	0
Row %	38.5	38.5	0.0	23.1	0.0
Col %	33.3	41.7	0.0	23.1	0.0
Groups 2 & 3					
N	10	7	2	10	6
Row %	28.6	20.0	5.7	28.6	17.1
Col %	66.7	58.3	100.0	76.9	100.0
Total N	15	12	2	13	6
% Total	31.3	25.0	4.2	27.1	12.5

$X^2 = 4.6610$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.3233

Group 3					
N	7	3	1	3	3
Row %	41.2	17.6	5.9	17.6	17.6
Col %	46.7	25.0	50.0	23.1	50.0
Groups 1 & 2					
N	8	9	1	10	3
Row %	25.8	29.0	3.2	32.3	9.7
Col %	53.3	75.0	50.0	76.9	50.0
Total N	15	12	2	13	6
% Total	31.3	25.0	4.2	27.1	12.5

$X^2 = 3.01$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.556

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Participant Characteristics

Wilkes-Barre (cont'd)

LOWER LIVING STANDARD IS GREATER THAN 70% OF OMB STANDARDS FOR FAMILY INCOME

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Group 1					
N	2	3	0	7	2
Row %	14.3	21.4	0.0	50.0	14.3
Col %	25.0	27.3	0.0	53.8	66.7
Groups 2 & 3					
N	6	8	2	6	1
Row %	26.1	34.8	8.7	26.1	4.3
Col %	75.0	72.7	100.0	46.2	33.3
Total N	8	11	2	13	3
% Total	21.6	29.7	5.4	35.1	8.1

$X^2 = 4.776$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.3110

Group 3					
N	2	3	1	4	1
Row %	18.2	27.3	9.1	36.4	9.1
Col %	25.0	27.3	50.0	30.8	33.3
Groups 1 & 2					
N	6	8	1	9	2
Row %	23.1	30.8	3.8	34.6	7.7
Col %	75.0	72.7	50.0	69.2	66.7
Total N	8	11	2	13	3
% Total	21.6	29.7	5.4	35.1	8.1

$X^2 = .536$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.97

Table A-18A

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Low Scoring Readers

Cambridge

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Experimental					
N	29	1	3	5	20
Row %	50.0	1.7	5.2	8.6	34.5
Col %	54.7	33.3	33.3	45.5	42.6
Control					
N	24	2	6	6	27
Row %	36.9	3.1	9.2	9.2	41.5
Col %	45.3	66.7	66.7	54.5	57.4
Total N	53	3	9	11	47
% Total	43.1	2.4	7.3	8.9	38.2

$X^2 = 2.55$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.636

Comment: In Cambridge, among poor readers, the JSA succeeds in having more treatment group youth find jobs than control group youth. Similarly, receiving the JSA reduces the risk of entering the "no work, no school" status.

Table A-18B

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by Low Scoring Readers

Wilkes-Barre

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Group 3					
N	7	11	1	5	7
Row %	22.6	35.5	3.2	16.1	22.6
Col %	31.8	61.1	33.3	25.0	63.6
Groups 1 & 2					
N	15	7	2	15	4
Row &	34.9	16.3	4.7	34.9	9.3
Col %	68.2	38.9	66.7	75.0	36.4
Total N	22	18	3	20	11
% Total	29.7	24.3	4.1	27.0	14.9

X^2 = 8. 21970 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.0839

Group 1					
N	8	5	0	5	1
Row %	42.1	26.3	0.0	26.3	5.3
Col %	36.4	27.8	0.0	25.0	9.1
Groups 2 & 3					
N	14	13	3	15	10
Row %	25.5	23.6	5.5	27.3	18.2
Col %	63.6	72.2	100.0	75.0	90.9
Total N	22	18	3	20	11
% Total	29.7	24.3	4.1	27.0	14.9

X^2

X^2 = 3.98 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.4080

Table A-19A

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by High Scoring Readers

Cambridge

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Experimental					
N	25	3	4	3	8
Row %	58.1	7.0	9.3	7.0	18.6
Col %	92.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	72.7
Control					
N	2	0	0	0	3
Row %	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	60.0
Col %	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	27.3
Total N	27	3	4	3	11
% Total	56.3	6.3	8.3	6.3	22.9

$X^2 = 4.774$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.3113

Table A-19B

First Follow-Up: Post-Program Status by High Scoring Readers

Wilkes-Barre

	Full-Time Work	Part-Time In School	Part-Time Out of School	School Only	No Work No School
Group 3					
N	4	3	2	3	1
Row %	30.8	23.1	15.4	23.1	7.7
Col %	28.6	17.6	66.7	20.0	20.0
Groups 1 & 2					
N	10	14	1	12	4
Row %	24.4	34.1	2.4	29.3	9.8
Col %	71.4	82.4	33.3	80.0	80.0
Total N	14	17	3	15	5
% Total	25.9	31.5	5.6	27.8	9.3

$X^2 = 3.698$ 4 d.f. Sig. = 0.4484

Group 1					
N	3	7	0	8	1
Row %	15.8	36.8	0.0	42.1	5.3
Col %	21.4	41.2	0.0	53.3	20.0
Groups 2 & 3					
N	11	10	3	7	4
Row %	31.4	28.6	8.6	20.0	11.4
Col %	78.6	58.8	100.0	46.7	80.0
Total N	14	27	3	15	5
% Total	25.9	31.5	5.6	27.8	9.3

X^2 = 4 d.f.