These proceedings of a conference on 1978 youth knowledge development activities implemented under the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA) of 1977 consist of the proceedings of the five sessions of the conference and the texts of 16 conference papers. Discussed in the first section of the proceedings are demonstrations and research conducted under the auspices of the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects (YIEPP), the Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Project (YCCIP), and the Youth Employment and Training Programs (YETP); basic research; and data collection and evaluation. Topics covered in the conference reports include the effectiveness of various research and job training programs, YEDPA research and interagency cooperation and discord, economic analysis of the patterns and trends in youth unemployment, the potential impact of employment and job training programs on youth unemployment, the social and economic significance of teenage unemployment, youth experiences as pathways into the world of work, and the economic impact of the Job Corps. (Related youth knowledge and development reports are available separately through IC—see note.) (MN)
YOUTH KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT REPORT 1.3

Knowledge Development Under The Youth Initiatives: -- Proceedings Of An Overview Conference

Brandeis University
April 1980
U.S. Department of Labor
Ray Marshall, Secretary
Employment and Training Administration
Ernest G. Green, Assistant Secretary for
Employment and Training Administration
Office of Youth Programs

Material contained in this publication is in the public domain and may be reproduced, fully or partially, without permission of the Federal Government. Source credit is requested but not required. Permission is required only to reproduce any copyrighted material contained herein.
OVERVIEW

Congress and the Administration have made a major commitment to expanding and improving employment, training, and career development services for youth. On August 5, 1977, the President signed the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA) which created new programs and provided significant discretionary authority to test new approaches for aiding youth. The new programs were subsequently extended through fiscal 1980 and backed up sizeable appropriations. In addition to these new efforts, the Job Corps program which provides comprehensive services in a residential setting for severely disadvantaged youth has been doubled in size to 44,000 slots. Finally, the Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP) has been reassessed and refocused with the goal of substantially increasing its effectiveness.

Knowledge development activities are a critical element in these youth initiatives. Research, evaluation and demonstration efforts related to youth were a major priority in the 1960's but have received declining attention in recent years. While much was learned, many critical questions remain unanswered about the scale and nature of the problems and the effectiveness of public interventions. A primary aim of YEDPA was, therefore, to improve the information base for public policymaking. It was designed as a limited duration "demonstration act" which mandated a range of experimental, research and evaluation efforts. Other longstanding youth programs shared this emphasis: Job Corps had traditionally been a laboratory for experimenting with new approaches to serve economically disadvantaged youth. With expansion, there was a need for innovative approaches as well as improved assessment of current operations. Basic information was also lacking about SYEP and possible improvements. Congress and the Administration wanted to know more before developing and implementing youth policies for the longer term.

An Office of Youth Programs was established in the Employment and Training Administration in July 1977 to implement these youth initiatives. A major dimension of its mission was to develop and coordinate knowledge development activities for YEDPA, Job Corps and SYEP while serving as a nexus for linking with youth-related efforts of other agencies.

In fiscal 1978, an ambitious agenda of demonstration, research and assessment activities was implemented. A Knowledge Development Plan for the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act structured an array of YEDPA discretionary efforts which would address the most basic questions of concern to national policymakers. These efforts included a massive experiment with
job guaranteed as well as almost $100 million in action programs designed to yield information about what works best for youth. Demonstration programs were mounted as part of the Job Corps expansion effort, and previously commissioned research and evaluation work was completed. Research and evaluation related to the 1978 summer program was significantly broadened. With the extension of YEDPA programs through 1980, knowledge development plans were also developed for fiscal 1979 and 1980.

The knowledge development activities for the three years represent an aggregate of more than half a billion dollars. While most of these resources are used to provide quality services and employment opportunities to youth, and while they also are a mechanism for institutional change as well as for achieving equity, they have been carefully structured so as to yield much more than the usual information about what works for whom. Research, assessment and technical assistance components which do not yield direct benefits to youth amount to less than 2 percent of total youth resources, yet with maximum structuring of action programs, this investment may yield substantial long-run knowledge benefits.

The specific demonstration programs, the research work, and the evaluations are designed to address 15 basic questions, which were specified in the legislation or were discussed in the debate over future youth employment policies:

1. Does school retention and completion increase the future employability of potential dropouts and the disadvantaged, and are employment and training services linked to education an effective mechanism for increasing school retention and completion?

2. Can the school-to-work transition process be improved? This involves several related questions. Are new institutional arrangements "feasible and warranted? Will increased labor market information and assistance expedite the transition? Can new transition routes be created?

3. Given the fact that work experience has become the primary emphasis of youth programs, are the jobs productive, which ones are most "meaningful" and how can they be improved?
4. Does structured, disciplined work experience have as much or more impact on future employability than other human resource development services or a combination of services and employment, i.e., should public policy emphasize straight work experience, combinations of work and training and other services, or should training, education, and supportive services be emphasized?

5. Are there better approaches and delivery mechanisms for the types of career development, employment and training services which are currently being offered?

6. To what extent are short-run interventions and outcomes related to longer-term impacts on employability during adulthood? Put in another way, how much can public interventions redirect the developmental process?

7. What works best for whom? What performance or outcome standards are best to determine what does and does not work for youth? Which youth with what characteristics benefit from which programs and approaches?

8. What is the universe of need for youth programs? What is the cost of fully employing youth? How many would take jobs if they were available and how many hours of employment do they require?

9. What approaches and procedures can be used to involve the private sector in employment and training efforts and to increase the placement of the participants in private sector jobs? How effective are these approaches in accessing new jobs and providing better career tracks for youth? Are they preferable to public sector approaches?

10. What is the best mix of enrollees in terms of age and income status? Will poor youth benefit from interaction with nondisadvantaged youth or with older persons? Is targeting achieved and is it a worthwhile notion?

11. What arrangements can be made to increase the duration of employment and training interventions and to assure that participants realize lifetime benefits? Will youth demonstrate the commitment and consistency to make these long-term investments pay off?

12. What strategies are most important at different points in the lives of youth? Must training be delayed until greater maturity is achieved? Are employment and training programs a way of inducing maturity?
13. How can separate youth programs be better integrated to improve administration and to provide more comprehensive services to youth? To what extent are the programs already integrated at the local level?

14. How do the problems of significant youth segments differ including those of migrants, rural youth, the handicapped, offenders, young women with children, runaways and the like? Are special needs groups and special problems better handled by mainstreaming or be separate programs for these groups?

15. How can the lessons from knowledge development activities best be transferred to improve existing youth programs? How can the institutional change process be promoted? What are the learning curves on new programs and how much can they be expected to improve with time?

These broad questions subsume many more. They will not be resolved by any single set of activities, but rather as a result of a synthesis of a range of coordinated efforts including basic research, process evaluations, impact assessments of regular program long-term followup, structured experiments, demonstrations testing the feasibility of concepts and better identification of currently existing model programs and components.

The scale and scope of knowledge development activities are staggering. Each demonstration, research and evaluation project had to be separately and carefully designed in very short order to get the activities underway. The clock was running in the sense that YEDPA was initially for one year only and even with its extension through 1980, results were needed immediately to redesign youth policies for the 1980s.

Given the scale, complexity and haste, it is important that the elements of this knowledge development effort be continuously examined, that coordination be achieved wherever possible, and the results be synthesized as they become available. Constant improvements and adjustments are required in research designs and it is necessary to assure that the results will be available in as timely a fashion as is feasible to address critical policy issues.

To help assure these results, the Office of Youth Programs commissioned the Brandeis University Center for Public Service to organize a Conference of 1978 Youth Knowledge Development Activities which would bring together the researchers on the major projects and many of the key players ultimately involved in translating the findings into policy. The two-day conference was held October 5 and 6, 1978. Short background papers were prepared with little lead time, but the
major purpose was to lay the conceptual groundwork for a continuing assessment and modification process. The proceedings of a rather lively conference have been substantially edited to focus on the major issues. The background papers are included with little pretense that they reflect any rigorous analyses.

The results are important in several ways: First, there is a good deal of basic information about the projects and the related research. Second, the discussions suggest ways in which the projects are interrelated. Third, the needs for greater coordination and more careful time-sequencing of results are made apparent. Fourth, the complexity of demonstration, evaluation and research in this area becomes clear. Fifth, the varying perspectives within the research community are suggested, as well as the different ways of approaching problems. Sixth, a realistic sense of the limitations on research and evaluation activity is demonstrated. Seventh, areas where more work is needed are identified. Eighth, the interrelationship between information, knowledge and policy is highlighted.

This volume will be useful for those seeking to get some understanding of the knowledge development activities beyond the specifics in the knowledge development plans for 1978-1980. The volume is also a foundation for continuing assessment and modification of these youth demonstration, evaluation and research activities. Never before has such a large scale, diversified set of activities been undertaken to address a single social problem. The results will yield much knowledge not only about youth employment problems and policies, but also about the potentials of research, assessment and policymaking in our complex society. A followup conference in June 1980, Making Sense of the Knowledge Development Findings, assesses the progress over the year and a half since this initial meeting, as well as setting the stage for continuing work on knowledge development. However, the first volume is important for more than historical reasons because it raises many of the key issues which must be considered in dealing with the research, evaluation and demonstration findings.

This volume is just one of the products of the "knowledge development" effort implemented under the mandate of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977. The knowledge development effort consists of hundreds of separate research, evaluation and demonstration activities which will result in literally thousands of written products. The activities have been structured from the outset so that each is self-standing but also interrelated with a host of other activities. The framework is presented in A Knowledge
Information is available or will be coming available from the various knowledge development activities to help resolve an almost limitless array of issues, but answers to policy questions will usually require integration and synthesis from a number of separate products, which, in turn, will depend on knowledge and availability of these products. A major shortcoming of past research, evaluation and demonstration activity has been the failure to organize and disseminate the products adequately to assure the full exploitation of the findings. The magnitude and structure of the youth knowledge development effort puts a premium on organization and dissemination of findings.

As part of its knowledge development mandate, therefore, the Office of Youth Programs of the Department of Labor will organize, publish and disseminate the written products of all major research, evaluation and demonstration activities supported directly by or mounted in conjunction with the knowledge development effort. Some of the same products may also be published and disseminated through other channels, but they will be included in the structured series of Youth Knowledge Development Reports in order to facilitate access and integration.

The Youth Knowledge Development Reports, of which this is one, are divided into twelve broad categories:

1. Knowledge Development Framework: The products in this category are concerned with the structure of knowledge development activities, the assessment methodologies which are employed, validation of measurement instruments, the translation of knowledge into policy, and the strategy for disseminating findings.

2. Research on Youth Employment and Employability Development: The products in this category represent analyses of existing data, presentation of findings from new data sources, special studies on dimensions of youth labor market problems and policy analyses.

3. Program Evaluations: The products in this category include impact, process and benefit-cost evaluations of youth programs including the Summer Youth Employment Program, Job Corps, the Young Adult Conservation Corps, Youth Employment and Training Programs, Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects, and the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit.
4. **Service and Participant Mix:** The evaluations and demonstrations summarized in this category concern the matching of different types of youth with different service combinations. This involves experiments with work vs. work plus remediation vs. straight remediation as treatment options. It also includes attempts to mix disadvantaged and more affluent participants, as well as youth with older workers.

5. **Education and Training Approaches:** The products in this category present the findings of structured experiments to test the impact and effectiveness of various education and vocational training approaches including specific education methodologies for the disadvantaged, alternative education and advanced career training.

6. **Pre-Employment and Transition Services:** The products in this category present the findings of structured experiments to test the impact and effectiveness of school-to-work transition activities, vocational exploration, job-search assistance and other efforts to better prepare youth for labor market success.

7. **Youth Work Experience:** The products in this category address the organization of work activities, their output, productive roles for youth and the impacts of various employment approaches.

8. **Implementation Issues:** This category includes cross-cutting analyses of the practical lessons concerning "how-to-do-it." Issues such as learning curves, replication processes and programmatic "batting averages" will be addressed under this category, as well as the comparative advantages of alternative delivery agents.

9. **Design and Organizational Alternatives:** The products in this category represent assessments of demonstrations of alternative program and delivery arrangements such as consolidation, year-round preparation for summer programming, the use of incentives and multi-year tracking of individuals.

10. **Special Needs Groups:** The products in this category present findings on the special problems of and adaptations needed for significant segments including minorities, young mothers, troubled youth, Indochinese refugees and the handicapped.

11. **Innovative Approaches:** The products in this category present the findings of those activities designed to explore new approaches. The subjects covered include the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects, private sector initiatives, the national youth service experiment, and energy initiatives in weatherization, low-head hydroelectric dam restoration, windpower and the like.
12. Institutional Linkages: The products in this category will include studies of institutional arrangements and linkages as well as assessments of demonstration activities to encourage such linkages with education, volunteer groups, drug abuse agencies and the like.

In each of these knowledge development categories, there will be a range of discrete demonstration, research and evaluation activities, focused on different policy, program and analytical issues. For instance, all experimental demonstration projects have both process and impact evaluations, frequently undertaken by different evaluation agents. Findings will be published as they become available so that there will usually be a series of reports as evidence accumulates. To organize these products, each publication is classified in one of the twelve broad knowledge development categories, described in terms of the more specific issue, activity or cluster of activities to which it is addressed, with an identifier of the product and what it represents relative to other products in the demonstration. Hence, the multiple products under a knowledge development activity are closely interrelated and the activities in each broad cluster have significant interconnections.

This volume is closely interrelated with all the other products in the "knowledge development framework" category. In particular, it should be read in conjunction with the report on the follow-up conference, Making Sense of the Knowledge Development Findings as well as the basic conceptual outlines in The Knowledge Development Agenda and the Office of Youth Programs synthesis of findings in Youth Knowledge Development Summary.

ROBERT TAGGART
Administrator
Office of Youth Programs
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Overview ........................................... 1

PART I: CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

INTRODUCTORY SESSION .......................... 1

SESSION I: Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects (YIEPP)—Demonstration and Research ........ 10

SESSION II: Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects (YCCIP)—Demonstration and Research 29

SESSION III: Youth Employment and Training Programs (YETP)—Demonstration and Research ........ 45

SESSION IV: Basic Research ......................... 63

SESSION V: Data Collection and Evaluation ........ 73

CONFERENCE SUMMARY AND A LOOK FORWARD .... 92

PART II: CONFERENCE PAPERS

Summary of Research Activities on the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects ................. 107

Replication/Valuation/Impact: The Ventures in Community Improvement Project (VICI) ........ 129

YEDPA Research Via Interagency Agreement (and Disagreement): A Study of Conflicting Objectives . 140
Learning By Trying: Identifying the Strengths of Exemplary In-School Youth Employment Projects

Background: The Purpose of the Proposed DOL/NIE Field Test of the Career Intern Program

CPPV's Private Sector Initiatives Demonstration

Project Overview Statement—Youth Community Service Project

Service Mix Alternatives Demonstration Project

An Economic Analysis of the Patterns and Trends in Youth Unemployment

The Potential Impact of Employment and Training Programs on Youth Unemployment

The Social and Economic Significance of Teenage Unemployment

Measurement of Work Outputs of Youth Programs

Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS of YEDPA Programs)

Pathways Into the World of Work: Experiences of Youth

National Council on Employment Policy Youth Evaluation Project

Economic Impact of Job Corps

PART III: APPENDICES

CONFERENCE AGENDA

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Learning By Trying: Identifying the Strengths of Exemplary In-School Youth Employment Projects</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background: The Purpose of the Proposed DOL/NIE Field Test of the Career Intern Program</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPPV's Private Sector Initiatives Demonstration</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Overview Statement—Youth Community Service Project</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Mix Alternatives Demonstration Project</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Economic Analysis of the Patterns and Trends in Youth Unemployment</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Potential Impact of Employment and Training Programs on Youth Unemployment</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Social and Economic Significance of Teenage Unemployment</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurement of Work Outputs of Youth Programs</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS of YEDPA Programs)</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathways Into the World of Work: Experiences of Youth</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Council on Employment Policy Youth Evaluation Project</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Impact of Job Corps</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFERENCE AGENDA</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTORY SESSION

MR. TAGGART: The Office of Youth Programs has been looking forward to this conference with great expectation and also some trepidation. We have been busy in the last year and a half, distributing money, developing grants, implementing research designs, moving enormous mountains of paper. We relish this notion of getting everybody together, taking stock of what we've done and getting advice from some of the best experts in the country.

On the other hand, we're also looking to this conference with some degree of anxiety. The anxiety comes from the fact that we are opening up your research efforts at a very early stage, looking at what's ongoing instead of waiting until the results are completed. The volume of activity is so great that we are not sure of the quality of what we have ongoing. Our effort has been concentrated on developing research and demonstration projects rather than monitoring, coordinating and integrating them.

The reason we in the research, evaluation and policymaking business are here is because Congress has challenged the administration and the research community to come up with answers about how better to serve them, and, for the first time, has provided the resources and the flexibility to meet that mandate.

The Youth Employment Demonstration Project Act was signed by President Carter on August 5, 1977— an Act which was initially for one year and now is going to be extended two more years— but one which was definitely a short-term demonstration Act. It provides massive demonstration authority and gives specific research, demonstration, and evaluation mandates.

First, it creates what is, I believe, the largest structured social experiment in our history: Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects which will eventually amount to about $300 million in funding over three years.

Secondly, under the Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects portion of the bill, it gives discretionary authority to test the "sweat theory"— that if you put kids to hard work under careful supervision, with a stress on output, it will have an impact on their life.

Under another portion of the bill, Youth Employment and Training Programs, which will fund any of a broad range of approaches, the Secretary of Labor is given a large amount of discretionary authority to test everything under the sun for youth. But this is not all. At the same time, we're doubling the size of Job Corps. With the resources that are provided for this expansion, there is the opportunity to use Job Corps once again as a laboratory.
In Job Corps, you have more control, better records and more tracking than in any other network. It is the only program where we have an intensive investment in human resources for youth. So, we have possibilities there as well as under YEDPA.

At the same time, it was clear that Congress was no longer satisfied with our knowledge of the Summer Program for Economically Disadvantaged Youth (SPEDY). We were reporting back year after year about how many youth we served and not about the impacts or content of services. Congress wanted to know what was happening, whether the participants were going back to school, whether their summer jobs were good and whether they were supervised.

Congress is asking us to come up with answers to questions about SPEDY, about Job Corps, and about the YEDPA programs. Accompanying these mandates and requirements is a great deal of money.

In pursuit of this legislative mandate, we have been supported by substantial commitment within the Administration from the highest levels. When we first came into this effort, almost a year and a half ago, there was a meeting at the White House in which all the federal agencies were called together and were told to cooperate, to share resources, ideas and responsibilities in a coordinated effort. I presume that happens in every administration, but in this case there was follow-through, containing commitments, and results. Perhaps it means very little to outsiders, but we have some 17 interagency agreements under the youth initiatives. The Department of Labor has worked cooperatively with almost every federal agency. There's a Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment that's been established to further this coordination, as well as efforts within the White House. There is going to be a Presidential Policy Review Memorandum. There is a very conscientious effort from the top to pull this thing together and to look at the research and demonstration issues and the results as an integral part of the policy process.

Under YEDPA, the Labor Department had the lead action. We are lucky to have a Secretary and Assistant Secretary who are very much committed to doing what is necessary in order to learn what works and what doesn't. They have stood by that commitment. For instance, they have stood by it when we were choosing Entitlement sites by a competitive process which provided as much as $20 million to a single area and where political pressures were simply enormous. We had a Secretary and Assistant Secretary who didn't waiver on the selection on the basis of objective criteria.

That's very important in mounting any type of knowledge development effort. At the same time you had a Secretary who has been willing to go forward with attempts at wage subsidy experiments, knowing there were going to be reservations on the part of the labor movement. He stood by the experimental effort because he believed we have to learn what works and what doesn't.
An office of Youth Programs (OYP) was established in the
Employment and Training Administration specifically to emphasize,
research, demonstration, and evaluation activities, as well as to
coordinate and improve youth programs across the board. Early in
the game, we in OYP developed a Knowledge Development Plan that
outlined all the efforts that we would launch and all the issues
we would address. This plan was approved and every element has
been implemented. I doubt that ever before discretionary
activity has been planned so carefully or delivered so completely.
It's a testament to the support from the Secretary and the
Assistant Secretary for employment and training.

You will be examining all the major pieces of 1978 discretionary
activity. There is now a 1979 plan for another $215 million or so
coming down the pike. So we are talking about almost half a billion
dollars in discretionary projects related to youth, all of which
have been structured to learn more about what works and what doesn't.
It's a massive array of research, evaluation, and demonstration.

What we will be reviewing in the next two days are those elements
we had already initiated in fiscal 1978, and only the largest of
those elements. But in the few minutes that I have I do not want to
talk about those projects, because I think the experts who will be on
the panels will be much better prepared to do that. I would rather
review a few of the broader issues.

Perhaps the most critical issue is why, after roughly 15 years
of evaluation, demonstration and research activity related to youth;
we have a Bill in which Congress says we do not know what works and
what doesn't, and that we have to experiment in order to provide the
answers. Given this past record, why do we think that anything will
be different 15 years from now? Why do we think that we will come
up with the answers this time around? Without being critical of
past efforts, I think we can all agree that there were some shortfalls--
almost all of which were unavoidable--which might be corrected.

First, because there were fewer institutions that delivered
employment and training programs in the early 1960's, most of our
efforts in the past decade had to do with testing delivery approaches,
institutions, and service packages. We spent a large amount of
dollars on demonstration projects that were not meant to measure
impacts, but to assess the feasibility of ideas.

In effect there was no real research community in 1960. We
could not have called a group like this together and have expected
the same wealth of experience. There were just not as many persons
out there with the talents that we have in this room. Also in the
1960's, there was very much less emphasis in the administration or
in the Congress on testing, evaluation, assessment and utilization
of the results in policymaking. This Congress in particular seems
to be directed toward wanting facts and figures and information
as a basis for policy. The administration has that same perspective,
contrasted with the Great Society of Lyndon Johnson, where evaluation results were often a mechanism for selling programs rather than assessing where dollars should be allocated.

We, therefore, had in the 1960's a number of isolated demonstration projects focusing on administrative feasibility issues with very little pre- or post-testing. Even in the few isolated cases where results were assessed, the sample sizes and demonstration conditions were too limited. We tried out 10 or 15 different projects with different ideas rather than 10 or 15 projects all testing the same idea in order to create a large enough sample size and large enough variability of conditions to find out whether or not a simple notion had promise.

In the 1960's, when evaluation and assessment efforts began, I think we were naive about the complexities. One reason was the anticipation that the benefits of social intervention would be so large that they'd overwhelm the technical uncertainties, such as the control group selection issues. We believed that there would be a 50 percent return on our investments so that technical issues would be largely irrelevant. When you are trying to assess a 5 or 10 percent return, then the variabilities of those issues becomes critically important.

In the 1960's, when we did have control groups, we did very little in the way of random assignments to alternative intervention. We always chased after the Holy Grail of assessing overall, rather than relative impacts. The relative impacts, which are much easier to test than the absolute ones, are probably more important for policy-making where the alternative of doing nothing is rarely considered.

It was not until the end of the 1960's that we began to realize the importance of the longitudinal aspects of impacts. Programs were rarely followed up for 6 months, much less for 12 or 18 months. Again, it was not realized that longer-term impacts would have to be considered to justify the investments.

The problem was that the longitudinal evaluations raised the ante. It was so expensive to do a longitudinal evaluation and so difficult to design the programs from the start with such a long-range focus that this approach was rarely adopted. Except for the National Longitudinal Survey and Supported Work, we were rarely willing to spend the dollars for long-term follow-up and careful experimentation. CETA--whatever its delivery benefits--certainly undermined knowledge developments. CETA is an excellent program, but it's very hard to evaluate what happens in a program in which you don't have set categorical regulations defining sets of activities that are consistent across areas. It is difficult to find out what happens in that decategorized box to determine the marginal effects of different types of interventions. You almost need categorical approaches of some type if you are going to do large scale demonstrations. If you are not going to do large scale demonstrations, then you fall back on the scattered demonstrations which do not yield large samples or indications of replicability.
I think that another problem of the sixties, one that we'll always face, is that the Congress and the Administration frequently ignored or perverted the results of evaluations. In the Job Corps, which is contained in OYP, the war stories are legion about the "good old days"—how teams would retire into the back room to prove that the program worked and have it by the next day's testimony. That's not the posture we can get away with any more. Nor would we want to. Then, salesmanship was all-important. Accountability lagged by several years.

Other times, significant results were simply dropped. For instance, the Department of Labor conducted some admirable studies on how to work with offenders—some of the best work that has ever been done in this area. But we never got those results either into CETA, or in what's been done in LEAA-OJJD or anywhere else. The lessons did not translate into policy.

At the end of the sixties, the attention simply turned away from youth. There has been some research done on other subjects that is quite good, but the youth area was not programatically popular and therefore the research community followed the dollars and public interests.

The result was that when Congress began to consider youth legislation in 1976—when it decided that the youth employment problem was again a priority—answers were not available to some really fundamental issues. I do not mean refined answers; I mean even "ballpark" estimates. For instance, although the overwhelming number of persons 22 and under in CETA are in work experience components, no one can tell whether we're getting 10 cents of productive output on each dollar of wages and salaries, or 50 cents or 100 cents. If a major benefit of work experience is social output and we cannot provide any answers about the value of output, then it's very hard for Congress to make a decision on whether work experience programs are wise or unwise investments.

It is also questionable whether service approaches are worthwhile. In the Youth Employment and Demonstration Project Act, there are really two schools of thought expressed. Under Youth Employment and Training Programs, every job we create has to be "enriched,"—it has to be a career employment experience, with transition services, efforts to overcome sex stereotyping, counseling, placement, occupational exposure, and the like. Yet, another part of YEDPA, Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects, says you can offer no transition services, that the aim is to have kids working hard, sweating, building tangible products. Thus, in Congress, there were two views about what worked and what didn't work. Services do not offer a product other than their impact on youth, whereas in work experience the youth who work provide some product to society in terms of their output. In choosing between work and service approaches, you have got to know how much the output is worth and how much the services impact upon future employability. We don't know answers to either of those questions.
Another question is whether, or the degree to which, resources should be targeted. YEDPA was not a targeted law. This Administration has gone far beyond the legislation through the regulations. We did that consciously because that's the policy that this Administration believes in, yet that belief is founded on equity, not on efficiency. The law was very unclear. Some of it said you should serve the persons who are from families with 85 percent or less of the lower living standard. Other parts of it said services or work should be available to youth whatever their family income. Other programs were to the poor only. The targeting didn't reflect just a lack of good legislation, it reflected different views about what the mix of enrollees should be. In fact, the Department of Labor was directed to spend up to 10 percent of resources under Youth Employment and Training Programs on experiments to demonstrate whether disadvantaged youth benefited by being in programs with non-disadvantaged youth. So there are those who believe you should target and those that believe you should mix enrollments. We don't know the answer to which is the most effective of those strategies.

Finally, we don't know whether youth should be in school or out of school. Should you put your money in prevention before dropping out, should you put it in alternative education systems outside traditional schools, or should you put your money in non-education treatments for dropouts. All three approaches are mandated in the legislation. There was no answer about the best intervention point.

There was a basic question about how many youth really wanted to work. Interpretations ranged across the map based on the same statistics. This is a critically important question. If youth don't want to work, then what do the unemployment numbers mean? If you offer jobs, how many will take them? How much are personal impediments, the lack of desire or commitment to blame and how much are external factors such as the simple lack of jobs?

We also haven't any answers about the substitution issue. This is one that we're struggling with in public-service employment. We have made some inroads, but there still remains a great deal of uncertainty about what added dollars buy in terms of added services.

How much do you add to employment when you create jobs? Do the workers displace others? If we are judging our effectiveness, then these net efforts must be determined. We have absolutely no answer.

Another fundamental question is whether an intervention can be effective that lasts more than six or nine months which seems to be the longest of any of our interventions. In the Job Corps, which can offer youth up to two years of enrollment, the average length of stay is around six months. Is there any way to develop a structured series of interventions of longer duration that produce a quantum leap in employability? Can we go against the grain of labor markets and against the grain of the developmental process as well?

These are really fundamental questions and I do not think we have the answers—or even some best guesses—yet. I have mentioned
some of the reasons we do not have the answers and why we were charged
by Congress to learn more. But what are we going to do specifically
to answer these questions? This is what we'll discuss in detail over
the next two days. At this junction, I only want to point out some
of the significant differences relative to what was done in the 1960's.

First and foremost, the delivery and research institutions are
much more sophisticated and much more developed. We can put a massive
program like Entitlement in place with a careful research design almost
overnight because CETA prime sponsors are so sophisticated and because
there are research intermediaries. Entitlement was a massive imple-
mentation effort. In some cities, over 6,000 youth were employed over
a several month period. That's a massive phase-up--tripling the number
of youth employed in the programs in these particular areas. It could
be done because the delivery and research institutions already existed.

Another important difference relative to the 1960's is that we
have a Congress and an Administration that's ready to carry out struc-
tured investigations. Congress has mandated an analytical posture
and supports the attempt. As a result of this mandate, it has been
possible to develop and implement a structured conceptual approach.
It may not be the best conceptual approach, but at least we tried to
set out a plan at the outset to coordinate disparate efforts, so that
at the end of the road they could be drawn back together. As we move
to the second year of YEDPA, we are trying to tighten that plan, to
integrate it even better, to fill in holes and to make it work. Because
SOYP has control over most youth programs in a single location, it is
able to link Job Corps and SPEDY as well as YEDPA efforts in order to
look at youth programs as a whole.

I think that each element of this plan is much more structured
at the front-end than the average project in the 1960's. I am
talking now in terms of demonstration programs that are multi-million
dollar initiatives. The scale has increased. Where before we would
do something and we'd end up with a hundred enrollees--50 controls and
50 experimentalists--from which we would try to draw some conclusions,
now we're talking in terms of 500 or 5,000. That increase in enrollees
gives an enormous advantage and power to the present analysis over the
analysis done in the 1960's.

I think there's also a much greater willingness to invest longi-
tudinally than we have ever had in the past. We're investing very
substantial resources in the Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey
and in a new National Longitudinal Survey Panel which we'll hear more
about later. We're putting an enormous amount of money in the Entitlement
program with the hope of doing a longitudinal tracking of the participants.
The research investment is larger to those in the past.

Another difference is to look much more at alternative service
approaches, that is, to assign youth randomly to different service
modalities and then look at the outcomes. This does not rely on
absolute impact measures and does not necessarily need to determine
whether a program is a good investment; rather it tells whether one
intervention is more cost-effective than another.
I think we have also been given the authority and resources to cover all bases. One example we'll talk about today is the school-to-work transition demonstration. Here what you have are entry and exit tests, follow-up measures, control groups at each site, and multiple deliverers with multiple sites. You also have impact evaluations that are based on very large data samples from all the projects as well as knowledge development efforts at each project, process evaluations, and impact evaluations. We can compare deliverers, different sub-approaches, effectiveness within different client groups, impacts in different economic circumstances, as well as estimated overall effectiveness. All bases are covered even if several do not pan out.

Will all this work? Will we gain anything from it? We are already seeing flaws in the designs. We are already seeing opportunities for improvements. A lot of other questions come up daily that we would like to have addressed. We have already seen a lot of shoddy work—research designs that break down in practice, as they always seem to do. I think that in our discussions we must factor in these realities that out of every ten experiments you try, you may actually succeed in following through on the experimental design in five or three or one. I don't know what a good batting average is, but it hasn't been high in the past and we have to expect that and realize that we're going to have a significant slippage rate.

Yet, we have also seen an enormous amount of highly technical, highly sophisticated work. A number of deliverers have shown unexpected sophistication and a number of approaches have yielded creative structures. Given that background, what we hope to get within these next two days is a genuine opportunity for us to take stock of what's going on. There are thirty demonstrations in place, already involving 300 local projects. They have been described and structured in the Knowledge Development Plan. Somehow, the results have to be distilled. There are enormous opportunities to improve designs and to better coordinate. If we're doing a set of pre-measures and post-measures in one place, it would be useful to have the same sets of questions on the National Longitudinal Survey or the CLMS. We could compare the results of entry-exit with the overall evaluations that have sample sizes much larger and also have a longitudinal focus.

Where like projects are being mounted in different areas, we want to have consistency of research design. That's a very technical aspect, but it's something that we have to get to. What we need today is to have groups that are doing like things start talking to each other, starting a dialogue which will hopefully lead to integration on a continuing basis.

We have a chance to adjust research designs. When we talk about them today, when we ask questions, these things are not set in concrete. There can be adjustments over time.

I think we also have a chance to see how the pieces fit together, that is, to see the overall conceptual framework. The only way we are going to be able to pull the results together in the future is by sitting here and talking about what everybody else is doing. By doing
this we can get a sense of the interrelationships in all this activity.

Perhaps the most critical issue is how we're going to translate all the information into knowledge and policy--how we're going to impact on that and when. This is something we must start thinking about because policy cannot wait. The questions are going to be asked and we have to provide whatever answers we can when they are needed.

I think another purpose for the conference and one that's important for me personally is to recognize the work that everybody has done in mounting the programs. We are talking about obligating $215 million in structured demonstration, research and evaluation activities--what must be the largest scale effort of this type in history. We are talking about massive amounts of work by very few people. Particularly we're talking about Joe Seiler and his staff in the Office of Community Youth Employment Programs.

I remember about a year and a half ago, at 2:00 one morning, when Joe and I were writing this plan for demonstration research and evaluation activities. He came running into my office with a great idea: "Let's call it a knowledge development plan." So, we labelled it knowledge development. Now Joe is affectionately known as "Mr. Knowledge Development." I expect and hope we will find room for improving the work to date, but I think you will agree that never has so much been done by so few.
SESSION I: YOUTH INCENTIVE ENTITLEMENT PILOT PROJECTS (YIEPP)

PRESENTATIONS:

MR. EVANS: Our first panel is perhaps the most integrated panel that you'll hear because it deals with essentially a single program--Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects.

Without further comments here, let me introduce Judy Gueron of the MDRC, who is in charge of research for YIEPP.

MS. GUERON: The key program feature to remember in thinking about the Entitlement research design--the feature which distinguishes Entitlement from all other employment and training legislation--is the job guarantee. Any youth that meets the eligibility criteria for Entitlement is guaranteed a part-time job during the school year and a full-time job during the summer. The specific eligibility criteria make Entitlement somewhat of an unusual job guarantee, different, for example, than what's being discussed under the welfare reform demonstrations. Under Entitlement the guarantee is conditioned not only on income, but on age, residency, school performance and attendance. Specifically, Entitlement is a guaranteed job for 16 to 19 year-olds who reside in the communities where the demonstration is taking place, who live in families with income either below poverty line or on welfare, youths who do not have high school diplomas and who agree to return to or continue in high school or a program leading to an equivalency, and who meet minimum academic and performance requirements.

The demonstration is taking place in only a limited number of sites. There are seven Tier I programs. These are the larger programs with anticipated enrollment from 3,500 to 10,000. They include the entire cities of Cincinnati and Denver, and 18 counties of Mississippi. These are large areas. Then, there are ten smaller Tier II programs where variations of Entitlement are being explored.

At the local level, CETA prime sponsors have operational responsibility for Entitlement, although some of the prime sponsors have subcontracted direct operational management to other agencies in the locality.

At the national level, MDRC is responsible for planning, development of guidelines, research, and offering continuing guidance to the prime sponsors in implementing the Entitlement concept.

The demonstration began enrollment last February. It was slow in the early months. In April there were about 15,000 youth enrolled, 29,000 in June, and, at the latest count, 33,000. About 30,000 of those were in the seven Tier I sites.

In authorizing Entitlement, Congress listed a number of specific questions that they wanted addressed. These are listed in detail in the paper. The issues can be grouped conveniently into those concerning program implementation, impact, and cost.

The purpose of the implementation analysis is to understand and explain the programmatic development of Entitlement sites and to draw some lessons about the operational and administrative feasibility of
this approach. What does it take to translate a legislative job guarantee into an operational program? What's the ability of the CETA prime sponsors to manage such a job guarantee? What is the importance of the different institutional arrangements, such as those between prime sponsors and school systems, and how is the private sector responding to the wage subsidy provision in Entitlement which permits full reimbursement of wages in the hiring of youth?

The impact analysis is really directed at testing whether the program succeeds in its short and long-run objectives. The major short-run objective is to get dropouts to return to school and to keep potential dropouts in school. In the longer run, it is hoped that the increased education and the work experience provided by Entitlement will lead to improved labor market experience. Another part of the impact analysis addresses the question of participation: how many youth will want jobs if they are available?

Finally, the cost analysis is directed at providing total cost information which, when combined with what we attain on the participation rate measures, will yield some estimates of what it would cost to extend Entitlement nationwide.

This research effort is being carried out by a number of organizations under MDRC's overall responsibility. Researchers from ABT Associates, with Ernie Stromsdorfer as principal investigator and Robert Jarrett as the project manager, are responsible for the impact analysis. Researchers from MDRC under Joe Ball and Bill Diaz have been working on an implementation analysis and the cost analysis is being designed.

MR. JARRETT: The impact analysis is focused on three principal areas: The first is an examination of participation in the programs. The second focus is on short-term effects on youth educational attainment, labor force status and earnings. The third is on the longer term impact on youth—the post-program education, labor force status, and earnings.

There are three principal sources of data: First, there is a program information system set up by MDRC to collect routine data on program treatments, on hours of work, wages, earnings, types of jobs, etc. Second, there are data from school records, concerning attendance, tardiness, performance, and types of school programs being pursued. Third, and most important, there is a longitudinal survey of program eligibles being conducted at eight sites, four of the seven large Tier I sites (Cincinnati, Baltimore, Denver and rural Mississippi) and comparison sites not participating in the entitlement. This survey sample covers all eligible youths, not merely program participants. It means that we not only have a treatment group of program participants, at the pilot sites and a comparison group at comparison sites, but we have a third group of non-participants in the pilot sites. This design clearly allows us to more directly get at outreach questions dealing with participation. It also gives us much stronger techniques for controlling
potential response and site biases. The survey will yield a rich
data base for assessment of Entitlement, but for other research as
well. It includes approximately 8,000 youths and their parents. In
addition to the baseline, three subsequent waves are planned in 1979
1980, and 1981 so there will be a three year longitudinal data base.

The data set is fairly extensive, including socio-demographic
characteristics, detailed work, school and training program
histories, information on attitudes toward work, education and
themselves, income information both on the youths and their
families, work histories of parents and a limited set of family
interaction data.

To return to the principal research questions, the participation
survey allows us to address two specific questions posed by Congress
in YEDPA, regarding levels of enrollment and the number of youths
provided employment in relation to those who could have been
provided employment under the program. In one respect, this is a
very straightforward analysis. We will have information on the size
of the total eligible populations in our study sites and information
on the proportion of those who participate in the program. It's a
relatively simple matter to deal with participation rates by different
characteristics of youths, different backgrounds of youths and to
talk about the participant population in contrast with the non-
participants. But it is much more complex because participation
is not simply a binary variable--joining or not joining. It's a
continuous variable and some youths are going to enter the program
drop out quickly, while others may participate intensively through
high school. The extent of participation matters greatly. It will
affect impact and cost estimates. An applied participation model
must be developed that deals with participation as a continuous
variable. Another complexity is that we're not looking at one
program going on during the school year. During the summer, youths
get full-time employment and they're normally not in school. During
the school year, they are in school and they're getting part-time
employment. The treatment is different. The range of opportunities
and options facing the youths as they make decisions about what
they're going to do, are different. Thus it is necessary to keep
track of the difference between summer periods and in-school
periods in the analysis. Certainly in the participation research
we would expect participation rates to differ for summer and in-school
periods.

We're going to be doing a preliminary participation study,
reviewing participation during the startup phase of the program,
during the last spring and summer. A major report will be produced
after the second wave of survey data has been completed and received.
This survey is now scheduled for the spring of 1979. We can't do
a final report, really, until after the third wave of survey data is
received. That report would probably be available at the beginning
of 1981 and we'll have youths eligible to join the program up to
close to that point. Our second wave of survey data will not capture
the last six to nine months of that potential dynamism of entering
and leaving the program.

- 12 - 25
The short-term impact analysis was originally perceived as two distinct studies, one on in-school impacts and the other on employment impacts in the short-run. It quickly became evident to us that these really are two principal dimensions of one larger consideration—the overall time allocation of eligible youth. Essentially youths have a finite amount of time they can spend on various activities and if they're confronted with an entitlement program which offers a job, they have to make some choices about how they're going to use their time and about what's important to them in their time. They have to divide between work, school, school-related study, extra curricular and leisure time activities. One would expect that there would be a considerable number of tradeoffs made, with working youth cutting back on studies or leisure or time in school. We are very interested in this dynamic and the behavioral responses of youth in budgeting their time in response to the program. We are developing essentially a time allocation model which will generate the estimates of intermediate program impacts.

The scheduled reports on in-school impacts essentially parallels the participation reports with a major report at the beginning of 1980 and a final report coming at the beginning of 1981 when we've had a chance to observe the program running its full course.

Finally, we will have a post-program labor supply and employment model and a model to estimate the demand for secondary education. In these estimations, essentially the intermediate or short-term outputs from the previous study become final program inputs in the post-program models. Our thinking has also been undergoing some evolution with regard to post-program impacts. Previously we tended to think post-program impacts as post-secondary impacts with the focus on graduation from high school, continuation of post-secondary education and post-secondary experience in the labor market, as principal impact dependent variables. We have come to realize, that we may have a population of youth in this program who are in the program for a long period of time, who leave the program, but who are still in high school or in some form a secondary school. This can occur because the program is not only school-conditioned, it's also age-conditioned. You leave the program when you graduate from high school, you also leave it when you turn 20 years old, which shouldn't seem like much of a problem, but, when you consider that the program's primary target groups are dropouts or potential dropouts who are frequently older than their grade peers, it is likely that they may become ineligible for the program while still in good standing in school and yet not having graduated. We don't know the extent that this will occur. If it is a substantial group, we will have to broaden our thinking of post-program impacts, to include essentially in-school impact measures as long-term impact measures.

The post-program study will be based on follow-up waves—the third and fourth waves of longitudinal survey. The study will be completed shortly after the completion of wave four and will thus be available very early in 1982.
There are other possible effects of a changing program. For example, when Entitlement was getting started, there was considerable discussion about changing the eligibility criteria. A number of program operators wanted the income standard raised from the poverty threshold to 70% percent of the BLS Lower Living Standard. In some cases, this was because they were simply having initial difficulties enrolling youths; in many others it was because the Entitlement poverty criteria were different from those used under CETA. If the changes had been made, they would have seriously jeopardized the research because the youth samples had been drawn, and most of them had been interviewed. With the change, the sample would have been no longer representative of the eligible population for the program and all aspects of the research would have been jeopardized. Research considerations were a primary reason for not responding to the request that the income criteria be changed. In the future, however, other operational issues and pressures may arise which affect research designs. Research may not always win out.

MR. DIAZ: The implementation analysis is interested in understanding and explaining the programmatic development of the Entitlement demonstration at the sites in order to draw lessons concerning operational feasibility, both generally and under varying site circumstances. We are approaching this by first documenting what occurs and then trying to explain these results in terms of the capacities and the interest of the operating agencies, their accustomed ways of doing business, and their prior and current operational relationships. We are also examining the effects of local political and social factors at the sites.

The implementation research begins with program description--program content and operations, how many youths were enrolled, what are the characteristics of enrollees, what kind of work they do, which agencies are involved and so on. Next, we'll be looking at operational factors that we think will have some effect on the decision of youth to participate or not participate in the programs. These programmatic factors will obviously supplement the impact analysis. Third, we're going to be looking at school-prime sponsor linkages under Entitlement; documenting, analyzing the roles of these two primary agents in the Entitlement offer. School systems and prime sponsors have generally established a number of working relationships over the years and Entitlement will provide these two institutions with the opportunity and necessity to coordinate work experience and school services to a greater extent than has usually been the case with in-school work programs. We want to see how this relationship operates and why. Fourth, we are going to be examining the adaptability of the CETA system to implementing a large-scale job guarantee concurrent with ongoing and possibly competing program responsibilities. Fifth, we will be looking at the Tier II innovations. Most of the research is concentrated on Tier I where the majority of the money is being spent and youth will be participating. However, we are
going to carry out a systematic documentation of the program, innovations such as entitling 19-to 25-year olds and working with unwed mothers.

These five areas are being covered by the general implementation research. They will be supplemented by special implementation studies in three areas. The first is private sector work experience. We are going to be doing a special study examining the role of the private sector in the demonstration. Under Entitlement prime sponsors can and have provided up to 100 percent wage subsidy to the private sector to provide work slots. We want to examine these arrangements to determine their potential for assessing jobs in the private sector. Our second special study will be examining Entitlement in rural areas. One of the Tier I sites is in rural Mississippi. Among the Tier II sites, Steuben County, New York, Monterey California and Alachua County, Florida, have large rural areas within them. We want to examine such things as job-creation, a potential factor affecting youth, and other issues relating to Entitlement in rural areas. Finally, we are also going to be looking at the quality of work under Entitlement. MDRC will survey a sample of work sites to develop a profile of the quality of the work experience of the different programs. The importance of the entitlement work sites lies in their ability to provide an exemplary work experience that develops and reinforces the positive aspects of work for youth. Therefore, we tentatively indentified five factors on which a sample of at least 50 at each Tier I site will be rated. These factors have been derived and adopted from the literature on job quality. They are, (1) the content of the work provided; (2) the organization and management of the work site, (3) the level and nature of supervision (4) the youth perception of the value of the assignment, and (5) the value of the work to the sponsoring agency or firm.

The implementation analysis must address fundamental questions about the meaning of the Entitlement concept in operational terms. For instance, the conditioned job guarantee necessitates tight monitoring of eligibility. An open-ended Entitlement where anyone eligible can theoretically demand a job, combined with projections of participation that are bound to be off because of the unpredictability of youth response to a new program, means that both funding agencies and prime sponsors have to be concerned about keeping the Entitlement strictly limited to eligibles. This requires the creation of new systems for monitoring eligibility. It means stringent enforcement of requirements for proof of eligibility in the form of supporting documents. Inevitably, such monitoring and proof requirements may also act as a discouragement to participation for individuals. Parents, for example, for a sense of privacy, may be unwilling to reveal income information, or they may find income statements too complicated.

Another operational issue results from the school-conditioned aspect of the job guarantee. There is a need to establish school performance and attendance standards. It means little if students return or stay in school simply in a pro forma way without
progress toward a degree as intended by the YIEPP. Early efforts reveal that school attendance and grade standards governing school participation for the general school population generally don't exist. This is due to the general reluctance of schools to suspend or expel students except for some overt act, such as hitting a teacher or committing some other crime. Therefore, most prime sponsors have had to negotiate with schools for the creation of grade and attendance standards specifically for Entitlement eligibles. Not only was this process time consuming but the standards are frequently vague or ignored.

Thirdly, Entitlement as a job guarantee implies an operational ability to quickly provide the guarantee, a job to those who come forward. A large-scale time limited work program would also carry some urgency to its implementation. This seems particularly acute in Entitlement, however, since the program has visibility. For the most part, prime sponsors have attempted to recruit eligibles as rapidly as possible to reach protected levels of participation and with some exceptions high enrollments were quickly reached once the program got underway, but especially at the Tier I sites, there were delays in processing from enrollment to placement. This happened usually because the large numbers enrolled were too much for the processing system. Speed seems to be given priority over preparedness. Our analysis must separate such start-up problems from those likely to affect continuing programs, as well as the long term effects of too rapid a phase-up in some sites.

Finally, there is a question of how the job guarantee is perceived by its potential clients. There are incentives at work in the Entitlement program against advertising the program as a guaranteed job. One was a fear of being overwhelmed by a sudden demand from youths for jobs. At sites where less than a complete jurisdiction was entitled, there was concern about the reactions of non-entitled economically disadvantaged areas making their dismay and frustration known. Generally, therefore, primes did not stress a right to a job, as in spreading the word.

MR. BALL: First hand observation tends to separate rhetoric from reality. The idea of an Entitlement as spelled out in the legislation and in the various kind of application procedures is somewhat different than the reality to date for prime sponsors which has been primarily getting kids and a lot of slots in a big hurry. What did get advertised was that this is a big job program and if you're poor, you can get a job. Prime sponsors went about business as usual in some cases. Experience with the always rapid buildup of SPED and with very rapid phase-up of the PSE program in 1977 was used and the primes generally resorted to old routines to get the program started. With these mechanisms they tended to be able to do it reasonably well in terms of getting enough slots for the kids. It was helped along by the requirement in the competition that final applications submitted to the Department in December of 1977 had to have a project sheet for every work sponsor specifying how many kids, what kind of work,
what kind of supervisory arrangements and so forth, so there had to be paper commitments to cover every projected enrollee.

In general, the program implementation was not impeded by a shortage of slots. The result, however, was a heavy reliance on public and non-profit agency sponsors, most typically those which had run summer or in-school programs. Potential for private-sector involvement was not fully exploited. In-school programs, co-op programs that the schools had run, of course, involved private industry on a small scale for years and years, but this was the first big opportunity for a major private sector participation with youth work experience. The prime sponsors didn't have close working relationships with the private sector. Therefore, they typically went to intermediaries like Chambers of Commerce, the National Alliance of Business, and in some cases organizations that had been created around problems of youth unemployment in the past, such as, in Cincinnati, the Citizen Committee for Youth. In the big Tier I programs, Denver was the one that made the biggest emphasis on the private sector buildup. By the end of June, they didn't have 50 percent, but they had almost 30 percent of their kids in the private sector.

Some of the smaller Tier II programs, which had the luxury of being small also pushed for a private sector role. In Philadelphia, 70 percent of the kids at the end of June were working in the private sector and a large percent of them were working in manufacturing, which is a little bit exceptional for the demonstration as a whole where there's a lot more small retail firm involvement. Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, which is a healthy economy, with light industrial base, decided to take advantage of the demand situation there to try to create jobs above the minimum wage with some skill development potential above entry level. The jobs that have been created there have been primarily in the private sector and several of the kids are working above the minimum wage. The prime sponsors that turned to the private sector, without exception, offered the full 100 percent wage subsidy. Prime sponsors argued that the business community hadn't been involved with CETA and particularly kids and that unless the offer were sweetened to 100 percent, they would not had been able to get enough private firms to participate. In the process of negotiating grants with the Department, the primes were required to start thinking about and develop plans for the reduction of that subsidy level over time to see if they couldn't begin to move toward cost sharing arrangement with private firms that would be somewhat more in line with the 50 percent OJT rule of thumb. The prime sponsors have been rather reluctant to change the deal in midstream during the period of original commitment and we will see whether new arrangements can be negotiated when grants are extended.
One price that may have been paid for the rapid start up is the limited involvement of unions. The legislation authorizes and encourages primes to work with unions to develop apprenticeship positions for kids. They haven't done it. In general, prime sponsors regarded this as a secondary and future mission. This is not to say, however, that the prime sponsors entirely avoided the unions. The legislation says that if kids are put into jobs which may be a potential displacement or might undercut prevailing wages, than the positions had to be cleared with local organized labor. The same thing occurred where jobs were restructured. Further cooperation of unions was one criteria in the grant applications. Strong efforts were made to clear with unions. At those sites where the unions, especially public unions were still restive over problems created by the 1977 PSE build up, formal arrangements were made whereby they reviewed every job description and participated in restructuring. In Cincinnati a representative from the union local monitors work sites continually, writes up his own monitoring reports, and indicates whether or not they are in any way infringing on union interest. So, the unions have been involved in a kind of "damage avoidance" way.

To date, then, the program has not developed a lot of options. The kids are paid the minimum wage. There are 22 kids out of 30,000 at this point who are being paid above the minimum. There will be some efforts made in some of the programs to try to induce the private firms to pay more, but it's basically a minimum wage program. In addition, there's very little skill-specific, formal classroom training. It's a pretty barebone work experience program.

Yet it is early and we have just finished looking at a program in its start up phase. This has been very tough in the Tier I areas where the massive workload forced a lot of program quality questions to the back burner. Attempts to get the schools more actively involved in tying their efforts with the work side of the situation, were not pressed. In part, that was a function of the design of the funding structure to begin with in which the money came through prime sponsors and it was not much coming through education channels. Mostly, it was because of limited time.

The Department has recognized the need and the desirability of encouraging the schools to do more in enriching the treatment and there probably will be some money available to develop some pilot efforts to expand education.

To date however, the schools have not been too active. They were asked to cooperate in certifying kids being in school and reporting on attendance. They have been asked to be flexible if possible in scheduling so that participants could work after school. Although last spring they were not very flexible, there is
some hope that this fall, with a little more lead time, they will be a little more adaptive. So far observers are not very encouraged that the schools are going to make a big effort to bend their ways to adapt to this program.

Overall then, the program has focused on creating jobs to guarantee employment. The measure of the performance will come in this year as prime sponsors have more time, to involve the private sector and unions, to work with schools, and to seek enrichments and linkages.

DISCUSSION:

MR. STROMSDORFER: The most distinguishing characteristic of YIEPP and its analyses is that you can observe the entire process of the program operation and impact. There is sequence of events that begins when you start setting monies down in areas and there is a logical structure of actions that follow. There is a parallel structure of analysis. The key policy questions that Congress asks have the same time sequence. I've never seen this type of correlation written so well into the law and implemented in an operating program. Each new step is related to behavior that went before and answers a successively more difficult policy question. I would also like to point out that given this close correlation between the sequence of events, the policy questions as they develop as well as the analysis, that the data that are generated are eminently practical.

MS. HIGGINS: Over the next year the Administration is going to undertake a complete policy review concerning youth employment with a focus on what we're learning from these YEDPA activities. The aim is to get answers both for budgetary purposes and for future legislation about what kind of programs make sense.

The Entitlement program involves most of the issues that need to be addressed. On the macro level, we first need to know how many people are in the universe of need. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, OMB, the Department of Labor and others may argue over the same set of numbers but there is a chance to find out who's out there, how many there are, and how many want jobs. That's critically important.

The other dimension of importance is the essential bondage between work and education. Everybody talks about the importance of linking the employment and hiring and education systems, but nobody has really determined whether it's feasible and whether it makes any difference in outcomes for youth. So, I think we'll find out some of the answers under Entitlement. The feasibility issues are crucial. Can the prime sponsors and the schools deliver this kind of program? Can the jobs be created and will they be meaningful? Will they be linked to education?

Other questions will also be addressed with crucial implications. How can eligibility be determined? How can alternate education systems be structured? In brief, Entitlement is a critically important experiment which will have widespread policy implications.
MR. LERMAN. I know coming from the Welfare Reform Task Force, where we’re thinking about some of the same questions that entitlements do raise special issues. It’s good to see that some of the questions will be raised for us when we go through our welfare reform pilot projects. Some of them will even be answered. I’d also like to emphasize the targeting implications. If you look at the unemployment rates for disadvantaged youth and you look at the gap between their employment and that of advantaged youth, the gap is greater for in-school than out-of-school youth. I recall some numbers of the following order--black disadvantaged students had an employment/population ratio of about six percent as compared to about 36-38 percent for advantaged students. So, Entitlement is addressing perhaps that group in society with the highest job barriers and a problem which is critical.

The second general point I’d like to make is that the Congressional mandate is highly specific, relative to the mandate for other kinds of studies and other kinds of programs. The result is that a lot of the research design has to be directed just at the Congressional mandated issues and not at what we might set out here and think are important issues.

At the same time, it seems to me that some other important issues are left aside and let me just note a couple of them, because they haven’t received too much emphasis. One is the eligibility conditions for such an entitlement. It’s one thing to have a separate demonstration program, but in going to a nationwide entitlement, broader equity issues are raised. When you have a pure income test at a certain point in time for entry into a job entitlement program, it tends to create the kind of notch that those of us who have looked at welfare programs have noticed and decried, that is, the notion that a family which has an income a few dollars above the standard are fully out of the program, while those just below are fully in the program. When you consider going to a national level, an issue like this becomes very important.

Another issue is how you best structure a wage subsidy. It’s the kind of issue that you’d like to know more about. Now, with respect to the three areas--impact, cost, and implementation--let me begin with the third one, implementation. I think it’s important that we study the processes and the barriers when we start to phase in a program, but I would like to see more structured questions about what specific aspects of implementation should be assessed. The notion of delivery capacity is just a little too general for me. I’d like a question having to do with what kinds of waiting lists we observe or for how long a period. I would like the dimension of private sector involvement to be studied and laid out in detail. To say we should have some private sector involvement where you started out with a hundred percent subsidy, does not answer most of the important questions. It would be surprising if you couldn’t get people to employ youth with a hundred percent subsidy. The question might instead be what happens when you have a 50 percent subsidy, or a 75 percent subsidy, as opposed to a 100 percent subsidy. Also, there are questions about the extent of private sector involvement beyond just employment.
Moving to the cost side, there has been little discussion about the problems of measuring costs. You know, when you first think about it, you say, "Okay, we're going to see what the costs are." It's a lot more tricky than that, although I'm not sure of the "ins and outs." I would have liked to have seen a little more discussion today on that and whether or not there's going to be questions like the cost per site, and the factors differentiating low-cost and high-cost sites. Secondly, I would like to see a reference to social costs as opposed to budget costs. Here, there seems to be a very natural way of drawing the time allocation model into the analysis, whereby we can see what we are diverting youths from, when they are drawn into these programs. Do the hours of participation come from pure leisure, unproductive or counter-productive activities or from school studies and other things that are unthinkable?

Moving on to the impact assessment, let me just say that one of the problems that I have with the analysis is that there is an implicit emphasis on the notion of a job versus unemployment as compared to a job versus other jobs. Only at the very end was the mention of minimum wages pointed out. These are minimum wage jobs, but the problem goes beyond that because when you think of the wage, you think of earnings divided by hours worked. Now, we may have a good idea of what the earning are, but we've also got to know what the real hours worked are. This concern is being voiced very heavily by a member of the Council of Economic Advisors staff with respect to the welfare reform proposals. To see whether these wages are really minimum wages, we have to compare these jobs to other jobs to check the hours worked and the effort exerted. I think you also have to ask about relative job content.

Another aspect of the wage and job nature question is that even though the eligibility is based on welfare participation or poverty, nothing is mentioned about the welfare marginal tax rates and whether or not families whose youths are in these programs have that income counted for welfare purposes and maybe food stamp purposes, thus producing low net gain. This might be a reason why we observe differences in participation from one group to another. I think that's a very important question to look at.

Turning to the participation question, we've got to look at the degree of participation, rather than just looking at the participants relative to eligibles. We must consider the flows into and out of the program, as well as the equilibriums. What about repeaters? Is it easy to flow out and then flow back in: That's the kind of question that you want to ask. I've seen some interesting numbers lately that seem to indicate that actual turnover between jobs is close to 100 percent a quarter for black teenagers and that even for white teenagers, it's extremely high. So, if we observe very low turnover in these jobs, it may mean that these jobs are better than the other kinds of work you would have gotten or that stability is a very, very important characteristic of jobs. We ought to ask, is this a way to reduce youth unemployment, that is, to try to improve the stability of employment.
A second problem in looking at participation deals with the question of eligibility. When you take a sample in a site of a poverty population, you have to recognize that people are moving in and out of poverty. The number of participants over time cannot just be compared with the number eligible at a point in time. The flow out may not equal the flow in in a period when the economy is improving, so that you may over-state the number of eligibles, simply because you've taken the survey in one year and you're extrapolating to another year.

The impact assessment is also based on the notion that the job program has no impact on the eligible non-participants, that is, by adding a huge number of part-time jobs to the supply of those jobs and concentrating on low-income youth, you don't affect those low-income youth that don't go into the program. I would expect just the opposite.

I would like to see more on how many are drawn from unemployed and from those not in the labor force when we attract people into these jobs. This is important for generalizing from available aggregate census data. If we had asked questions similar to those in the census, how many are we drawing from people who would otherwise have been out of the labor force? What is the nature of the attraction of these jobs to the people who are normally out of the labor force?

I also would like to see something on do we reach appropriate targets and what are appropriate targets for employment population ratios for these youths. Where Entitlement exists, are the poor youth in a much better employment situation than the relatively advantaged youth or are they still in about the same position or are they still in an even lower position? I think that's a question that many people are concerned about when they're asking what would be an appropriate target in terms of increasing the jobs for poor youth.

Finally, we must ask about the inflation impacts of a job guarantee program. Many people argue that it will be minimal. I believe that in those market segments where there is considerable excess supply, what happens when you add to the number of jobs is simply an increase in employment and not much increase in labor cost. When you're talking about expanding to an Entitlement program for the nation as a whole, I think this question would be a very important one.
MR. BALL: Mr. Lerman raised questions about hours of work and time allocation. In the manpower and the manpower research industries, the numbers seem to take on a kind of intrinsic value and, in that vein, through the end of June, kids in Baltimore have been paid for 936,887 hours of work; give or take a few. This doesn't speak to whether or not they're working, of course. We have to deal with what the prime sponsor reported as pay time. We're planning, however, with the monitors we have in Tier I sites, to monitor well over ten percent of work sites with an instrument which is still in open developmental process; but which we are fielding now. We expect to start getting to about 70 work sites a month, where we are going to address the question of the quality of the work experience, whether or not the kids are working and whether or not there are apparently too many kids for the work that's entailed. We're not going to attempt to do a quantitative assessment, but we are going to monitor these work sites fairly closely.

MR. FARKAS: On the self-selection issue, we're going to try a variety of things to pin down the extent of possible self-selection bias. There are relatively standard econometric techniques which will be applied to estimate bias and make corrections. If we had instrumental variables, we would have used them but it isn't clear at the outset which would be the critical factors. We will do a probit equation and we will try to be clear about what the omitted variables might be as well as the possible direction and magnitude of bias. That's about as good as anyone can do.

MR. STROMSDORFER: I think we're going to do a little bit better, but there are inherent problems. What's lacking is knowledge about the influence of demand side elements on supply of labor and behavior. We can control somewhat by getting information on demand characteristics of the labor market and we have the benefit of having both a control labor market and an experimental labor market, where you have participants and non-participants who are eligible. The issue is how well can we model the differential supply and demand effects. That's hard to do. We don't have the necessary statistics and detail that we would like to have.

MR. PACKER: I just want to emphasize the need for structuring specific questions at the outset of the research. I hope that somebody has sat down and laid out the hypotheses that are going to be rejected or accepted. We believe the program will mean that disadvantaged youth who meet the eligibility requirements will be more likely to graduate from high school because of the job guarantee than if it were not present. Can you tell me now what difference in graduation you expect between the controlled sites and the test sites—that is what difference would allow you to reject the null hypothesis that it doesn't make any difference whatsoever. I hope somebody's gone through and can tell me what are the ten most important hypotheses that you are testing and what the standards are for acceptance or rejection. It is not enough to say that we are going to get a data base or are going to know lots of things about the program. What are the ten most important hypotheses that you're going to put most of your intellectual and financial resources? For instance, how many youngsters are going to participate in the target population? That question has to translate into a hypothesis. If we're very sophisticated, we might be able to have a quantitative estimate. If the unemployment ratio between
advantaged and disadvantaged youth is now one to six, then the
program will move it up to two to six, with a confidence limit of
x and so forth.

We must be sure when we're spending the public's money, that
we have a scientifically solid approach and the ability to accept or
reject specific hypotheses which are recognized as the ones that are
implicit in what policymakers are doing and thinking about in such
programs. Be sure of the policy questions. If I find out that
when you double that employment population ratio from one to six
to two to six, or when you improve the graduation record from one in
four to two in four, and you did it because the best kids out of the
eligible population participated—that is, self-selection bias.
However, I'm not sure that the Congress will find that that's
sufficient reason to not have the program. If you could say, in
a sense, that if you had this Entitlement program, you'd eliminate
the difference between the employment and graduation experience
minorities, disadvantaged youth and the rest of the population,
I don't think anybody would give a damn about self-selection
bias. If at the end of the Entitlement program, you can't tell me
whether you've rejected that hypothesis that it makes a difference
in those two things that I talked about, I think there will be a sense
that we've not done the research in the manner that was truly
intended.

MS. GUERON: Initial design of the research was based on a
number of hypotheses, including the two you just stated. Will the
program decrease the drop-out rate of students that are already
in school and will it have any impact on their future employment
after they graduate from school, as well as their future
education? We do not want to end up with hypotheses that have been
set out but never answered. In fact, the legislation passed by
Congress was itself quite specific about the questions it wanted
answered and the hypotheses it wanted tested.

MR. TAGGART: The thrust of the issue is not with sample sizes
and confidence levels alone, but in the structuring of hypotheses
that say if the impact is of a given scale and dimension the hypoth-
eses can be rejected or accepted. I think this question of how
you formulate these hypotheses, as well as of how you follow through
to test them speaks to the fundamental difference between
statistically significant and policy significant results.

MS. GUERON: What we had not done, I think Mr. Packer is asking
to have done, is to formulate it in terms of policy significant
impact expectations. If we find that the results of a given magnitude
are documented, what then is the policy action that this
magnitude of impact justifies? We should not just come afterward
and say: "Well, yes there was some impact on this;" and then make a
policy judgement. Could we look at those issues beforehand and
decide what results would be large enough to reject or accept
conclusions?

MR. PACKER: I don't want to push that too far. Many of the issues
are statistical. When will you be able to tell us whether the number
of kids who come back to school, this month, is statistically
different than one might have anticipated without the program? Are
more kids enrolled in their senior year who might have dropped
out at the end of their junior year? Will you know in a couple
of months or when?
MS. GUERON: No, all that we know, until we conduct a second survey, is what we can gather from an information system that tells us what's gone on at program sites. We will know how many dropouts returned and how many in-school kids are re-enrolled, but we don't know the net effects on those out of the program. The second survey, which will be conducted in the late spring or early fall, will allow a comparison between what's happened in the Entitlement site and what's happened in the control site.

MR. PARKER: Will the results be available by the time legislation must be drafted next year? January 1980 is the scheduled date for submitting administrative recommendations. When the budget goes up a year from this January, if we're going to ask for any money to continue youth programs, the legislation has got to accompany the budget. So it makes a difference whether the survey is in the spring or the fall. If you think the research is going to affect the next youth bill, then we've got to be writing that legislation a year from now to accompany the budget that goes up and requests money. So it's not a matter of indifference whether we have a spring or fall survey.

MS. GUERON: We had assumed very recently that we were conducting the survey next spring. As it turns out, the baseline survey was delayed and we haven't yet gotten the baseline survey results.

MR. PARKER: Why do I need a baseline survey? Why can't I ask the school system tomorrow? I mean, it's October, kids have re-enrolled in school. I don't need to know their lifeline. I just want to know if kids who are eligible seem to be enrolled more in the test sites than in the control sites.

MS. GUERON: You can do it tomorrow, if you want to answer the question with that type of methodology.

MR. PARKER: The legislation must be ready in January 1980 and I don't think we're going to be able to tell them we spent X-hundreds of millions of dollars, but we have problems in the field, and you'll have to write the legislation on the basis of the information you had before.

MR. STROMSDORFER: You've been asking two questions, though. You've been asking, "What's the gross effect, and what's the net effect?" The first question is easier to answer than the second. You don't get net without a control group or until you have the second survey results.

MR. PARKER: I heard Mr. Taggart say we had not frozen everything yet in the program design questions and I think perhaps that's something to be debated. Maybe we could do some other things. It might pay to do a few little samples. Right now, I mean, I think one can do that for a very small piece of the money with a limited survey instrument in order to get results for January 1980. I guess the one thing that I would like to see, soon after this conference, is the policy hypotheses that would be accepted or rejected by next December 1.
MR. HAUSMAN: Is it your impression at this point that the program is getting at the targeted groups -- the people who are difficult both to get back to school and into employment?

MR. BALL: It's my sense that early participation in March, April, May and June of 1978 consisted mostly of in-school kids, because they were the easiest to reach in the phase up which started in mid-semester. What's going to be happening September, October, we'll shortly know.

MR. LERMAN: Is there really a job guarantee? Are there waiting lines? Are there shortages of jobs?

MR. BALL: There weren't shortages of jobs up through the end of June, but in the summertime, there may have been. We know, based on our statistics, that there have been waiting lists for the jobs, but this had more to do in the phase-up with implementation problems than job shortages. Kids had to wait two to four weeks at a lot of the sites. Some of that may have had a discouraging effect.

MR. LERMAN: In most of the sites, were there more jobs than there were people interested in them?

MR. BALL: There were more job commitments that looked like they could be operationalized effectively than there were kids banging on doors through June. But, there's a political twist to this question of whether there is a job guarantee. The prime sponsors where entitlement covered their whole political jurisdiction didn't have much trouble putting the word out broadly. We've got some indication of how many newspaper ads, how much time on television what the total outreach efforts were and the like. The cities, like Boston and Baltimore and Detroit, where only a portion of the towns were entitled had greater difficulties: Baltimore right away had problems with city councilmen from one of the white ethnic neighborhoods not in the entitlement area. They held council hearings in outrage over the fact that poor kids from their neighborhood were not getting jobs. This constrained Baltimore from putting out the word on a broad basis, because they were afraid of the repercussions. In Boston there was the same problem... in between a Roxbury-Dorchester combination of geographic areas, given the past problems in Boston. So whether or not there could be a job guarantee was a function of the politics more than the scarcity of jobs.

MR. PRESSMAN: I'm not sure whether there was even within the Entitlement area, a job guarantee for kids who had already dropped out. Were they offered jobs? Did they know about it?

MR. BALL: They were only entitled in the technical sense during the early parts of implementation of the program. That was because we had the in-school eligible population to reach and build up as quickly as possible. Naturally there was a tendency
to focus on this group. Over the next couple of years, and even this semester, we'll see whether or not the out-of-school kids come back to enter the program.

**MS. GUERON:** Less than ten percent of the kids enrolled in the demonstration now are dropouts and the rest are kids who are in school. That does not speak to what these ratios will be down the line. They probably will change because we know that the initial efforts were concentrated on in-school youth and that the effort to outreach and to develop alternative educational opportunities for dropouts will be much greater than they were last spring.

**MR. TOIKKA:** This is a very important demonstration because it represents a commitment to a serious research component of a demonstration program. Speaking as a person who did a fair amount of work on the research design, it is important to note that it was terribly complicated and there were a lot of compromises necessitated by financial considerations. The statistical precision of many of the results that we'll be getting are very, very sensitive to the research and design of the total sample size. Answers often depend on timing of research output. For instance, if you are trying to determine the impact on graduation then you will have to slice the sample fairly thin to get a reliable statistical sample and have to wait a long time. I'd like some comment on how those compromises were resolved, particularly with respect to the priorities among hypotheses.

**MS. GUERON:** The questions which had to be addressed were those in the legislation. An initial decision was made that we simply can't afford to survey poor and non-poor youth in each of the communities and that we have to get at impacts on eligibles by other less refined means. What we really had to strive for was an adequate sample of eligible poor youth in Entitlement and control communities and we couldn't extend it beyond that. We had to assure that for in-program and transition effects we would have a large enough sample to tackle those questions. We have a great deal of confidence about answering return to school and school retention questions, less confidence about ultimate impact issues. One of the things that we feel has helped is the extension of the program itself. We will be looking at extending the research design also.

**MR. TAGGART:** The question of whether an Entitlement is real or realized is a difficult one. For instance, we already know that the alternative education systems within Entitlement sites were not set up in time to attract significant number of youth to date. We already know there's not enough money in the budget for alternative education, to the extent that that's an attraction that pulls in out-of-school youth and makes Entitlements a viable option. We want to test whether or not if we add alternative education options, we will increase that rate of return to school. So, in this coming year, with extra funding, we will change the program to add educational resources. There will be high and low-impact models to see whether the composition of the school system and the alternative education system makes a difference. In other words, we will adjust the program mid-stream to correct known problems and to test new variables. Effects on early enrollees will therefore
be different than those on later enrollees.

We know that the uptake rate on entitlement such as food stamps changes with time. We may reach 30 percent of the eligibles in the first year, 70 percent at the end of the second year and 100 percent at the end of the third. Is there any way to guess the trend in uptake rate? If we assess the early results with what accuracy can we project these into the future? It may be that we don't want to provide any answer until a year and a half, because we do not have faith in the steady state potential even though we had accurate statistical measures of impact to date. Perhaps it would be better not to rush the results.

MS. GUERON: When the demonstration was first initiated, it was only for 18 months—a pretty short time to test a new concept. As the demonstration is extended all of the components may be extended over time, so that for example, in determining how many kids drop out of school, we can be looking at the sophomores in school during the first year of the program and the sophomores in school in the second year of the program and subsequently, I would imagine that the program impacts will change.

The extent to which the start-up period will differ in results from the later period I don't think we can have a handle on until we've seen the actual data on the program.

MR. TAGGART: But is there any way to guess ahead from trend or to give ballpark estimates that somehow discount the early results. We know that early results of the first round of entrants are not reflective of what we expect. Can we already say what we expect and then discount the results or project them up or change them or alter them or adjust them in some way in a presentation in order to provide a basis for more reasonable policymaking? Will it be damaging if we give out information early, which may not be reflective of the reality? Many of our demonstrations in the past have been ruined by premature judgments about the results. For instance, this clearly happened in the case of the income maintenance experiments. It may be better to wait until the right time when there is some sense of the necessary disunity on the results.

MR. STROMSDORFER: It is not a good idea to let out results prematurely, since numbers are never neutral—they're always political. My bias as an academic and a scientist is to get those results out to the people as fast as possible. Just that always has to be conditioned by the reality that numbers are not objective. They're always subjective and we've got to be prepared to justify with as much objectivity as we can the numbers we develop.
SESSION II: YOUTH COMMUNITY CONSERVATION AND IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS (YCCIP): DEMONSTRATION AND RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION:

MR. LEVIN: One of the obvious dangers is trying to reinvent the wheel. Instead, I want to suggest that some decent wheels exist now. We have to find out where these are and how they operate and then try to replicate them.

The second issue is that of inter-agency cooperation or the lack of it, at the local level. And when we get into the issue of inter-agency conflict and cooperation on all these levels, we want to ask the question of how much do these strategies resemble a strategy of feeding the sparrows to feed the horses.

A third issue is the operation of inter-agency programs.

PRESENTATIONS:

MR. KELLEY: The VICI project is small, compared to what we've heard about the Entitlement project. We'll have an active number of youth participants in the area of 480 at any given time. Throughout the length of the project, we will probably serve about 1,200 to 1,300 youngsters. Although it may perhaps be small in numbers, however, it's my hope that we do have a lot to gain in terms of the knowledge development potential, in three areas--replication, evaluation and impact. One of the first things that we did was to have a literature search done, concerning replication. There has been very little documented about the process. The anthropologists have a lot of great stories to tell us. For instance, there is the famous chainsaw story about the primitive tribe which used axes to fell trees while the older gentlemen of the tribe used to sharpen those axes every night. A very committed Peace Corps worker got the idea to bring a chainsaw to increase production. The result was they cut a lot more wood, but a whole sector of their society, namely the elderly, became dysfunctional and there were more problems brought in by the introduction and replication of a model of something that works in a very different context. So one of the things we are searching for is how the replication process can be achieved without dysfunction. To do this, we must begin to look at programs as having certain essential or key characteristics and other characteristics that might be incidental to the locality. It was up to us to tease out the difference, and we did that after a review of programs.
MR. DELONE: Both of the programs being discussed on this panel are funded under the Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects or YCCIP. This part of YEDPA has $115 million. It is for 16 to 19 year olds and it is for work experience and training in producing tangible physical benefits to communities. The great majority of this money goes out by formula grants, through the prime sponsor system. Some $74 million is held in reserve for discretionary grants.

The Corporation for Public/Private Ventures was asked to do one of the discretionary demonstration projects. We were to identify an exemplary program or exemplary program features and replicate them in a variety of cities... both to test the process of replication and to look at a delivery system which differs from the normal prime sponsor system and from the HUD reliance on community development corporations.

To decide what was an exemplary project, we drew on a rather extensive survey of youth employment programs that the Ford Foundation had funded and supported in 1977, which included literature searches, field survey and a lot of interviewing. We had information on a lot of programs that fit the general YCCIP theme. None of those programs, however, were models. Either they lacked solid data to document that it was indeed a good program although people felt it was, or the target population was a little bit different from the target population called for in YCCIP, or there was no way once you looked at it, that you could really call it exemplary.

THE VICI PROJECT: What we ended up doing, was look at some features and aspects of programs that reasonably experienced program operators felt made sense. What I think became a central concern to us and a central feature of the VICI project, is the actors at the local level who get involved. In a program of this sort to make it really effective, you need a wide range of people involved in order to mount and implement a program smoothly and to provide a training experience for young people that does lead them somewhere, and that does have some benefit for them. So the question of linkages became an essential part of the program design that we attempted to develop and cull from other programs that we had surveyed.

And what the VICI program attempts to do is in each, of the eight sites, is develop a program that has the following essential
features: One, it's a community improvement program aimed at producing these tangible physical benefits, sometimes emergency home repair, sometimes rehabilitation and sometimes weatherization. Two, it has a strong involvement of the construction trade unions in that town and specifically to have journeymen instructors working in these programs at a supervisor-youth ratio of one to six, which was in fact what the unions felt strongly themselves was the necessary ratio to provide good quality supervision. Three, it is a must that adequate materials and supplies monies will be available in each site by getting a contribution from a community development agency or city government. And four, guidelines about youth eligibility implicit in the legislation are met. Those were some of the main features that we attempted to put in place through a process of invited bids from 15 cities, very careful screening of those proposals, lots of field visits, a lot of work with them to try to build them up and finally approval by DOL, and award of contracts through the prime sponsors by the Department of Labor.

MR. KELLEY: Eight sites have ultimately been selected and were able to meet the very stringent and imposed guidelines.

One of the keys throughout the project was that CPPV could actually draft the guidelines with DOL, and review them, and make sure that they were adhered to, and could provide technical assistance in getting the projects off the ground.

We're also responsible for the research, we could stress the research and demonstration facet of the project, from the very beginning and that has had some long-term benefits. (For instance, in introducing research designs).

We will be evaluating the replication portion more through process or documentary evaluation than in any quantitative way. We have subcontracted with two process documenters who will go to each site including the sites which were unable to meet the guidelines, and to pin down at each site, what's happening and what makes this program work and what could be helpful to the future initiation of the VICI program in new sites.

The model that we're using is basically a case study model, the process documenters will be especially attempting to document the local context, the economic conditions of the city, the political structure, job opportunities and the like. They will look at the type of work that goes on, the type of administrative structure, and the local cast of characters involved.
Our process documenters are also going to look at the role of CPPV itself and its interaction with local actors. They will also interview DOL national, and regional folks who are not on the sites but are intimately connected with the operations.

A second area of research is work valuation. Our youngsters are going to be putting together and building and remodeling and rehabilitating. There's going to be a lot of very tangible products. How do we tag that with a dollar number? We drew upon the very generous help of a lot of our co-contractors. We are to develop and refine a work valuation methodology which might eventually be incorporated into a formula-funded community improvement type of effort. We wanted something that could be done practically, accurately, and inexpensively.

As part of their day-to-day work tasks, there is someone in each of our sites who goes out to the work project and does an estimate of how much it's going to cost, for the VICI project. We are asking these evaluators to estimate not only how much it will cost in terms of them getting the material and in terms of the amount of labor including our journeymen and the participants, but how much a private contractor would charge, for the same work. We are going to check those estimates by professional estimates. We will take this as acceptable evidence that this is the value of the output, if not, there may be certain systematic correction factors that can be built in. How do you capture salvage costs? How exactly do you capture overhead from one city to the next? We're excited by the challenge.

The experiences of VICI participants will also be assessed relative to a comparable group of young people with similar backgrounds who have participated in other manpower programs. At the least sophisticated level, we'll compare our VICI programs with the aggregate of other YCCIP programs. We will not be able to make any very hard and fast inferential conclusions to that.

The next thing that we hope to do is in every site, to actually compare the VICI youngsters with those in YCCIP projects and the HUD demonstrations that are going on. (They exist in half our sites). We will use the existing aggregated data, the existing intake forms and the existing termination forms for this type of comparison. We will use disaggregated individual data for these if we can get it and compare again the impact at termination of VICI with these programs that resemble VICI in terms of type of work performed and participant characteristics.
Finally, we do hope to come closer to a half decent research design. What we are saying to sites is that you get your 60 participants, screen them, use your own local screening processes, get them up and moving. After that, we hope to build a waiting list. In addition to screening the 60, get a few more for backups for early dropouts. We then hope to build a waiting list which will be organized by a lottery system. Folks that are at the front end of the waiting list will get into VICI or have the opportunity to get into our program at some time.

For those youngsters who don't do well in the lottery, they will be systematically referred to other manpower programs so that in this way, we hope to end up with two equal groups, comparable study groups, both the VICI and other program participants.

MR. SCHETTER: The HUD/YCCIP is a bit different from most of the others discussed. One, it's being operated by another federal agency which acts as a prime sponsor, while at the local level it is being operated by community development corporations and other kinds of neighborhood development organizations. That is, it marks a 1978 throwback to the late sixties with direct federal funding of local non-profit operations.

A further difference is that with most of those organizations youth employment programs are not their primary reason for being. They're in the business of developing their own neighborhoods. In the economic sense, or a broad community development sense, and housing rehabilitation sense, they have another agenda which for their purposes is primary. We that that makes a difference in the kinds of work and the kinds of attitudes at the worksite between this program and more traditional youth employment programs.

There were three principal objectives for the demonstration. One was to demonstrate how well community development corporations can put together resources available from other sources, such as weatherization labor, materials and so on. That distinguishes it probably from some of the prime sponsor formula funding operations.

The second objective had to do with the nature and quality of the work being done. The notion once again being that we're an organization that's primarily interested in something like rebuilding it's community. It's going to have that as a goal which will affect the nature of the work done and the impact its business.

The third aspect of the whole demonstration was to compare the way this project impacts on organization, participants and the communities themselves, compared with host formula-funded YCCIP projects in these same localities.

This is an $8 million project. There are ten sponsors spread all over the country in both large and medium urban areas as well as two rural areas. There's an average slot level at each site of about 90, so there are about 900 positions overall. We expect to serve somewhere around 1,800 to 2,000 participants over the course of a year.
The program began operation February 1st, and now we are in negotiations about how long each of these will be extended, but it looks like the average length of the program in each locality will be somewhere around 20 months.

MR. FELDMAN: Our evaluation consists of three sets of site visits, plus analysis of participant data at five of the ten sites. Those five sites were put together in consultation with HUD and I think the idea was to look at the ones which were the most promising. Subsequently, it has developed that these projects are not necessarily the best.

The project design and methods of analysis were based on the three site visits to each of the projects and an analysis of the application forms and the termination forms from each of the ten cities. If possible, we were going to use the same kind of data analysis from up to four comparison sites in each of the locations. And to anticipate the end of the comparison problem it is probably not going to be possible to find very comparable groups, against which we can compare the HUD-YCCIP.

One of the major reasons is that there is a very substantial difference in the scale of the projects. The HUD projects are substantially larger than the comparison projects and therefore the potential for the community impact and the potential for the impact on the organization is very different.

We are to be supplied with adequate data for each of the ten locations on all the YCCIP's and we can make some kind of comparison. Those comparable groups are not going to be there and so if the question is, how do they compare, in some ways things are stacked in favor of the HUD-YCCIP's because of the options they had due to the larger scale of the effort.

On the positive side, we have been able to devote extensive time at each of the five of the ten site locations. We have been able to interview people in terms of the basic objectives that were described:

First, the impact on the community development corporation, second, the impact on the neighborhood and community, third, the impact on the participants. We are looking at impact on community development corporation in terms of the structure of the organization and the organizational changes which occurred that can be attributed to the receipt of the HUD-YCCIP funds. The grants between half a million dollars and $800,000 on the average are substantial for many of the relatively small community development corporations.
In addition, some of the community development corporations were not in the business of youth employment, so it produced a substantial change in their objectives and in the nature of the organization. They had to tool up to do something that they had not done before. Some were in the education business, some had other functions, but the receipt of this meant that they had to pull together teams in rehabilitation, in weatherization, in solar energy, and they had not always had those experiences before.

In terms of impact on the community, we are interviewing community leaders, political leaders, leaders of other community agencies and we are exploring the possibility of random digit dialing within the actual target communities to see what perceptions of random samples of people with telephones are in those areas.

In terms of impact on the participants, in addition to looking at the nature of the characteristics of the participants, the nature of their employment while in the program, the kind of terminations that they had, we are also going to do a limited number of interviews with participants for their perception of the program and on what it meant in their lives. We are looking at how they perceive it now they are in the program and what they anticipate in the future. We will be comparing that, we hope, with the sample people and the comparison of XCCIP's. The hypothesis was that this approach would produce an effort to put together more meaningful work and it would have an impact on the community. It was not supposed to be just straight employment and in the best of the cases and indeed most of the cases that we have visited it is not make-work. As with the CPPV projects, an effort was made in many of the places to hire journeymen supervisors, in some cases from the unions, and to provide a relatively low ratio of at least less than one journeyman to ten participants.

Let me sum up in terms of what general findings have been up to this point and I would stress that these are interim findings. First, that in the five cities we have looked at, most of the projects seem to be working well in the sense that they have been able to tool-up to do things that many of them have not done before. We were relatively surprised at how rapidly organizations which had no experience implemented the programs. Second, in spite of the fact that this was not supposed to be a social support effect, services were provided in many of the places. It has happened because the CDC's were prepared with other programs to provide social support.

The work seems to be going relatively well and in most cases it's meaningful work. There seems to be a trade-off between the impact on the institution and the impact on the community. The greatest institutional impact of the HUD grants occurs in the cases where the organization had little experience or small resources.
Those that have had experience doing this before were able to take this money and plug it into ongoing programs of rehabilitation or housing relocations.

Among the most important impacts on the participants seems to be the receipt of money by the participants and the work experience. But in addition many of the jobs demand the kind of work performance comparable to unsubsidized employment. Carpentry skills, tile setting, plumbing and the like have provided significant skill training.

The job supervisor seems particularly influential in working with the youth. The journeymen seem to have developed very good relationships with the youth. They seem to serve economic role models because of the high income—in the area of $30,000 a year and in ethnic status which is usually the same as for participants.

Obviously the programs where the participants are engaged in complex work are providing greater opportunities for skill acquisition but at this point it seems significant that where participants are engaged in complex tasks and where the craftsmen participant ratio is not high, the outcome seems fairly positive.

Although it's still too early for a definitive comparison with formula-funded YCCIP's, I think we can say in general the HUD-YCCIP's are larger than the comparison groups and that the scale of the project makes it easier to have substantial community impact that for the prime sponsor YCCIP's.

DISCUSSION:

MR. SHANK: Why do objective research on youth programs? Large sums of money have been allocated for massive quantitative evaluation effort yet no one is asking what the pitfalls of such research might be, or whether it is even appropriate to what we are trying to study.

The object of the research is a network of youth programs. The first problem then is that some programs are not comparable, others may not be replicable. The desired outcomes are foggy at best and often totally out of the control of the program operators. For instance, in employment training how many program graduates are placed upon completion? The factor of how jobs are distributed in the labor market is beyond the control of the training program. The outcome of placements may in fact have nothing to do with what the job training was about. The objective social science research model may turn out to be more of a burden than a beacon for policymakers.

Let me see if I can tell you why. I will also argue that the most important part of the program experience of participants may not be at all quantifiable and therefore not subject to traditional outcome measures.
There exists a terrible tension between doing objective evaluation and trying to make a program succeed. A basic variable required for a successful program is that the staff in its role as teacher, trainer, counsellor or receptionist, be strongly, or better yet evangelically committed to what they are doing. That's the electricity, the juice if you please, that will supply the energy to make the program light up. That might be the most important program variable and if it is absent nothing at all may happen. That will put researchers in a tough spot. Are they part of the program commitment or are they just objective observers? If their objective observations indicate things are not going as well as the staff believes, then the staff may just lose it's juice. If the data suggests things are going well, this implies that if the program is replicated it will do just as well everytime. But if what is really making the program a success is the zeal and commitment of the staff, then merely reproducing the operational structure can by no means assure success. How do you replicate the juice?

As I listened to comments on how the various youth programs were developing, I had a feeling that what was being sought was some quick success. Seniority and tenure permit me to risk the prediction that there will not be any measureably dramatic successes.in any of these projects At best the results will show 50% success to 50% failure--the half-full, half-empty glass. These kinds of figures will not excite your sponsors on Capitol Hill. Some serious folks on the Hill may be happy to discuss such results but it does not make good press copy. If it is instant hula-hoop success that is wanted and you can simply declare "as a result of the entitlement program all of the kids who participated are back in school: we are 100 percent successful", the proponents will love you. They will then assert that every kid who is about to drop out of school will choose to stay in and all those who dropped out will go back to school if we just plug in the entitlement program.

I am obviously exaggerating to make a point. Looking for quick fixes has little to do with knowledge and a lot to do with public relations. If you want to create a strong, positive image, I would urge you to exhange the research for a public relations department. I am not suggesting that P.R. is an evil thing. This country runs on public relations not on objective research; but, I would suggest to evaluators that public relations is not your problem--you were hired to develop knowledge. That was a phrase Joe Seiler thought of and he is to be credited for the good idea. Substantive learning from a program as it develops might produce sound information and perhaps, eventually, some important insights, but it will not produce sexy spectacular results. If that's what is sought after, do public relations not research.
For some time at the Ford Foundation we have been looking at exemplary project--programs that work. In some of the paper that I read for this meeting the question "does it work?" appeared quite often. That is a tough question. The existential fact of what does or doesn't work, depends on what you mean by "it works". In the exemplary program search I was struck by the number of community development programs that do work and quite effectively. MDRC's program of supported work is an example of a program that works. The data show that while the people are in the program they are doing very well. The next question the objective researcher may ask is what will happen when they leave the program. This suggests what is needed is a longitudinal study. Well of course we could study these people right after they leave the program, a year later, five years later, on into old age. That is to make sure the intervention really "worked". But in the peroccupation with post-program data we may lose sight of the quality of the experience of the participants while they were in the program.

I am not opposed to longitudinal studies yet I am not aware of any great insights that have come for example, from the Ohio State materials. It may be interesting, and I am sure we have learned some things, but it did not give us the E=MC\(^2\) of employment, and it never will. The problems of unemployment are intricately woven into too many other social and economic problems to be solved by simple mathematical formulas or correlations. Longitudinal study researchers will argue "these people did well in the supported work program but what about when they leave?" That question scares the hell out of program operators because they know they have no control over that. My response would be, "well, that depends." It depends on the level of unemployment, where they live, their race, or color, how much discrimination exists in that labor market, and a long list of variables over which employment programs have little or no control.

Not only are longitudinal questions the toughest ones to answer, it is also difficult to prove that whatever post-program effects we find can be directly attributed, positively or negatively to the program. This suggests to me that in order to understand what is "working", we need to know the experience of a program in a given time frame, and accept that as valid information on the basis of which to make our judgements.

Sometimes I hear researchers say, "I have a hunch." I would define that as a felt sense or the existential experience of what is happening. Often I find hunches more interesting than some conclusions based on longitudinal data. Numbers may be accurate but not insightful. A hunch may give us some interesting insights into what is actually occurring that cannot be expressed in quantitative terms.

Another corner we paint ourselves into comes from the tension between advocacy and so called "objective" research. I do not agree with those who have suggested that there was no research in the sixties. There was plenty of research. Often the problem was that many of the people who were researching were also advocating the programs. There were social scientists who believed in social change. Oft times when they developed hard data that did not fit...
Mobilization for Youth, a first large scale social experiment was a good example of what I described. Millions of dollars worth of research was never published. My hunch is that it did not come out nearly as good as expected. It probably showed that half the kids benefit from the program, while the other half did not. Perhaps only 30 percent of the participants benefit. The funders would not have considered that a success. To the planners and researchers who were yearning for the thing to work, it was a disappointment. Mobilization for Youth was going to be the proof that juvenile delinquency could be solved by creating opportunities. When the data could not demonstrate that the program had "solved" the problem it mysteriously faded away and was never published. Was it conjecture that the sponsors would disown MFY if they had seen the research outcomes? Would they have considered it a failure because only a few kids got jobs? One kid even made it to Harvard Medical School. We had his picture all over the place; he was our success story. My experience tells me that if a program can succeed even for only thirty percent of the kids, then it has not failed.

Based on this kind of experience I am concerned about the proposal to do a cost benefit analysis of the youth employment rehabilitation projects. Save the taxpayer's money! I will give you the outcome of such an analysis. It is cheaper to contract the work out. What a cost benefit analysis fails to comprehend is that not only are old buildings being rehabilitated by kids who never saw a hammer, a nail, a piece of plywood, and could not read a ruler are learning how to do construction work. It is an education for them, so of course it costs more to rehab with that crew. If I want to play the numbers game I could cut the training cost for each person and reduce the total cost to only a few thousand dollars. The trouble with that course of action is that while manipulating the numbers, you sacrifice the substance of the program to make it look good for the funding source. That is not to say that program content is not researchable, but we do not know how to measure that content and it's human value. Too often we substitute quantification which may in the end tell us more about number manipulation than about the worth of a program.

We can only measure what we know how to measure. This is an important principle but it is often overlooked. What happens to the young unemployed or school dropouts in these programs may not register on your questionnaires. Their own experience may prove to be the most important source of your data even if it does not fit the survey. For them it might be a life-saving experience that somehow did not register with the researcher. How do you gather that kind of data? You start by learning to listen. Don't lose what happens to people while they are in the program. It sounds funny to talk "experimentals" and "controls." These are the participants in the program.
I mentioned the community development corporations (CDC's) as an example of programs that work. For almost a decade the Ford Foundation has been supporting a number of CDC's. Our overall estimate is that they are successful. A key factor that we were testing with these CDC's grew out of some things we had learned during the years of the anti-poverty programs. We found that to deal with complex social problems through short-term funding was a serious mistake. Operating agencies cannot focus on programs if their major concern is where their next grant is coming from. The Foundation decided to do an experiment with long-term funding and the effects have been most positive. It has convinced me that social programs need a minimum of three years of funding if we are to expect any serious results. The notion that we can produce instant results in six months or a year is ridiculous in the face of our years of experience that tells us otherwise. It is simply unreal. I appreciate the political pressures from "pending legislation" and on the folks who have to run up the Hill to tell the "good news" of what happened, but knowledge development is the goal, it will take time, and the results will probably not be spectacular enough to excite anyone on Capital Hill.

A final comment on quantitative research and social psychological problems draws on the experience of one of our 20th century giants of learning, Piaget. He did his research on his own children. This is a remarkable feat when you consider the impact of this man on the world of learning. His universe was observing his own kids and how they learned, but he was able to synthesize a lot of observations and develop an astonishing insight into how intelligence develops. We are in desperate need of some synthesis of successful youth employment program experiences. The numbers may give us guideposts but they will not tell us the what and how of programmatic success. We can not be satisfied with the numbers alone. Go beyond them ... go to the existential side and see what you can find. Perhaps it will be insight.

There was another disservice that we anti-poverty warriors did ourselves in the sixties. Sometimes I think we were our own worst enemy. We had not read McLuhan and we did not know that the medium was the message. We insisted that we were social scientists not hucksters so we had to tell the truth. It turned out that the truth as we told it was misinterpreted. We acknowledged that some things did not work and our political naivete even said whole programs were ill-conceived, believing this would result in an objective social science discussion of "the problem." Instead program funds were stopped and generalizations sprung up like "the War on Poverty was a big bust." This was taken to mean that the social problems we were attempting to solve were intractable. What followed was first benign neglect and now the politics of Proposition 13. The creditability gap did not come only from the right-wing press. It came from liberal democrats who said "nothing works" When I hear people say "the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corp, Head
Start, MDTA have all been failures", I am furious.

What is my evaluation of these programs? I would say some of the Job Corps camps are good and some are not. Some Neighborhood Youth Corps programs are bad, others are good: like most institutions in society, some are great, some mediocre, fair or poor. Some of the graduates on follow up studies come out very good, others not as good; other look poor or have dropped out altogether. Most institutions divide up about this way, and I am sure we will find the same outcomes with the youth employment programs. Therefore, look carefully at the data but look beyond it. Be aware of the political implications that will be drawn from the research findings, but most importantly look for the positive impact of the program on the participants.

MR. BARNOW: The concept of the VICI project makes sense. Once we have identified programs that do seem to work then it's important to know how to replicate them and I think there's going to be a lot of difficulty in the project in going through the replication part. In some senses, replicating these training programs and work experience programs may be somewhat easier than replicating preschool or high school or grammar school programs with a particular curricula and the like. Yet, the literature on educational programs suggest that it is quite difficult to try and figure out what are the keys to replicating. What are the key things that you are trying to replicate? I just hope that it turns out that we did indeed isolate the key factors under VICI.

An important issue here, for our experience and existential philosophy, is whether or not failure to replicate means a failure of the program. It's quite possible that some of the features of the original program were just not suitable for elsewhere. It's a serious question as to whether or not it should be replicated in full under all conditions. Also, I hope they will determine whether or not failure to replicate certain aspects is a positive or negative factor and I hope that will be looked at.

The VICI project will also look at work valuation. It reminds me of the man described by Oscar Wilde who knew the price of everything is the value of nothing, because what they're doing is determining the prices things would cost in the marketplace, but that's not necessarily the value. I think it's a very difficult issue to try to get into the valuation of public sector, common property resources.

The third issue is the post-program analysis and here is one area where I am quite concerned. It seems to me that both the VICI project and the HUD-YCCIP projects are going to look at termination data, rather than using any post-program interviewing. It's very dangerous to only look at what happens to people at termination status. For instance if you look at the positive termination rate, under public service employment, it's typically around 30, 35 percent. If you look at the rate of employment six months later, it's around 60 percent. Termination success depends partly on placement efforts and so it's dangerous to just pick the one point in time, and especially the immediate date of termination.
I think the question of whether or not we want to look at the post-program data and how seriously we look at it, depends on what our goals are in the program. It's not clear entirely whether we should be concentrating primarily on in-program benefits or post-program benefits. I have the belief that Congress is really interested in the post-program benefits and that seems to be what's in the law.

Another issue that we want to go into in detail, is whether or not the people in various programs are comparable. How do people get into the HUD-YCCIP, versus a plain old ordinary YCCIP? Are they similar people?

In the HUD-CDC project, it's important to try to figure out what the goals are and set priorities, so we can figure out what we want to look at. In this case, I was most interested in the way that HUD put it together rather than DOL. I guess that's just my own bias. HUD goals were to look at the impact of the program both on institutions and the community, while DOL had an alternative goal of comparing it to other delivery approaches. Right now a lot of our money goes out to the prime sponsors and we don't give them technical assistance and we have to learn ways to work better so we can help them. This is true not just in the new programs but it's true of the larger CETA efforts in Title I where some prime sponsors feel that we haven't helped them enough in ways of exploring the programs.

One concern I have is this comparison of the HUD programs with the other YCCIP programs especially because of the fact that the HUD programs are bigger. I don't think we should compare HUD programs with 500 people and then go say, the big program has more value. What we want to do is determine whether there are economies of scale.

MR. PACKER:

Why don't we just take this money and lay it out in formulas and hire some kids for three bucks an hour instead of paying for high powered research? The answer must be that those researchers are going to contribute an answer to Congress and the policymakers that will allow them to allocate their resources better.

My judgement based on my experience is that Congress is dying for some good information. They live on PR because that's all anybody gives them. Solid research work, even lousy research work has an impact. The ideas stick there, and you'd be amazed about how little information Congress will use because it has to have some sort of information to make a judgment.

Hopefully, we'll get some answers and we will decide that the money we spent on research is worth more than providing a
couple more jobs for these kids because that's what the alternative is.

MR. FILER: One thing that I think we have got to be prepared for is that the research can have negative as well as positive findings. People had better be prepared for the fact that you may prove that your things really are as ineffective as we thought. They might be and that's a perfectly valid outcome from the research that's been funded. The purpose of the money that we are all being given is to find out what is working, not how can we best present something that looks as if it is working.

MR. PACKER: Most of the research which has been done to date could never have been justified in science. It's not been good enough. It is not good enough in my judgement to continue to finance research at the expense of jobs for kids, unless it does better than it's done in the past. We have had lots of mis-adventures with research, partly because the researchers didn't ask questions that they were going to answer, and didn't follow through.

MR. KELLEY: But our schedule of inputs into policy must be realistic. It must take into account what we know about the lags of the data coming in. A lot of those data that you want are not to be ready on time.

MR. PACKER: You could do a study starting now and finish it in three or four months to know if more kids have come back to school in the places where there are entitlement projects. That could be done by just getting our there and going to those schools and asking teachers in the ninth grade, whether more kids are coming back than usual from the eighth grade. That's why I'm here, you must have answers on time. Legislation is coming that is going to lay out billions of dollars to be spent in '81 and '82. My impression of the people on the Hill is that they really do want to spend it in the right sort of way and they deserve to know what you can find out before they lay out a couple of billions bucks.

MR. SHRANK: I think that a lot of research could have been a lot sharper than it was. We will say that next year about this year, but I would take your example, as a perfect example of what not to do. I don't know what the attitude of those ninth grade teachers are, but these kids were bringing back, maybe those are precisely the kids the ninth grade teachers really didn't want in school, and pushed them out because they were difficult learners. So for me to go in there and just say to ninth grade teacher's, how many kids came back and so on, may give me the wrong kind of information. So I don't want to do that. That to me is not the way to solve the problem. You set an example of what not to do. I also don't know what the school records would show, but I would be very leary to go to Congress and say the program worked or not on that basis.

MR. PACKER: I certainly don't want people to think that the DOL money is being laid out there in a fashion that if the answers
are not in accord with our thinking we want to suppress the wrong answers, because we don't. We really do want knowledge development. It may be presumptuous in a sense to put those words on it, but I think it's not a bad description. We have tried to develop knowledge and I think philosophically, I am a strong enough believer in the democratic process to say as analysts we just find out as much as we can. I believe policymakers, the true policymakers, the politically elected policymakers, to who the people have given sovereignty, will do the right thing. The intent of the research money is to find out as best we can and to give them the information.

MR. KELLEY: We are all in favor of doing research that is relevant, of a high technical quality, as quickly and as cheaply as possible. I wanted to go back through to the question that's been raised about the value of output work. No one would hypothesize that kids will do this work cheaper than a private contractor. That's not what we're arguing. We're arguing that there is some value to their output and how much is a critical factor in estimating overall benefits and costs. We're not trying to answer it in a real economists' sense of what the value is. We are looking at the alternate supply cost and there's a reason for that. One good reason is that it's written into legislation that the work that is done in these programs must be work that would not be done by a private contractor. Presumably then there is work for which there is no market demand and one reason for that is very often the work is being done on the homes of very poor people, who are not going to have the money to fix up their porch or "rehab" their house or put on a new roof.

If on the other hand, you argue that there is a public policy goal, that there is a social goal, to provide that kind of decent living accommodation for citizens in inner-cities, then the question is how much would it cost you to meet that social goal otherwise and supply side costs then start to become a very relevant estimate in my mind.

MR. DELONE: We're devoting a lot of energy to following up at least 80 participants if we can make the contact three months after they finish the VICI program. We want to follow up with the same number of non-VICI folks. We're doing a three-month follow-up and longer if it proves feasible and resources are provided.
SESSION III: YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS--
DEMONSTRATIONS AND RESEARCH

PRESENTATIONS:

MR. JONES: We will be discussing five relatively unrelated sets of projects next. In this session, I think we should look at cross-fertilization as well as comparability among the data.

MR. PRESSMAN: I'm from Youthwork which is a nonprofit intermediary established to assist in the research and demonstration aspects of the exemplary in-school grants program. One difference between our project and the others that will be discussed is the scale and operational complexity. We ultimately received over 500 proposals for exemplary in-school projects and had to select between 45 and 50 from that. This was the "let 1000 flowers bloom approach." Ten additional projects that will be funded noncompetitively will enable us to fill in the knowledge development gaps that exist in the competitively funded projects.

One of the things we will emphasize in our knowledge development throughout the demonstration is following the perceptions of young people over time. We also, as an in-school program, are very interested in that linkage between the local educational agencies and the prime sponsors. The programs that we have helped to fund are supposed to be exemplary projects, demonstrations, innovations, if you will, and so, in addition to providing some work, they are supposed to do better at teaching basic skills, to improve counseling and guidance systems and to do a number of other things that affect the overall participant outcomes, rather than simply providing a job.

We have a three-tiered approach to our assessment. There is a management information system that every grantee has to implement in order to get their money. We also have an intermediary local knowledge development piece that requires the local prime sponsor to do knowledge development about itself. We provide the technical assistance and some of the suggestions about the designs and research questions. Finally, we have independent research being done on related subjects.

I think that we have to recognize from the outset some limitations of our research. One is that we're dependent on local knowledge development. A second is that we've assumed that there were a lot, exemplary projects out there to be studied. One of the first things we have to find out is whether, in fact, the selected projects are exemplary. We talked a lot about innovations and about the opportunity to study innovations and their impact on institutions, but I'm not sure whether we'll have all that many innovations to look at. So I think it would behoove us to be very realistic about some of the limitations of our research and knowledge development.

MR. LEZNICK: I'm from the National Institute of Education. We have one of the 17 interagency agreements that were referred to this morning. The Department of Labor has charged us with the responsibility of studying the Career Intern Program which is an alternative high school program developed by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, under the direction of Leon Sullivan. It's a program designed
DOL is interested in learning whether or not a program that has proven effective on a small scale can continue to be effective when the approach is implemented on a larger scale. Our research is intended to answer four basic questions. What happens to the program itself in the process of implementation in additional sites? We're carefully studying the implementation process at each of the four sites. (1) What accounts for the changes or adaptations and for fidelity to the design? (2) Does CIP continue to have impact in helping youth when it's implemented in sites other than the original prototype site? (3) What happens to the young people in the CIP that could account for its effectiveness? The early evaluation identified what seemed to be the essential elements. We had some hunches. This gives us a chance to find out if those hunches are true. It is hoped that the answer to this question will help the Department of Labor and other federal agencies design other programs.

Of course, the last question we hope to answer is, "How does this approach compare in effectiveness, feasibility, impact, and other factors important for policy with other approaches serving youth?"

MR. TALMADGE: I'm not sure we are going to answer all those questions although we will certainly address them. Let me start with the first one we refer to as the fidelity of replication. I don't think any of these projects are replications in the true sense of that word. They are attempts to implement a project that was successful on one site, but they are appropriately modified to fit into new situations. I think that when we identify deviations between the replication of sites and the original model, then we need to assess each one of those in terms of whether or not it's positive or negative adaptation.

In looking at student outcomes, we will have a randomly assigned control group determined by lottery. In fact, we go one step beyond that. We are going to have a matching of students prior to assignment to treatment or control groups, so that we will have a matched pairs design that will enable us to handle problems arising from differential attrition. Should, for example, the best students graduate out of the program before we get their post-program scores, and the worst students in the treatment group disappear for one reason or another before we get their post-program scores, that would leave us clearly in a situation where treatment or control groups, though comparable initially, would not be comparable at the time we did the evaluation.

We have had some problems in implementing this design. There were delays in the program and there have been serious difficulties in getting as many kids in as called for in the experimental design. We may end up not having any of the nice things we're supposed to have. We may have a choice of serving some kids or assigning everybody to the control group. It won't be quite that bad, but we could end up in a situation where it didn't really make sense to assign enough kids to the control group to give us a meaningful comparison because that would significantly cut down on our ability to assess the replication effort itself. We don't know exactly what we're going to do in this
case, but we will resort to the usual tactics of a search for comparison
groups, perhaps, coming from the feeder schools from which the CIP
interns come, perhaps from other sites that have similar problems, but
do not have a program. We really haven't worked that out yet because
we're still hoping that it will be possible to implement the design as
originally planned.

In the area of trying to relate characteristics of the program to
specific outcomes, we will be relying heavily on ethnographic types of
analyses, in-depth case studies of students, interviews with teachers,
students, parents and community members. We have ethnographers who
will essentially live on site, observe as participants in classroom and
non-classroom situations, and try to tease out some of these hidden
relationships for us.

In the comparison of costs with effectiveness, again we will have
problems. The CIP program is somewhat unique in that it is basically
a high school program--an alternative high school program--that
provides high school degrees, not GEDs. It's not clear that there is
another program quite like this to which valid comparisons could be
made. However, we will be making what comparisons we can. We will
be looking primarily at those outcomes associated with participants
going additional education or getting meaningful employment. We
intend to follow this up for as long a period of time as our contract
and the initial start-up of the cohorts will allow.

We are also assessing achievement gains in reading and math.
We're looking at career awareness, self-concept, and sense of control
over their lives.

MR. DELONE: The CCPV Private Sector Initiatives Demonstration could,
in fact, be called both a demonstration and an experiment. The
demonstration is an effort to test out and, in some cases, to develop
and test out, a variety of programming approaches. We're not setting
them up as research experiments, but rather as programs that we're
trying to make viable and then research very carefully. There's a
distinction between that and a pure experiment. The test of direct
incentive subsidies to employers is more of a sure experiment.

On the demonstration side, there are a variety of cross-cutting
questions that we want to try to answer for the complete range of
approaches. We want to try to find out whether disadvantaged, out-
of-school youth can become more competitive, and whether opportunities
can be permanently increased for them, given a supply of jobs that
our programs are not going to materially affect. Does work in the
private sector in fact produce better attitudinal adjustment, better
skill development, better human capital accumulation, than does
work experience programs in the public sector?

Central to all that we're doing is the question of what the
private sector will respond to and get involved with. That's a somewhat
unusual research emphasis, but it becomes a particularly critical ques-
tion with the emergence of Title VII, and the creation of private
industry councils, which, in many cases are organizations beginning
a process, wondering what the hell they're going to do when they're finished. There is a dearth of good program knowledge and experience that's well-documented that can be exported and transplanted if it works.

Because of our concern with the private sector, we are caught in some rather exquisite dilemmas. One thing the private sector doesn't like, for instance, is people from the government coming in and collecting a lot of data about what they're doing, which is exactly what we need to have for research purposes. We must deal delicately with that kind of tension. In all of this, we'll be trying to look at firms and what happens to them in terms of their employment records, who they hire as they become involved with our programs, whether they change their intake and hiring procedures and their supervisory methods and work structures to accommodate youth. We will be following youth, collecting intensive data on them at entry, following them through the program and, afterward to see if the effects of a particular training program or a subsidized work experience show up.

We'll be looking very carefully at the process of program development through process evaluation, trying to find out what really does go on. If we do have a program that shows some good results, what made it a good program? I think that's a key element of this research.

On the wage subsidy-direct incentives experiment, we are very much at the beginning of what is an extremely complicated technical planning process and I will not try to get into the complicated research issues that are involved there, except to say that I think we will be particularly interested in testing varying subsidy levels to determine whether the take-up rate is significantly affected and for which kinds of firms. The assumption to the test is that the OJT subsidy, either in amount or duration, is often not a very strong incentive for firms to hire the youth who are our concern in these programs.

We are in a very early stage in all phases of this demonstration. Among our programming initiatives, several are off the ground, but most are still in the planning stage, particularly the direct incentives experiment. We're trying to involve a lot of people outside of our organization to assist us in the technical elements of planning this demonstration and the associated research. We still have a lot of flexibility to change directions and we would really welcome input from people who are interested.

MR. MUCHNICK: The Youth Community Service Project in Syracuse provides stipends to 16 to 21-year-old youth who are both out of school and out of work, to participate for a year in meaningful community service projects. ACTION conceived of this model of volunteer, community-based youth service for three reasons: First, we thought it was an alternative to the usual way of delivering necessary community services. Second, we thought it was a new way of thinking about approaching young peoples' problems of the transition from school to work. Third, we thought of it as a major alternative to the customary ways of thinking about organizing a national youth service.
It is, in essence, a test of one model of a volunteer community-based decentralized youth service. We think it's different from some of the usual approaches to youth programming, primarily because it's founded upon public values of community service and citizenship, not simply the private gains of jobs and career training that the young participants may derive. Its notion is that as necessary as jobs are for young people--clearly they are very necessary--jobs by themselves are not sufficient to overcome the estrangement that young people feel from adult members of their community and vice versa.

So our notion is that the value of YCS to the participants is surely their personal gains, but also the service that they render to their communities--if you will, their acts of citizenship, their expressions of civic loyalty. In return, we expect the non-youth members of the community to complete the civic bond, to give expressions of support and recognition, expressions and commitments of time and energy that really make the program not just a youth program, but a program of total community involvement.

One of the major questions, then, was whether or not it is feasible for this kind of total community involvement, whether the ideas can be learned, understood, and implemented at the local level. For that reason, to test that feasibility, ACTION has placed primary responsibility for the administration and implementation of the program on the Youth Community Service Corporation in Syracuse, New York.

Between the 15th of March and September, we have gone through a period of testing the basic systems, a period of making the transition from ACTION to local grantee operations, and a period of educating the local grantees at all levels--the local board of directors, the local staff, the local sponsoring organizations of youth projects--in terms of what the philosophy, ideology, and research objectives of the Youth Community Service Project are.

Youth Community Service initially meant all things to all people and, therefore, there were never any conflicts at the beginning; it's only when we started to get down to the nitty-gritty of approving a particular project that people began to understand what was different and what was not different. So the vague notions of "do-gooding," which everyone embraced eight months ago, begin to really wash out.

We have about 150 volunteers in service now. We have another 165 in the process of being matched to services and another 200 or so who have applied and been accepted for their orientation in October. We have developed something on the order of 400 service opportunities. Several hundred more are in the process of development at the moment. They cover a variety of needs areas. A major emphasis has been on the quality, we think, of the projects, and some of them are particularly significant. For example, we will be producing Syracuse's only bilingual newspaper and, in fact, the only Spanish-language newspaper.

In terms of research issues, I think there are basically two major dimensions. The first one is the feasibility of this model of a voluntary community-based youth service. What is really the capacity of a local community to understand and implement this concept of total community involvement in support of its young people? Secondly, what
is the capacity of sponsoring organizations, neighborhood groups, public agencies, established voluntary organizations, and youth themselves to develop and supervise meaningful projects that engage youth in a variety of really demanding tasks? The major thrust is the implementation analysis that is being undertaken by the Research Corporation of the City University of New York. That analysis will take an in-depth look at the whole process of implementing and educating the local community in terms of what YCS is all about and involves. There will be ethnographic examinations of 15 to 20 projects for the "hunches" about what works and why. These will also consider issues of replication—whether or not the project could be done somewhere else. The Youth Community Service concept involves such conceptual changes for program administrators at a local level that it cannot be done on a simple sort of revenue-sharing, no strings attached, basis. The question, therefore, is what kinds of easy strings could be used to get this kind of notion across, but not encumber the program seriously.

The other dimension is the effects of the various program elements on the various types of youth who participate, as well as the effects on the community at large. In terms of impacts, we want to find out if youth adopt the philosophy or ideology of community service. Then we want to find out more about individual choice in their selection of the projects. We don't match people with slots. They select the projects they want to serve in. We will need to examine day-to-day activities in the projects, what the youth have, in fact, engaged in, and whether it's meaningful and non-traditional in the terms we use. We will look at the type of sponsorship, if it's a neighborhood group as opposed to a city agency; the type and quality of the supervision; the possibilities of attracting volunteers from different income levels, since there are no income eligibility limits on the program.

Finally, there is the question of participation in service learning efforts. Will volunteers who engage in service learning have a better experience than those who do not? Will it be a critical part of the program?

The Urban Institute is in the process of developing a series of research designs by which to evaluate some of these effects and experiences. Because of the process of educating and developing systems in the first six months, we did not proceed headlong into the design of research before we really knew what the relevant factors would be. We wanted to get some of those systems basically established, so that the research designers would know what, in fact, they should evaluate. The major thrust will be discovery, not specifically hypothesis testing. There will be some element of comparison with other programs. We will be gathering the same descriptive data on our YCS participants as is being gathered in other DOL youth programs.

MR. SEILER: The Services Mix Alternative Demonstration Project addresses the question about the most effective mix of work and services—whether youth will benefit more by standing and sweating or sitting down and being served. They will be in Broward County, Florida, Oakland,
California, and Los Angeles, California. These are just starting.

The project is designed to assess the relative effectiveness of three basic alternative approaches that prime sponsors frequently use to assist youth. The first service approach is the labor intensive mode of participation in work experience. The second service approach is called a service support mode. There is no work experience. All paid hours are in classroom type activities, skill training, educating, orientation, group counseling, that sort of thing. The third service approach is a mixture—a supported employment mode. Half of the paid hours are for work experience; the other half are class-type activity.

In each of the three projects there are 300 youngsters, 100 in each of the service modes. Each project has a random assignment process for participants and is matching them in pairs of three. These matches are established by sex, race and academic proficiency. The three pairs are then randomly assigned to each service mode. We're also controlling for the amount of dollars taken home by each youth so that we don't have the distinction between allowances and wages. In addition, each participant regardless of service mode receives job development and placement services from the same program unit and hopefully the level of effort for each will be the same.

The duration is 24 months. The initial two months are for start-up. The last two months are for the analysis and write-up. In the middle, of the 20 months, 12 are for program write-up operation and 8 months are for follow-up. The follow-up includes 30-day, 90-day, and 240-day follow-ups. The duration was dictated by the fact that two years was the maximum amount of time that the program could be funded.

There are two major types of information in analyzing effectiveness. First, we have a series of behavioral change tests, which are made at program entry and exit. These include measures of job knowledge, work attitude, job-seeking skills, self-esteem, and academic proficiency.

The second major set of information is the outcomes on employment, earnings, and education in the 3 follow-up periods.

We have some problems in measuring costs where services are received from other sources, but we will try to tie these down as much as possible. The behavioral change measures that we use are as good as are available, but we cannot get two people to agree on how you deal with measuring work attitudes and other things.

DISCUSSANTS:

MR. PALMER: It is clear from the presentations that we're talking about a tremendous variety of projects and objectives. There are five categories, but within a couple of those categories, there's a multiplicity of different kinds of demonstrations. I am struck not just by the variety of activity but also, by the different assumptions that seem to underlie a lot of the programs. For example, the Career Intern Program is really an alternative to traditional schooling—an attempt to enable people to complete the degree program. On the other hand, a lot of the Exemplary In-School Programs are an attempt to redirect the school system itself in order to serve more successfully the youth who are involved. On the other hand, the Community Youth Service...
Project is taking youth who are out of school and giving them as much as a year's experience, in some cases, with the expectation that they will certainly further their education. Nevertheless, it is entirely out of that educational framework. So there are very different assumptions underlying these different approaches as to what may be needed or what our assumptions are about the failures in the system.

So, to some extent, this variety of activities and assumptions reflects both strengths and weaknesses in terms of where we are right now with youth employment policy. It's indicative of how little we really know. Also, it may be that we're trying to do too much under these particular pieces of legislation and demonstration right now, and that the resources that are available for knowledge development are being stretched too thin. There's been a lot of people who've mentioned the speed of implementation, the sparsity of resources and so on. Still, it is an extremely exciting and unique activity, I think, with tremendous promise to be very productive.

The strengths are the fact that there are a multitude of exemplary projects that seem to exist out there now that have considerable promise and they're all being looked at, or at least most of them are being looked at, in one way or another in much more systematic form than has previously been the case. The new projects that are being started seem to me to be indicative of a tremendous amount of imagination being brought to bear on this problem and also a willingness to examine interventions that are based upon very different views of what the world is like out there and what might make sense. That is, there's an incredible open-mindedness about the whole approach.

I'm struck by the extent of use of intermediaries--both intermediaries that are nongovernmental as well as other agencies through interagency agreements. The intermediaries are really playing a dual role. One is that they are providing the research capacity to examine what's happening out there, but they are also, in many cases, playing a very strong role in terms of getting the operation going. In the interagency case, there are very different mechanisms, a whole variety of them being used, with more or less participation of federal agencies and their counterparts at state and local levels. I hope that a fair amount of effort is put on the evaluation of these approaches. We must try to understand and learn better about the role of these intermediary organizations and other federal agencies, in terms of both structuring and delivery and the research aspects of the whole effort. I can imagine that in many cases, what might happen is not simply jumping from a demonstration to a national program, but beginning to build on the kinds of structures that are out there now, using intermediaries as technical assistance vehicles and other kinds of things, to work with program operators at different local levels.

The capacity, in many cases, simply won't be there, to go from what can be successfully done in one area to replicate it on a national level, but over time, using the kind of reservoir of talent and expertise that's beginning to grow up outside of the federal government it may be possible. A major development in the last 10 or 15 years, is the extent to which there's a capacity growing outside of the federal government--some accumulation of the knowledge and some continuity.
I hope that this effort really promotes that even more and that there's some focus made to stand back from that set of intermediaries and ask what role can they play in the future? What have they done well in this process and what haven't they done well? What gaps are there for other kinds of intermediaries, perhaps, that are less research-oriented and more operationally-oriented, in terms of the kinds of assistance that they can provide?

Several of the program approaches that are being tried out are predicated on the assumption that that particular program may be the only one in the environment, if it were done on a national level, say, or if it were a major program. For example, the entitlement programs are really an attempt to deal with the universe of need among at least low-income youth. The Youth Community Service Program is, in some sense, the same thing. Can we create enough slots or service opportunity to meet the demand of everybody who would want a job? In reality, of course, we're not likely to end up with a world where one of these programs would be the only thing that would be available. We're probably going to want a whole mix of them. In fact, the notion, in some cases, is that the youth population out there is kind of monolithic and either the entitlement program will work or it won't work for disadvantaged youth or either the CYS will work or won't work. But I think we have to recognize that we're going to need a kind of "different strokes for different folks" approach. Some combination of a number of these different programs in the environment at the same time is very likely to be desirable.

I don't know how you deal with that when you start evaluating these individual programs, but it's important in interpreting the results, I think, to keep in mind that you shouldn't look at them as though they're going to be the only program in the environment. In some sense, this may mean that they will appear less successful as individual programs than the entire group of programs would appear or would be in any given environment.

A goal of the CYS and the entitlement programs is to measure what the demand will be for these opportunities. In fact, it's being talked about even more abstractly. What is the demand for jobs on the part of youth? Well, I guess one of the implications of what I'm saying is that these programs are not really going to be able to get at that. What I think you're going to be able to measure to some extent is the demand in a particular locale at a particular point in time for this particular kind of service opportunity or job. Now, that's a much more limited outcome than we'd like to know, but yet it's still going to be very helpful for program planning purposes and will begin to tell us whether the kinds of results that are coming out of the aggregate models using CPS data make any sense at all. I don't think they're going to enable us to get precise estimates of what the universe of need or participation will be, but clearly it will be helpful.

As a third point, I think there's probably going to be an important need for the ability to construct control groups for a lot of these programs out of data bases that are totally independent of what's
being done in the context of the program. Such constructed control groups can be used for many different programs to enable some comparability across programs. I would think that the longitudinal survey clearly offers this opportunity and I hope some thought will be given to how that can be structured in such a way as to enable different samples to be drawn that can serve as control groups for comparison purposes to participants in various programs.

Fourth, it is clear in a number of the discussions that it's very difficult to pay much attention to variations in the demand side of the labor market and in the economic conditions that are going to exist in the individual sites. The outcomes you may get under tight labor markets in one city or one point in time for a given program may be very different from what you get under different labor market conditions in other areas or at other points in the business cycle. Rather than expecting that, in the context of any of the individual demonstrations, much can be done about this, what's needed is some funding of systematic research to try to explore better--maybe at a more theoretical level--how to get a handle on these questions: "What effects do different variations in labor market conditions have on the outcomes of programs like this?" and "How can we better measure what we mean by tightness or looseness of labor markets for the populations we're concerned about?" Understanding of the demand side and of the broader economic context may then be applied to the individual demonstration efforts.

I have a sense that there's an unwarranted degree of expectations and optimism regarding the precision and value of what the research results that are going to come out of a method like this really can be. There are a number of reasons for this. It's important to recognize that the research methods we have available to us in the social science disciplines are simply not very powerful in terms of trying to understand the kinds of outcomes, the kinds of effects, the kinds of interventions, that are being tried out here.

I've had considerable familiarity in the past with the income maintenance experiments. There you had as simple an intervention as you can imagine, in terms of what was being tried--direct cash payments, under very controlled conditions, where you were looking at variations in two things: the amounts of payment that was given related to income and the marginal tax rate or the rate at which benefits were reduced. Even so, after a set of five or six different experiments under very controlled conditions there was considerable controversy over the extent to which we really do understand what the responses of people are to variations in those two different variables. On the basis of information obtained, however, the uncertainties have been reduced. We can now say there hasn't been a massive withdrawal from the labor market as a result of it and that's an important result. I think there will be counterparts to those kinds of results coming out of these experiments. But it's only after 10 years and several experiments that you really have the sense that precise estimates of labor supply are good enough for use in your cost estimates. It took welfare reform that long and we're at least 10 years behind that kind of effort in the youth employment fields, which in most cases, is not going to lend itself to that kind of precise treatment in any event.
Secondly, the speed with which we can get answers has been addressed quite a bit and I think it's important to recognize that it does take years and years and an accumulation of research and understanding. Programs must have a chance to evolve and settle down, in some sense, to get over the early mistakes of initial implementation. So, even where answers can be forthcoming, in many cases, it is going to take 3, 4, 5, 10 years, and I think Congress must be told that. Frankly, they're going to have to understand that you can't simply pass a bill and expect that 2 years later, you're going to get answers to such critical questions as they're asking in this legislation.

Thirdly, a range of different efforts are going on here, but only a very few can be talked about as experiments where you structure them in advance, systematically varying certain kinds of treatments, measuring the results, and then try to understand what their effects are. Under the best of conditions, when you have experiments, it's difficult to get precise research estimates. Under less controlled conditions, particularly where there's the tension between operational concerns and research concerns, it becomes very difficult to get the kinds of answers to the questions we're asking and that simply has to be appreciated.

A fourth problem is the replicability problem that's been raised. I don't think I have to go into that in any detail, except to point out it's not only a question of replicating it because of the uniqueness of a particular site or the uniqueness of a particular program, but there's also a question about the capacity of the system. We're starting out in many cases with the "cream of the crop," in terms of the prime sponsors and in terms of independent program operators, and so forth, and trying ideas out with them. That doesn't mean, if it works there, that you can, in a couple years, just have a national program that will work as well.

As I suggested earlier, the way we get from here to there may have to be a very slow cumulative process with the kind of expansion of the network of expertise and bringing up the speed of people at local levels, where they do not have that expertise now.

Also, on the funding side, on the intermediary side, and on the technical assistance side, the capacity is very limited. It's already stretched too thin, perhaps, in terms of this set of demonstrations, let alone what it would mean if you tried to have national programs in many of these areas within the next couple of years. So, we have to build up on that side. I think some attention needs to be given to that in terms of the interpretation of the results and a lot of thought must be given to how we get from here to where we want to go with those programs that do appear to show the promise of being valuable on a national scale.

Last, I think there's also a question of our ability to define conceptually, in terms that can be operationally justified, the specific treatments for interventions that we're concerned about.
Many of them just don't lend themselves to the kind of clear definition
thatenable us to test them out and talk about how changes in them will
affect changes in outcome. The kinds of interventions we're talking
about here are extremely complex in most cases. Taking the example
of the income maintenance experiments, there you did have two precise
parameters that you could control in an operational sense and then try
to look at their effects. But here, the interventions are really the
programs as a whole and there's no way to separate out individual
components of them in most cases.

Some of the discussion seems to suggest that we're going to be
able to vary components or individual elements of these programs struc-
tures and see what difference that makes. I'm dubious that that's
going to be possible in most cases. I just don't think that the
methhood or the resources that are being brought to bear are going
to permit that to happen. You're just not going to get effective
answers to those questions in the strict research sense. You're going
to get some important answers out of the more qualitative analyses
that are being done and from the hunches that have been made. It will
be unrealistic to expect our statistical techniques, as they're applied
here, to be able to answer with certainty or within prescribed bounds
of certainty, what those variations in particular treatments are.

Our best hope is to get some overall sense of the effect of these
interventions at the general impact level, and that is an extremely
important first step to take.

One exception to this may be the wage subsidy experiment, which
I think is the closest thing to an experiment that does lend itself
to the kind of treatment not possible in a lot of the other programs.
I hope that will be given a lot of thought. It seems to be, since
it's being very slowly developed over time. If the targeted employment
tax credit passes Congress, as it appears it might, it creates problems
in what ought to be done about this subsidy. It might be useful for
the Labor Department to test that legislation, in the sense of asking
for some ability to do some experimentation that ties it in with what's
being done here, so that a year or two from now, we won't just have
to live with the results of the targeted tax credit as structured
in the law, but can also say what variations in that particular program
might yield in differential results.

This leads me to the following conclusions. The importance of
this entire research effort, at least in the short-run, ought to be
focused on first-order questions. We ought to make sure we get answers
to such basic questions as: Was it feasible simply to mount and execute
the program under the design conditions that we were trying to accom-
plish? Who is being served? Are we reaching the target population?
Is it working, in some sense, at that level? That's the best inform-
ation you can hope to get from this within the next year or year and
a half. We're not going to get much further than that. I hope that
enough attention is given to those questions and is not focused on
some of the ones in which the answers are necessarily going to be
equivocal. We must not miss getting this basic information out of the
experiments. I'm optimistic that the more sophisticated systems, being put in place to provide the data to answer the tougher questions we won't be able to answer very well, will yield the kind of data we need to answer the easier questions. The kind of rigor that's being brought to bear, because of the quality of research people that have been brought into this, is going to insure that there will be a systematic look at a lot of these fundamental questions. There are the kinds of questions in which there's a great deal of interest and from which a great deal of knowledge can be derived to inform Congress and to provide the grist for the PR work that needs to be done.

The same priorities suggest themselves to me by the schedule of timing for the legislation. If I work backwards to inform FY81 decisions, the administration really has to decide what it wants to do by this time next year. That really means that we've got about six months--maybe nine months--to generate information out of this set of activities, to inform that decision-making process, at least within the administration. You have a little bit longer to develop new information for the Hill.

But I'd like to reiterate the notion that we shouldn't be pushing for more sophisticated answers to the tougher questions in that time period. That would be a mistake in terms of the confidence one can have in the answers, and more fundamental questions about just what seems to be working and what can we do successfully, even though we don't yet understand the full impact.

MR. NICHOLS: We're looking now to find out whether midstream correction should be made in this knowledge development plan and whether the kinds of suggestions I might make should be taken as self-criticism as much as of anything that's in that original knowledge development plan, since I do have some overall responsibility for research design.

I want to emphasize the need for consistency across these various programs. John Palmer just said rightly that this is a grab bag of projects we're discussing on this particular panel. There are many different projects demonstrating many different things and it's going to be very hard to draw generalizations from them.

We want to strive to bring about some kind of consistency, so that we can not only make comparisons within each of these projects, but so we'll also be able to make pretty good comparisons of one approach against another approach. It should be our objective to try to compare across and within these demonstrations, but the way this appears now to be set up, that will be much more difficult than I would like to see it. I'll have some suggestions later on as to how we might change that.

First, let me try to convey to you the spirit with which these results are received in the Labor Department. It is not our objective to have every program get a positive evaluation. We do not want to have all of you tell us that everything works, because the purpose of this is to find out what works best or what doesn't work. We'll be very annoyed if all these evaluations come in saying that everything's great. It will be very helpful to us if we find out that some things
don't work at all. We tried them and they were ideas that seemed promising, but we had to discard them.

On the research side, it's probably always true that the majority of research never pays off. You just don't know which proportion ahead of time. We have no way of knowing which of these things are going to work and so I think it's appropriate that we are trying lots of things. That doesn't mean we want them all to be successes. They are in no sense all prototypes of what we want to do. We would be happy to see some failures, a whole mixed bag of results, which will allow us to rank these in relative terms. I know I speak for my boss, Assistant Secretary Packer and for his boss, Ray Marshall, who is very interested in letting the chips fall where they will, in an intellectual sense.

A feature common to most of the demonstrations being discussed in this panel is that they are not experiments with random assignment groups and the like. They lack the pure classical experimental approach in that all the results are hedged ahead of time. Some of the researches sound a great deal like advocates rather than scientists. It may well be that advocates run better programs and that may be a model for program runners that we do want to tap, but it's probably not a good model for getting research results on something you might think you could replicate on a large scale.

If I wanted to compare results across projects, what would I need? I guess I would just look at the textbook way you do research. First, you should state the goals of the program. The overall goals of the youth programs are pretty much the same. We want to reduce youth unemployment. We want income gains to come out of this and a variety of social things like reduced crime rates. Skill development, school completion, and the like are almost inputs to these other larger goals that I mentioned, that is they presumably result in better employment, more income, and the achievement of the social goals.

Since all of these programs pursue different goals, the program should list ahead of time what the goal of the program is, how the model pursues that goal and that should give you a very clear idea of what you can test, what you can learn from the program. The hypotheses should be stated clearly. They tend to be fuzzier than I would like to see them. If they are stated clearly, cleanly, and simply, then we have a much higher probability of coming up with something at the end, a much higher probability of being able to compare results across projects, than if what is being shown is whether a very specific kind of demonstration can fly. We need to learn about the general results more than the very specific ones. Sometimes we learn general results from running specific demonstrations, but they should be designed in such a way as to yield some insight on the more general results.

One place to start, then, would be with the data collection. It would be helpful to have the concepts that are used here defined in the same way for all the projects. It would be helpful to be able to use the data that these people collect for other purposes after
this particular project was done. It would be helpful to go in and
find out why seemingly contradictory results came out of these projects.
Therefore, it would be nice to know that these people had agreed on
definitions of what was skill training, what was work, what was whatever
the concepts are that have to be defined. There needs to be prior
agreement on concept definition before the data are collected. There
also needs to be prior agreement on categories of data collection,
so that results can be made comparable and one huge data set can be
put together encompassing different aspects. Ideally, we would like
a very expansive data collection effort to be made for all of these.
I realize that's not practical and so that all we can ask for, in some
cases, where the data will not be exactly consistent, is that there be
documentation of the data--extraordinary documentation. That is, how
was the data collected? How were various things defined? What is the
difference between your definition and definitions being used on the
other projects? I think it would be nice if these contractors would
share their definitions with each other and would sharpen up ahead
of time any differences in concepts that they did have, so that we
would know, after the fact, if we wanted to use all the numbers together
and what relation they bore to each other. I would think an excellent
part of the final project report would be a very precise documentation
of data, so that it could be replicated and linked to other projects.

As for research methods, I prefer to start with the classical
experimental model and then ask, "How does one project differ from
another? What did we do differently from the classical experimental
approach--which is the way we're surest of our results in that we
know exactly the probability with which we can accept or reject
hypotheses? How does your project differ from a classical experiment?"
Many of the discussants have already hedged their results carefully,
saying that we cannot expect too much. Yet it would be helpful to
have those hedges stated in a very precise way and to link them to
what the classical experiment would have been. "What intellectual
compromises have been made and why?" The answers to that would allow
us much more easily to compare the kinds of results that we get from
each project.

I've heard a great deal of comment about our being very modest
in our expectations of all this. Well, for $100 million, we can't
be too modest and we do have to expect some results. If our science
is such that it can't yield precise results to subtle questions, then
we're going to have to ask simple questions.

It's much more useful to get good, solid answers to simple ques-
tions than it is to get fuzzy, unreliable "hunches" to hard questions.
Many researchers have said today that we shouldn't place too much
burden on research, asking the impossible and coming up with a bag of
smoke. Maybe we really should concentrate on the simple things that
we can answer, rather than worry about asking questions we know we
can't answer.

Let me say that I am impressed with the variation within these
projects. There are a good many things being tried and I think all
the bases have been touched and most of what should have been tested
is being tested. I think that's exactly what was needed. It's just
that this incredible variety could yield a bewildering set of contradictory results, unless some consistency is imposed by us at the top.

GENERAL DISCUSSION:

MR. JONES: I think we may be overly concerned about the lack of classical experimental design. One criticism of the classical experimental design is that it controls for type one and type two errors but there may be a type three error--which is asking the wrong question when you might have asked the right question. We may be trying to find increasingly better ways of doing things that probably should not be done at all!

MR. TALMIDGE: I think a wrong assumption is being made by various members of this group—that it's easy to do good research, or at least it's easy to do good research answering simple questions. Going back to the comment about the classical experimental design, I think probably everybody in this room has heard of the Hawthorne experiments. Those were designed to address a very simple question—does changing the lighting in work area affect productivity? Of course, they got very strange results. Every time they lowered the amount of light in a work area, productivity went up and it reached an all-time high when people were functioning at a level of full moonlight. I don't think that very many people know that this particular set of experiments involved a control group. It turned out that every time change in performance was observed in the control group. Everytime the treatment group's lighting changed, the performance changed in the control group, whose lighting was not changed. If we had implemented the classical experimental design and simply compared the two groups, there would never have been a Hawthorne effect.

It's clear that we can do statistical analyses and reach conclusions, but a great deal of thought needs to go into considering possible alternative hypotheses for assembling diverse kinds of data to build a case.

MR. BRIGGS: I feel we're missing what is perhaps the greatest contribution of these programs in the discussion over classical research design. It seems to me that the major overriding focus behind all this is changing institutions. Programs are effective if they can change institutions in desired directions. The apprenticeship system has changed a great deal because of apprenticeship outreach. Vocational education changed a great deal due to competition from CETA. What's really missing here is concern for institutional change in the most important institution of all affecting humans—the educational system itself. Many of our schools have not done a very good job, particularly for the youth served by these new programs. In some sense, this legislation has come about at exactly the right time. The schools are in trouble right now. Enrollments are declining. They're running out of people. They're receptive to new ideas for the first time and ready for us to move in.

On the other hand, as I've moved in and studied at the grassroots of this program, just going in and talking to the school people and seeing what they do, I find that there is a tremendous amount of things
being done in schools that the literature doesn't even mention. The new resources have allowed some of these schools to do things that they could not do before because budget cuts were taking away their staff, their people, and their initiative. It's encouraged them to go out and do some entirely new things that they've never tried to do before. I think that finally, after 15 years, we're addressing the most important institution of all in this whole power establishment. If we don't get the schools straightened out somehow we're going to have manpower problems forever.

There's been a good deal of talk about uniformity or getting uniform measures of program outputs or program objectives. However, I think there may be a confusion of means and ends in a very basic sense. I think, when you consider the whole range of employment training programs, the results of the research and the demonstrations are used by a number of different actors and, depending on where those actors sit, they have different agendas. I would go as far as to say that I think that a typical legislator would probably think more in terms of whether services are actually delivered than in terms of subtle assessment of impacts.

The distinction between ends and means is very critical. One program that is a very good example of what I'm talking about is Entitlement. If you look at the legislation, the ends are really defined as keeping kids in school or getting them back in school. There's an implicit assumption that this is desirable and, there's no mandate to test that assumption. I think this sort of phenomenon occurs in other areas as well. I think there's a real problem because the people who use the research may not have in mind the same broad objectives as the people who are doing the research.

MR. POUILLARD: Perhaps there are some things we don't know that we should learn and, upon learning them, might apply them seriously and honestly to address the problem of unemployed youth. But I wish the solutions to the problems that have been raised were that simple. I wish I could believe that it is the absence of knowledge which explains those problems.

I find it difficult to believe that the high incidence of unemployment amongst youth is explained primarily in terms of what we don't know. I have worked for a number of years with populations for whom these programs were created. As a practitioner, I can say there isn't that much mystery, as might be suggested, with further discoveries in uncovered truth. I wish that were the problem. It would be easy if the accumulation of a few more facts would provide the remedy. But the residual of so many basic societal patterns and attitudes, political stances and the like, seem to be so obviously at the heart of the matter. Any serious effort to understand unemployment would also have to address the reordering of priorities that are not gracefully acknowledged and addressed. I do respect the fact that when one goes to the Hill with empirical data that is hard to deny, regarding the cost effectiveness of one program or another, perhaps he does get armament to sustain that program. But it's more armament in terms of rearming a B-B gun as
opposed to pulling out the cannons to deal with the enemy or the problem. I don't know that, by coming up with cognitive reasoning and new empirical data, we will address the attitudes, practices, orientations, and commitments, or lack of commitments, that seem to be the x-factors that explain the historical problem and the ever-increasing problem of unemployment among youth.

I wish that in looking for answers designed to help remedy the problem of unemployment among youth, that data found might be presented with passion or that research engaged in might be done out of commitment, so that there is not merely numbers to surface, but that there is support for a cause. I wish there could be "advocate research."

I don't think that bastardizes research at all. It tempers it. It suggests perhaps a likelihood that the efforts of the researcher might better foster the objectives of the Department of Labor--and I don't imagine any researcher would have engaged in a contract unless those objectives appeared, even to the pure scientist, as being worthwhile, so that a case might be made for, for want of a better term, advocate research, without denying the integrity that the scientist wants to hold onto.

I would hope that it is not so much numbers and abstract charts and printouts, but rather commitment to the resolution of a problem that is factored in this as much as anything else in the process. Practitioners like myself don't have much to contribute to the formulation of a question that would provide the kind of answer which is better or more easily collated in the computer, but practitioners who are working in areas addressed by the Department of Labor do want to say to the scientists, "We hope that you find ways to utilize whatever data that you do surface, to advocate as best you can with that data the causes that the Department and the legislation and the Department's regulations do uphold."

It is too risky, too hazardous to just assume that it is appropriate let alone judicious, to take the pure researchers' approach. If the attitude behind the process is one that is devoid of passion and commitment, that is not a virtue.
SESSION IV: BASIC RESEARCH

PRESENTATIONS:

MR. LERMAN: There's much to learn about what's happening and what has happened in the youth labor market. We've started to identify some of the important questions that we think are critical. They're broad questions, but we think we're moving in the direction of finding answers to some of them, and a year from now we'll be in an even better position.

The first question that I think is critically important is to ask why the racial differential in youth unemployment worsened in the last decade or so and especially in the employment population ratios. We see and have seen successes in equal employment efforts and even successes in narrowing wage differences among black and white workers. Given the fact that the situation was bad enough in the beginning, it is hard to understand how it's gotten considerably worse.

The second question concerns the causes of such a generally high youth unemployment rate in our nation. In European countries the relative and absolute levels are much lower. Is turnover really the problem that people say it is, or are there other problems that cause us to observe, even in tight labor markets a high youth unemployment rate?

The third question concerns the seriousness as a social concern of youth unemployment. How is the unemployment spread among youth? If it were fairly evenly spread, presumably it would be less of a problem. How does it affect the current income of families and the young person's experience later on in his career?

Some answers to these questions would cause us to be less concerned about youth rates and some more. Without going into any research findings, I'd like to point out a few interesting facts that demonstrate why further study is needed. For instance, it is frequently observed that youth unemployment is very short term in nature. This conclusion rests on data from Employment Earnings, where it shows that 40 percent of the youth unemployed are unemployed less than five weeks, and another 20 percent between five and 15, and only a small percentage on a long term basis. That's true at a point in time, but if you look at how much unemployment youths experience over the course of a year, you find that most youth unemployment is borne by people who experience more than 15 weeks' unemployment. As a matter of fact, something on the order of 75 percent of all the weeks of unemployment among youths were borne by those who had at least 15 weeks or more of unemployment during the course of the year.

A second frequent statement is that when unemployment rates are relatively low, the people that experience a lot of the unemployment are youth. While the incidence of unemployment is high among youths, most of the long term unemployment during low unemployment periods is still borne by adults. It turns out that the group that made up the highest percentage of long term unemployment is prime age adult white males.
If you look at the unemployment numbers that come out of CPS, which are the basis for the 40 percent estimates of black teenage unemployment—you find that these are not comparable with numbers generated from other sources. I looked at about five or six sources from various surveys, all with relatively similar concepts yielding very, very different results.

MR. WISE: We have been looking at several different sources and types of information to first try to identify the dimensions and the characteristics of youth unemployment and then to see if we could find factors that seem to be contributing to or simply associated with the unemployment. We've been looking at cross section data, some time series data and some longitudinal data. This means that we're looking at Current Population Surveys, Census data, the National Longitudinal Surveys and another longitudinal study put out by the National Center for Educational Research.

The first finding is that we get very different results on basic things like the unemployment rate from different sources, namely, Current Population Surveys versus longitudinal data. For example, if you compare results based on the National Longitudinal Survey with Current Population Survey data, it turns out that there is a month, October of 1972, where one can make a rather good comparison.

You find, for example, that the unemployment rate for white males based on CPS data is 11 percent. That's high school graduates, by the way. The comparable figure from the National Longitudinal Studies is 5.4 percent. For blacks and CPS gives 23 percent versus 13 percent from the National Longitudinal Study.

We don't know the reasons for this. It's not simply a matter of definition. Maybe it has something to do with the fact that one is a household interview where the questions are asked of the head of the household and where the other one is a questionnaire answered presumably by the youth themselves. However, the differences seemed to us to be much greater than could be accounted for by the differences between the questions that were asked.

It turns out, not surprisingly, that there are substantial variations across areas. The variations tend to be associated with demographic differences across areas; that is, the proportions of the labor force who are youth tend to be related to aggregate demand, which is no surprise, rate of growth in the local economy, and the movement of industry from central cities to suburbs.

Another finding—I should say a non-finding—is that there is no evidence that high school training—industrial-vocational training—has anything to do with earnings or employment after participants leave high school. It does turn out, however, that persons who worked through high school seem to have much better experiences when they leave; that is, not only in terms of wages but also in terms of how much they work.
It turns out also that unemployment, as one might expect, is linked to other social problems like broken homes, families on welfare, violence and crime. For example, we conducted a preliminary survey of youth in the Boston area. We had a student go to basketball courts and interview people who were playing basketball. It turns out that the first 20 people interviewed indicated that they had committed a nonviolent crime in the past week.

These suggest the kinds of things we're examining, and I would like to indicate some of the possible implications. It appears that aggregate demand policies can reduce the youth unemployment rate, but they are not going to solve the problems of the youth that are the hardest hit, such as black, high school dropouts. It also seems to us that policies need to be directed toward this group; that is, policies directed toward solving the youth unemployment problem in general are not going to do the trick for the people who are the most severely hit. And then one has to think about bringing these youth into the labor force. Most of them are simply not in the labor force.

What about research priorities? Well, it seems to us that we need information on youth that are not in the labor force. Current information is simply not very informative about people who are completely out of the labor force. We need to know how they use their time, how they support themselves, what they are doing in general, how they get jobs when they get jobs, because eventually most people move into the labor market in one way or another. In that is implied that we need to have research that is focused on this rather narrow group, although it also needs to have a broad perspective.

And then one final thing. It seems to us that there's more that must be done to relate problems of youth unemployment to personnel policies of employers and other demand side practices.

MR. TOIKKA: I'm going to summarize two studies for you. The first one is a rather small effort which is nearing completion, which investigates the potential impact of employment and training programs on youth unemployment. The second one is directed at answering the question of what is the social and economic significance of youth unemployment. In doing the first study my objective was really to look at the process in a decentralized system such as CETA by which a federal grant to a CETA prime sponsor is translated into labor market impacts. In thinking through this process I was able to identify 11 independent factors that come into play. Their magnitude surprised me. Some of them are self-evident; but what I attempted to do was to put all of the factors together in an analytic framework which would allow us to say what the impact on youth unemployment would be of introducing a manpower program and leaving it in force. If there is no behavior change, if the people leave the program just as they came into it, then the program has a small statistical impact on the labor market, depending critically on the targeting of the program and the job placement rates. I'm in the process now of trying to calibrate the model to simulate the impact of the YET programs. The program can be effective in getting youth into jobs, but if all that happens is that they're in dead-end jobs before they came in the program and they're in dead-end jobs after they leave the program, there's not...
going to be any substantial long term reduction in the unemployment rate. It's fairly self evident, but I think the strength of this analysis is that it allows the integration of research findings.

Topics amenable to empirical research include fiscal substitution and crowding out of jobs in the private sector and the increase in labor force participation rates which may occur because local labor market conditions are made better by the program. When it becomes clearer what the empirical magnitudes of some of these things are, it provides a method of seeing what labor market impacts will be.

The second study is larger and it's asking a very basic question: "How serious a social and economic problem is youth unemployment?" I think we'd all certainly be in favor of reducing unemployment, but the tough part comes when you realize what the cost of this might be. For instance, suppose we faced the uneasy choice of reducing youth unemployment at the expense of increasing unemployment of other groups in the labor force. Even though our focus is youth, it's our feeling that the unemployment rate is an inadequate measure in many ways. It ignores discouraged workers—people who've left the labor force because they can't find jobs. It ignores involuntary part-time workers. However, one could make the reverse argument, particularly with the youth population, that unemployment may be less serious than for adults for a number of fairly obvious reasons. For example, youth are less frequently breadwinners for their families. Their non-market opportunities such as school or leisure activities are typically greater than for adult workers. And so we approach this by trying to sort out the issues. Which groups are worse off, when you take a broader look at it? You just don't look at unemployment, but must distinguish between full-time and part-time employment, the reasons for unemployment, and much more.

The technique of analysis that we're using is to take a March Current Population Survey and link it with an April survey so that we're able to observe changes in labor force status that occur from month to month and really direct the analysis at three basic questions: First, how does the labor market experience and behavior of youth relate to family income? Obviously the problem is less serious if the unemployed are from affluent families than if they're from poor families. Also it's not clear what the relationship between the employment status and earnings of the head of the household is on the labor market experiences and behavior of youth. There's some reason to feel that young people come into the labor force because of hardship, because the head of the household is unemployed.

The second question is how much of unemployment is truly voluntary in the sense that young workers shop around for and frequently leave jobs? How much is the result of employer decisions or layoffs?

The third question is that of the longer term implications. There's a very sharp correlation of age with both labor force participation rates and unemployment rates. Participation rises with age, and unemployment falls. If we could be absolutely sure that that were true for everyone, the problem would really not be that significant...
it would take care of itself. While teenage unemployment rates are high and unemployment rates for the older groups are smaller, the labor force participation rates of these older people are larger, so there are more people in the labor force. If you actually translate that into the numbers of unemployed, you find that there really are substantial numbers of unemployed, let's say, in the 20 to 24 age group as compared with the 16 to 19 age group. It's entirely possible that there is a set of young workers that are continuously unemployed, and if that's so, it's certainly a much more serious problem than if unemployment were randomly distributed in the population.

MR. ZIMMERMAN: The purposes of our study are, first of all, to assess various strategies for estimating the value of the output of participants in youth programs and, secondly, to provide at least preliminary information on some of the estimates of the value of that output.

We are going to 12 prime sponsors, and we also are going to one Department of Interior YACC site and one Department of Agriculture YACC site. We have essentially completed the field work and now are in the beginning stages of data analysis.

We've found that the prime sponsors, like probably a lot of people in this room, appear to have very mixed feelings about whether or not this whole endeavor makes sense. Some think it's not very important at all, especially those who really believe, especially for youth programs, that we should be concentrating on the longer run benefits—whether they be a return to, or continuation of, education; or whether they be earning gains. But some think that it's very important, partly because they believe there is a high correlation between the value of the output that's produced and the efficiency with which that output is produced and longer run measures of success of the program, and partly because they believe that it's extremely important to them politically at the local level to produce real outputs.

I think ours is essentially a data collection study, getting down to the project level to pick up information about the value of the output produced. I think I can't go very much further without addressing the question of what is valued.

In the most basic sense, the value of the output is usually assessed in terms of the supply price. That's the price that an alternative supplier would have charged to do the work.

But the next question adds further complications. What is the demand for the output? Is it a service that is useful in the sense that there is a measurable demand for it? How does one try to assess the usefulness of the work that's being done?

We want to find out whether or not one can select projects with relative ease, whether or not one can get estimates of alternate supply prices and what the problems are, whether one can get at least information about the demand for the product or services that are being delivered and then whether one can go further and talk about a quantitative estimate of that. We also are getting into project costs in
order to estimate the net value of output.

There are some theoretical issues that I think we will be able to clarify a bit. We want to know whether this work is being done efficiently. Yet one problem that we've had is the treatment of inefficiencies in the regular work force. For instance, in one case where kids were doing maintenance work in schools, there was never a question about whether or not they were doing the work efficiently or whether or not they were putting in the hours. The problem was that they were doing work that had been done two or three years ago by the regular work force and that the regular work force was not doing additional work over and above this. It was not a problem of fiscal substitution, because the regular work force was still being paid. It was a matter of having a little bit more time for coffee breaks and that kind of thing. Is that situation an indictment of the youth program? It is hard to say that, because we also found cases where people had been put into situations that really did free up other people to do more skilled work.

I think another problem that has to be considered is the treatment of training time. One can dismiss it with a head in the sand strategy by only going after pure work projects, but that's not easy to do, because in many cases there are mixed projects.

Demand issues are an even more intractable problem. The fundamental issue, for me, is that you're dealing with what essentially is a counterfactual situation. If you want to find out whether there's a demand for the work, you have to ask people what would have been done in the absence of the project. Some people have a hard time even thinking in these terms. In several cases in our study we found a situation of people saying that if the youth project hadn't been there, they would have used Title VI workers, who are doing something else. There are a lot of programs out there, and the whole issue of the way public services are being provided and the sources of payment is important. We've found in some cases where it is indicated that in the absence of the project, the work would not have been done, that if project funding ceased, the work would be continued from other sources. The project itself induced a change in thinking about provisions of some services. Usefulness, thus, depends quite radically on the perspective and the respondent.

The last issue is whether we can streamline work valuation studies, perhaps by doing them without project-by-project analyses or, instead, with some standardized format.

We have been unable to develop major short-cuts to date. There are possibilities for some kind of valuation mechanism in a reporting system. There are two examples of that right now: One is used by the Department of Interior and the other is used by the Department of Agriculture. It appears that they might have a model that could bring in some useful results. The problem is that it's an input based measurement system. They have various wage rates that they use by type of work, based on the wages of regular employees doing the work, and they simply multiply the wage rate by the number of hours that the kids were doing the work.
MR. ROSE: I'd like to first discuss the measurement of work output of youth programs because I think it represents a classic example of an attempt at ex-post facto analysis. We rushed to get programs underway; and then a year later we called in a couple of researchers and said, "What did we do out there? Find out for us and tell us what the impact was." This is a similar situation to when we first started looking at the results under the Manpower Development Training Act. We discovered that you can't use operating statistics. You're just kidding yourself. What you find is that nobody's measuring the same thing, and they're all using different definitions. You ought to set up certain sites that you consider your basic data sites, and it is from those sites that you'll really get some hard information as to what you're really accomplishing. To go in afterwards and try to pull out information from operating people who are trying to survive on a day to day basis, will not be productive. The system is not designed to provide statistical information of any validity because they're asking this of operators who cannot answer the questions for us.

The theoretical work in the causes of youth unemployment evoked a certain 'deja vu.' I'm skeptical that the work will help to draw conclusions that will help in the formulations of policies directed toward the employment and unemployment problems of youth. I don't quarrel with the data sources, nor with the methodology, but most of the questions you're pursuing we already know the answers for: that is, we know what the statistical results will be. The question really is whether we have enough guts or enough sense to translate these into policy issues.

For instance, you talk about broken homes. What are we going to do about broken homes? You're going to prove again that a lot of these kids come from broken homes, that a lot of these kids are illegitimate, that they're from welfare families, that they're associated with crime and they're associated with drug abuse. What then? Our difficulty is making the jump between the information that's available and the policy. The question is where do you move from those facts to program and policy and who has the courage to make that move.

There's very little discussion about institutions and what they do to kids. It seems to me that we ought to think about that rather than just simply manipulating some secondary data. We must realize the fact that we have institutions that do a lousy job of what they're supposed to do, and unless you bring that in, you're going to be leaving out some important parts of what you're trying to get at.

Simply saying that the institution is no good and then walking away from it or throwing more money into it, is not a solution. We ought to be a little bit more original about creating new institutions that pick up where these institutions fail. We need to do something more about picking up youngsters, for example, before they become drop-outs and having institutions that face the youngster as he moves out.
of the school system because the school system is either warehousing the people that we're concerned about or pushing them out.

MR. ADAMS: Having recently completed a book on youth unemployment, I submit that the literature tells us a lot more about the questions that are being asked than has been acknowledged. In the theoretical studies of causes and cures, the objective is to determine the characteristics of the youth unemployment problem in the United States and the causes of the postwar increase, including demographic changes, the problems of the central city, the youth school to work transition problem, et cetera. These explanations have been explored in countless other places, and I think the knowledge to be yielded by further work is limited. The most important element would be any help determining how jobless youth finance their consumption and spend their time while outside the labor market. We simply know very little about the non-market activities of youth and the alternative opportunities offered to these individuals and the incentive structure that exists as it affects labor market activities.

I'm also encouraged by the plans to massage the data from the high school class of 1972 because, frankly, too little has been done with these data. It's almost been a mystery as to what the data have to say. Certainly the potential is there, and the early findings illustrate the potential importance of this analysis. My hope is in their further analysis they will shed light on at least four problems: One, blackness as a source or cause of the problem of teenage unemployment; two, the role of education and racial returns to education; three, the residual effects of teenage joblessness; and four, the nonlabor market pathologies of teenage joblessness in terms of the incentive structures.

Turning to the study of the potential impact of employment and training programs on youth unemployment, I have doubts about its potential because it focuses on employment and unemployment, the dichotomous division of labor market activity. In so doing it reflects a view that these concepts measure something important. I'm not sure they do. I think the point was made that for some who are unemployed, the hardship may not be significant. At the same time some of those who have jobs, may, in fact, have very significant short and long term employment problems. Consequently, looking at the dichotomous nature of the labor market in terms of employment and unemployment status really doesn't produce very interesting results.

In the study on the social and economic significance of teenage unemployment, the objective is to measure the extent of teenage unemployment, the extent to which teenage unemployment imposes hardship on a teenager's family, the extent to which teenage unemployment arises from voluntary supply decisions and the extent to which teenage employment presages of subsequent unemployment. The study focuses on short-run labor market decisions, matching March-April CPS data with more than can possibly be delivered using the CPS. The determinants of six labor market status conditions are being explored by the study. But there are not, nor can there be any controls for school enrollment
status. That's an extremely important variable to consider in terms of the employment or social and economic significance of teenage unemployment. Most of the work which is to be done with transitional probability models could also probably be done with tabular analysis. To me, it's a scalpel being used to dissect an elephant. Finally, the one year work experience that the CPS will provide, in my judgment, will provide very little useful insight into the residual effects of teenage unemployment. We need to go much beyond that. In measuring the work output of youth programs, the objectives are to provide preliminary information on the value of output of youth work projects and to assess strategies for valuing that output. I do not understand why we are going to look for data, after the fact, rather than planning ahead for the data that is needed in evaluation. Quite frankly what we ought to be looking at is not the immediate good or service produced, but what it does for the individual, what the long term impacts of that program are. That value of the goods and services, while of interest, is not the most important question.

GENERAL DISCUSSION:

MR. TAGGART: In designing our knowledge development agenda, we have to make a choice between dollars for research, for evaluation and for demonstration. What is the best mix? Earlier, we were talking about action programs delivering benefits to youth. Theoretical work does not have such an offsetting benefit.

How much theoretical work is it worthwhile doing? We must then subject theoretical work to the same set of policy questions to which we subjected the demonstration activities; that is, in what time frame will significant policy results be produced, what hypotheses are there, and on what grounds will they be accepted or rejected? Then, how much of basic research or empirical analysis should we invest in, when should we invest in it, when should we expect results, and what track should it be on? These are the same questions that were asked about the demonstration efforts.

For instance, it seemed to us that work value should be estimated. We realized the difficulties, but "substitution" is no easier to measure, or guess at, than "work valuation." The questions are, "Are we researching the right issues or the wrong issues?" and "Are we investing enough: do we need to invest more?" The modeling simulations are a very cheap process compared to the other things that we do. To design these demonstration projects costs more than it does to run everything that's been done up here. What is the relative cost effectiveness?

MR. BARNOW: I'm not sure what to say about how much money one should put in, but maybe there is something to be said about the sequence. I think if one were to look back over 50 years, at least in social welfare research, and ask what had an impact, there have been two kinds of things. One is assessment of problems. A second is demonstrations of possible solutions. You need both types of work.

MR. TOIKKA: This panel is discussing basic research with the intention
of that research having an impact on policy. We must establish at least two things: one, that the research illuminates questions that have not previously been adequately examined; and, two, that that knowledge would make a difference in terms of programmatic choices. I think the employment impacts of government programs have not been adequately explored and are a fundamental issue with obvious policy implications. The same is true of the study of the social and economic consequences of teenage employment.

In many cases, researchers do not, for a variety or reasons, make the necessary link between their research and the policy options. I think this is not entirely the fault of the research community. It grows, in my opinion, out of a lack of communication, the fact that the individuals involved have different agendas, different priorities. It also grows out of the fact that there has been an incredible volume of research generated in recent years, and it's difficult even to summarize that, let alone to make judgments as to what pieces of research are better than others. And, in many cases, I think that we rely on the judgment of other researchers to make those assessments. In some ways this is good. In other ways, however, it is unfortunate, because I think it leads to a narrowness of focus. One way to expand focus is to facilitate more communication between the research community and the people making policy and administrative decisions.
SESSION V: DATA COLLECTION AND EVALUATION

PRESENTATIONS:

MR. BRANDWEIN: We've set up the national sample survey tracking system to aid in evaluation of the overall CETA decentralized programs.

Very briefly, we use the census to collect data on a sample of enrollees, selected from 147 sponsor samples at the end of each quarter. We develop a sample which is interviewed to get more detailed, more reliable data on the characteristics and preprogram experience of the enrollees, than are possible from sponsor reports. We then follow up the same periodically to determine post program experience. We are developing a comparison group, using the CPS as the basis and will use social security earnings data to compare the record of this group with that of the CETA participants to estimate the net effect of the program.

That's all very easy to say. There are substantial conceptual and technical problems with this type of comparison group effort, and I'm not optimistic about early or definitive results, so we will be trying to develop some alternative ways of estimating net impact or the difference a program makes.

In any event, we've now extended the Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS) system with no changes to cover the fiscal year '78 enrollees of the two YEDPA programs for which funds are allocated to all sponsors, YCCIP and YETP.

The immediate purposes of this are quite realistic, quite achievable, subject to some only modest logistical and timing limitations. The first purpose is to document who, in fact, is being served by the two YEDPA programs. That information will also enable us to do a general comparison of the characteristics of the youth enrollees in other CETA programs, with those in these two special YEDPA programs.

The second purpose is to get the early views of the participants on the program. That will be useful for public relations purposes, if nothing else.

And the third purpose is to try to determine from follow-up tracking how long enrollees stay in the program, whether there are significant differences between those who stay in longer and those who leave early; whether they return to or remain in school, and what their initial post program labor market experiences are in terms of employment and earnings.

Again, it will be possible to document any major pattern of difference between these two YEDPA programs, and between them and other CETA activities with large youth enrollments.

There have been three issues in this extension. One has been whether and to what extent to try to develop a psychological profile of enrollees as well as the socioeconomic one, and whether to measure attitudinal changes after program participation. The Office of Youth...
Program has wanted this. I've been dubious about it and the Census Bureau has been, too, in part, because of some skepticism about its utility; moreso because of concern that the attitudinal questions would affect responses to other questions, would adversely affect response rates, and might have substantial biases, since we anticipate that the interviews often will be conducted in the presence of a parent, or others who might influence responses.

We've compromised and we will add such questions on an experimental basis for the fiscal year '79 sample on perceptions about work, occupational aspirations, self esteem, other attitudinal matters, using fundamentally, the same ones as in the National Longitudinal Survey and a number of other youth studies, so there will be some comparability.

We are going to present the questions to half the sample, and therefore, we'll be able to test the effects of such questions on response rates. We will also reduce the risk of hurting the whole sample if the questions do significantly alter response patterns and response rates.

The second issue is on timing of follow-up. We started the CLMS with a follow-up about nine months after entry, which is roughly six months after the initial interview. Our purpose there was to maintain response rates and ease recollection problems. But on the negative side, the limited time before the follow-up interview has meant that many, or most, of the enrollees were still in the progrm at the time of the interview, so that the initial post program data were for only the relatively early leavers. We are actively considering deferring the first follow-up until 12 to 15 months after enrollment, so as to get some post program information on virtually all of the enrollees.

At the moment, we will have one follow-up for sure on the YEDPA enrollees as well as perhaps a second. We'll judge that in light of the experience and findings of the first follow-up.

Finally, we have the basic issue of how you can estimate the net impact of YCCJP and YETP on the economic experience of participants. The CLMS data we're going to get will give us only gross information on how the participants fared after they left the program and will not enable us to determine how much of their experience is attributable to program participation. Developing a comparison group for youth, I think is more troublesome than for adults because it's not feasible to get a reasonable match in terms of prior labor force experience, because during the unsettled teenage years, there is considerable movement in and out of the labor force and in and out of school. We have the further difficulty created by the scale of the program. As the programs have been expanded over a period of several years, they do in fact, reach a considerable proportion of the low income population to whom they are targeted, and, so, some appreciable portion of your comparison group will at some point enter a program rather than remain in the untreated category.

The size of the programs also means that the labor markets are being affected. If you march in to Baltimore with a saturation program,
It's fair to say that the kids who aren't in the program, in school or out of school, are functioning in a less competitive labor market at the time the programs have enrolled substantial numbers of people and can't really be regarded as unaffected by the programs.

Be that as it may, we will undertake some comparison with several types of reference groups. We'll see what we can do by referring to the Job Corps comparison group, the supported work comparison group, and the CPS youth group. We may have some considerable questions about matching, but if the cumulative evidence from a variety of groups adds up fairly clearly, then I think we have a more solid basis for any estimates of impact.

MR. BORUS: The National Longitudinal Surveys have been going on since 1966. What we are doing under the Office of Youth Program funding is starting a new cohort. This will be 12,000 young men and women, equally divided by sex, including a heavy oversampling of blacks, Hispanics and non-black and non-Hispanic poor. They will be interviewed annually for the next six years, beginning either the last day of January or the first day of February, 1979.

We are going to have a number of background variables, since, in the first year, we are going to try to get detailed information on what happened to the young people, 14 to 21, up until the time of interview. So we're getting family information, schooling information, details on past training, military service, health and a little bit about previous work experience.

We're also including a number of socio-psychological measures in order to get some fix on what or which of these measures may be good predictors of future behavior. We are including the standard internal/external locus of control, a knowledge of the world of work scale, a new thing that we just invented, which is similar to a demand curve that we use to determine willingness to work, the reactions of "significant others" to various types of behavior, attitudes toward the role of women in the labor market, and questions on aspirations and expectations.

Finally, in this first year we will have what happened to the youth during 1978. There will be detailed work history, which includes all of their major jobs for the years, including more detail on their present, or survey week, job and its characteristics, including such things as their satisfaction with the job, some of the fringe benefits, and the quality of the work. We will get information on their and their family's income for 1978. We have a section on participation in various types of training programs, particularly DOL programs; and in these programs, we will seek to find out what services they received and what their reactions were to the programs. We will get information on family status, on educational experiences and on military service during the year.

We had a lot more that we were hoping to ask in this first interview, but our pretest ran almost twice as long as our OMB approval would allow, so that we have cut back our survey instrument. However, we have a number of questions for succeeding years.
One feature that we are testing for the second year that might be of particular interest to people is a time-use diary to find out how many young people, particularly those who are out of school, are spending their time. We have also been asked by the Department of Defense whether we would consider adding a special additional group to the sample—young people in the same age groups who are now serving in the military, since they are interested in finding out what happens to veterans when compared with youth who do not go into the service. We are beginning to talk to DOD about adding approximately 1100 more individuals to the sample.

MR. WURZBURG: The National Council on Employment Policy is involved in doing a process evaluation of the implementation of YCCIP and YETP.

Most of the questions that we are addressing in the evaluation fall within the ten principles that were outlined in the youth charter. We're looking at knowledge development. We're looking at quality work experience, and what sponsors were doing to improve the quality of work experience over past programs, what improves supervision and what tangible outputs result. We're looking at youth participation; what roles the youths are taking other than as participants and what forms of participations are being used, other than the forms that were mandated by the Labor Department. We're looking at targeting to see how prime sponsors are using their discretion for participant selection and what the practical implications of the different eligibility standards are. We're looking at the kinds of fiscal substitution that are occurring with YCCIP and YETP and we're also looking for different kinds of substitution other than fiscal substitution, that is, other things that may be diminishing the impact of the youth program. With respect to institutional change, we're trying to determine what effect YETP and YCCIP are having at the local level, on the relationships between prime sponsors, the schools, unions, and private sector employers. We're also trying to figure out some of the implications of these changes. We're looking at the delivery agents, how they were chosen, and how they can be differentiated. Then we're looking more generally at some of the barriers to implementing the youth policy at the local level—the systemic barriers, as well as some of the local historical factors that have an effect in shaping the impact of the youth programs.

For the project design, we decided to take the case study approach for a number of reasons. In spite of what a lot of prime sponsors say, YETP is still essentially in a decentralized, decategorized program, with a lot of variation. The program is new and issues are constantly emerging, changing, and evolving. We feel that this is the time for observation rather than any kind of hypothesis formulation and testing.

The case studies are covering 37 prime sponsors. We have ten field associates, each one covering three to five prime sponsors. They're preparing three sets of interim reports as well as a final report. The interim reports, along with an overview goes to the Labor Department. So far, we've completed two reports, one in February, and one in August. The third report is going to be submitted around the first of the year, and the final report is due next Spring. The final report will be the wrapup covering implementation through early
winter.

We've encountered some difficulties. Inevitably in a case study approach there is a tendency to look for generalizations and sometimes it's difficult to separate where the generalizations are important and where the variations are important. Some of the field associates are also running into a little bit of difficulty getting data. After the first two reports, some of the prime sponsors are getting a little bit more protective of their turf, and they're not happy with some of the findings.

In the first two reports, we have come up with what I think are some fairly interesting findings. Some of them may be useful in changing the programs as they are operated right now; others will be useful in addressing reauthorization issues.

The planning process, which took place last fall for fiscal 1978 programs, for the most part lagged behind schedule. It was rushed, confused and marked by a very disturbing kind of dualism.

There was, on one hand, an exercise where prime sponsors collected numbers for the grant application package which was submitted to the Labor Department, while the real decision-making was going on in a separate arena. The decision making process was not in any way reflected in the grant application package. The numbers used for the grant application package were frequently seen as being inaccurate and unreliable while other variables were considered much more important in determining program mix and target populations. The grant application also required standardization which may have been useful to the Department of Labor, but was not particularly useful to the prime sponsors. We are recommending that the grant application package be reviewed and modified to get the information the Labor Department needs without making any pretenses of being useful for prime sponsors in their planning process.

With respect to knowledge development, we found that just about all the prime sponsors were trying something. Most of it appears to be things that they would not have been trying otherwise, but the results have been mixed in the plans and the progress that we've seen so far. While some have tried very structured experiments, others are sticking with simple variations in their management process.

This year we are expecting that there's going to be limited payoff from knowledge development. In the first year, prime sponsors had very limited capacity to give knowledge development enough attention. They didn't have the time or the expertise, and frequently there was competition for the dollar's that might go to knowledge development. A lot of local pressure was put on prime sponsors to keep the money in job slots and in training.

There is still a great deal of confusion over what knowledge development is supposed to be at the local level and how prime sponsors are supposed to be using it. Some are trying very sophisticated projects, but, in attempting to do a lot, some of them may wind up accomplishing
very little. We've recommended that the Department of Labor provide more technical assistance to both the regional offices and the prime sponsors. The regional offices have been found to be a great source of misinformation about knowledge development.

We found that prime sponsors are putting an emphasis on work quality. A lot welcome the emphasis on work quality, and they are doing things differently. They are organizing and improving supervision. They are paying much more attention to the quality of the jobs; however, not too much attention is being paid to creating jobs that are 'fully relevant' to the interests of the kid. Prime sponsors found it to be impractical. They found that a lot of the kids are too concerned about where their careers are going. Instead prime sponsors have put a lot of attention in to more classroom oriented career exploration programs. We've recommended that career exploration activity and the idea of getting enrollees familiar with different occupations be done in a classroom setting, rather than by on-the-job experience. It's cheaper and it's more efficient. Jobs should put strong emphasis on simple basics—teaching a kid to show up to work on time and teaching him good, basic work habits—the kind of thing that can be transferred anywhere.

Youth participation has been very limited. The youth councils have been ineffective channels for youth participation for a number of reasons. Kids have not been participating very actively on the councils and the councils themselves are frequently ineffective forums for any kind of decision making. It's encouraging to find that the prime sponsors have tried a lot of alternative techniques for getting kids involved in ways other than just being participants. They've involved them in some administrative aspects, they've involved them in doing some evaluation, and they've involved them in peer counseling. This has been a much more effective route and we've recommended that the Department of Labor encourage alternative forms of participation without mandating any particular approach.

Most prime sponsors we've looked at have concentrated their services on kids who are the most economically disadvantaged. Very few prime sponsors, for example, are taking advantage of the 10% option under YETP to experiment with mixed income groups, partly because they have had difficulty with regional offices in getting research plans approved, but also largely because of political pressures to confine the programs to the most disadvantaged kids. We did find that females are grossly under-represented. We're not sure whether this is due to discrimination in selection or due more to the applicants for the YCCIP jobs. Because most of them are labor intensive, and a lot are in construction jobs, perhaps girls just haven't applied for them.

There's also some confusion about labor force status. We're not quite sure who some of these participants are in terms of whether they were unemployed or whether they came from outside of the labor force. From what we've seen, most of them are coming from outside the labor force, although the definitions are confusing. The implication is, of course, that anyone looking for the effect of youth programs
in terms of reduced unemployment are not going to see an effect. They will see instead increased labor force participation.

One of the concerns of the national office was that expenditures for youth under Title I programs would be reduced. In fact, we found very little of that. Somebody really put the fear of God in prime sponsors on that particular point, so there is very little fiscal substitution of YEDP funds for Title One. We did find, however, other kinds of substitutions over which the Labor Department had little control. Community block grant money, for example, was being pulled out of some areas, and YEDP money was being substituted. We found that the schools, in some cases, were substituting money to provide services that they would have or should have, been providing otherwise.

We found that community based organizations were extensively involved. We found it rather difficult to differentiate in any systematic way among CBO's or between CBO's and other services delivers, with respect to cost or target populations. We did find that the CBO's had the effect of broadening the base of community involvement and the constituency of the youth programs.

As far as institutional change goes, we think the CETA local educational agency links have borne some fruit. In many cases, however, the CETA prime sponsors and the LEA's are not talking directly, and there's a lot of room for improvement. What we think is that the Labor Department ought to be looking for some alternative routes for encouraging LEA participation, and for getting the educational community more involved.

MR. LACEY: After selecting about fifty youth work sites around the country to look at, interviewing around three hundred youths, and conducting about two waves of site visits, we came up with some hunches about what was occurring out in the field. But before turning to those hunches I would like to give you a brief overview of the research methodology MDC used in our process evaluation.

We were required by the Office of Youth Programs to provide some specific kinds of data to them on supervision, attendance, discipline, and work activities. We also were to provide some comparisons supported by data and observations on the traditional youth programs under Title One as compared to YETP and YCCIP. The thing that we were attempting to arrive at here was whether YEDPA really made a difference. We were also to provide assessments on the kind of work that was being done from the standpoint of the community, the employer and the youth.

We interviewed youth, went to work sites, and interviewed prime sponsors. We developed a research instrument which gathered information from the prime sponsor about the kinds of activity that were occurring, including enrichments, supported services, monitoring, and supervision. From that point, we went to work sites and asked some fairly specific questions about activities. The thing that I've heard repeatedly here, and that has probably been echoed for the last 10 years, is the issue of 'meaningful' work. We attempted
to look at different kinds of work activity, and really find out what is going on, if there are any tangible products, if youth are really learning something; if their experiences are good. We were also interested in looking at these activities to determine the wages that youth were being paid, the hours, and the like. Lastly, we were also to identify some exemplary efforts around the country, hoping that these particular efforts could be replicated by prime sponsors. We saw a lot of kids involved in work that would not have been possible had it not been for YEDPA. Whether the work was meaningful or not involves a lot of subjectivity. We saw kids involved that would never have had a job had it not been for YEDPA. We saw good programs and bad programs—and in many instances, the good programs and the bad programs were within the same prime sponsorships. We collected data on characteristics, on supervision in terms of ratios, and we walked away with a thought about that data: numbers are neat, expressive and pure, but their simplicity can be deceptive. We are very conscious of the limitations of the tabular and statistical data that we gathered.

Also, we looked at what we called good work sites, or identified some good work sites. We concluded that, first, work sites were good where the youth, as well as the supervisors perceived the work or activity as meaningful. Second, where all agreed that some learning has taken place; third, where wages and working hours and conditions were agreeable to all; fourth, where supervision was a motivating, rather than a demotivating factor, and fifth, where the youth perceived some future use for their experience.

These are things that constituted, in our minds, a good work site. While looking at these particular kinds of things we also examined whether there were conscious attempts by the prime sponsors to somehow insure that good supervision would exist in terms of weeding out bad work sites and helping supervisors relate to the youths. We wanted to know if the prime sponsor provided any kinds of training to supervisors. In most instances we found that they did not.

Also, we saw a lot of CBO's involved in YEDPA, more involvement than in Title I. We saw OIC's, we saw Urban Leagues; apparently, all were able to get a piece of the action.

Perhaps the most startling thing was the lack of supportive services. Youth across the country, from Savannah to Pasadena, are saying that there are so many disincentives to participating in the program that you find them terminating because of costs, the need for transportation, or for child care. The prime sponsors do not provide these things. You also find that public assistance payments are sometimes being reduced because they participate in the program, causing some to drop out of the program.

The researchers are now out in the field for a third wave of visits. We're going back to the good sites, and tearing them apart, looking at supervision to determine why it's good. We are talking to the prime sponsor to see if it has made some kind of conscious attempt to provide good supervision. Hopefully, we will come out with some pointers on how to build a successful work site.
MR. SEILER: Among the laundry list of priorities of the Office of Youth Programs is to have a network of reviews of the processes of program implementation that reflect on CETA prime sponsors. Now the programs I'm talking about are not the special demonstrations, but the ones that are financed by prime sponsors with the formula allocated funds—that is the YCCIP, YETP, and SPEDY, the Summer Program for Economically Disadvantaged Youth.

Mr. Wurzburg and Mr. Lacey have reported on their efforts at studying YCCIP and YETP, but we've also undertaken some other contracted studies. There are several special efforts to have our own staff go on site to review sponsor program planning and operations.

Under YETP at least 2% of the funds must be spent on in-school programs where sponsors have come to terms in the form of a written agreement with local education agencies about how that program is going to be conducted. That presumably is a mechanism for trying to get sponsors and education agencies to better work together, to mesh what they are doing. In the initial implementation of the program, it wasn't expected that they would have very sophisticated agreements, and they were given lots of extra time to develop these agreements. We have had a staff effort to look into those agreements and analyze them for their strengths and weaknesses as a means of giving some guidance in strengthening the agreements. We have also had a joint DOL-HEW team examine CETA-LEA interactions in the field. We also have a staff effort looking at union involvement in the youth programs, and there will be reports on these two things that will be coming soon.

We've also launched a wide-ranging effort to get a broader view of what the SPEDY program is all about. First, we've had an analysis done on a national sample of the SPEDY plans which were funded. We're trying to use those plans to draw a picture of what the program was supposed to look like, based on what those plans said. Another purpose of that plan review is to look at the accuracy of the grant application itself as a structure for or as a planning tool for summer programs.

Our own staff has studied a sample of prime sponsors by interviewing them early in June to get a picture of the processes that were used to develop that written plan, and to find out what were some of the underlying bases for their decisions that were reflected in the plan. We then returned to the same sponsors in July and August to study how the program was being delivered, to see it in action, to look at the relationship to the original plan, and to identify the reactions and perceptions of youth about the program. As an additional effort to learn about SPEDY operations, Manpower Development Corporation is looking at the character of work being performed by youth in the summer program. In addition, to get a better understanding of the SPEDY program, an organization called the National Child Labor Committee has done a review for us of SPEDY implementation to identify the kinds of dynamics and the factors in the big city situation. In addition to that, as part of the National Council on Employment Policy study, there are participant observers in about 40 sites and we will be getting some feedback on the summer program from that study. We are also studying the Vocational Exploration Program, which is administered through the National Alliance of Businessmen and the AFL/CIO
Human Resources Development Institute, as part of SPEDY. It operated in about 66 jurisdictions this summer, although there is some evidence that prime sponsors are not implementing VEP in the way that was planned.

We are analyzing how the VEP program was planned and implemented in two ways. We have some staff on NAB and HRDI taking their look and we have an independent study being made by the St. Louis University Center for Urban Programs. In addition, we developed a special instrument for attempting to measure some behavioral changes that might be expected out of the program; work knowledge, job search knowledge; and attitudes and aspirations on the part of the youngsters. We developed a special instrument which was administered on a pre-post program basis within VEP to try to assess behavioral change. We are also trying to do a special analysis to see if there are any particular program organizational factors that tend to be related to any behavioral changes we might find. Also, we've had the same instrument administered within SPEDY programs, and we're going to attempt to do some comparisons of changes in summer programs, and the types of programs that sponsors put under SPEDY as compared with VEP. Another effort we had was a national search for some SPEDY program models, and utilizing some of the perceptions of our regional offices, and others, and there are five monographs being prepared on those programs.

All that's being done on SPEDY is in readiness for our launching of a series of regional conferences around the country of SPEDY. These will try to get some early feedback to prime sponsors about what has happened in the program, and to give the prime sponsors themselves an opportunity to share that knowledge while it is fresh in their minds. Hopefully, all of this effort will help us improve the summer program regulations, the grant applications procedures, the technical assistance program, and ultimately, the SPEDY design and delivery.

MR. BRANDWEIN: Unlike the YEDPA programs focused on by most of this conference, the Job Corps has survived some 14 years of ups and downs in public attitudes toward investment in disadvantaged youth. But it's hung on and evolved into a relatively stable program with a good notion of what it's doing. Two years ago, we decided to focus on it for the principal impact evaluation effort in the youth field because it was a program that had jelled already; because it had a sizable investment for participants and you could look for some measured results; because little was known about the magnitude or timing of its economic effect on participants; and because we had thought we had learned more about the evaluation art than when the Job Corps was a subject of some controversial evaluations in the 1960's.

The evaluation focused on five types of questions: First, do the Job Corps participants do better in the labor market than comparable non-participants? Second, how do they compare to the non-participants on some other significant parameter such as return to school, entry into military service, entry into other programs, degree of reliance on welfare payments, and degree of antisocial behavior, particularly arrest records and drug abuse? Third, were there marked differences in effects by type of participant, duration of participation in the program, and by type of Job Corps center?
Fourth, how did the Job Corps participants rate the program and what did they see as its principle strengths and weaknesses? Fifth, did program benefits to participants and society outweigh the program costs?

The comparison group was drawn from school dropout and employment service applicant lists in geographic areas which had relatively low Job Corps participation, selected because they were not adjoining Job Corps centers, and yet in other respects were similar to the areas from which most Job Corps enrollees came.

In the Spring of 1977, base line interviews were conducted at the Job Corps centers with a sizable sample of Job Corps enrollees—about a third of the enrollment at that time. The sample was made purposely large so that we could track over a much longer period than the initial follow-up, and yet still have a sufficiently large sample to draw some realistic conclusions. About nine months later, those who had terminated and had been out at least five months were tracked and interviewed again, to obtain information on their post program experience. That follow-up sample was 2400. There was a comparison group base line sample of 1500 with a follow-up of 1300.

An early report on the base line interview data was published. It describes the nature of the Job Corps program, documents the disadvantaged nature of those it enrolled, reviews why they said they chose to enroll and presents their ratings of the program. The follow-up study is not in final form, but some important findings are already evident.

On the average, the participants did gain more in employment earnings than the comparison group. The program completers did very well compared to the comparison group.

There's an interesting time dimension here. In the initial months out of the Job Corps, the participants lagged behind the comparison groups. The comparison group had sizable numbers who were employed at the start of that period, while it took time for the Corpsmembers to 'resettle' and get into jobs. After the first two months, the positive economic impacts began to predominate. Using the week before the follow-up survey as the comparison point, we found that all of the participants had gained $12 more in average weekly earnings than the comparison group had for the same period. For the completers, it was $23 more. On other measures of impact, too, the completers had positive, large, and statistically significant benefits. More were in the labor force, more were employed, they averaged more hours at work, more were in military service, more had picked up a degree in the Job Corps or by going back to school; more had gone on to college; they had less welfare dependency, and they had fewer arrests and less abuse of drugs.

For those who partially completed the program, such net impacts were small. In fact, the dropouts lagged somewhat behind the comparison group.
No sharp differences emerged at this point between types or sizes of centers. Seven months after leaving Job Corps, 77% of Corpsmembers rated it as pretty good or okay, as against 67% who said so while they were in the program. In part, however, this is a courtesy response. Over 90% said the training was good, or at least okay and fewer than 10% had some criticism of the training aspects. When it came to food, half of them said it was bad and there was some criticism of the relatively small pay allowances. Also, 60% said that after they got out they could have used more help in finding a job and didn't get much of it.

Now, the final part of this study sought to relate benefits to cost, and the report does develop some comprehensive estimates of the dollar value of various measurable benefits to participants and to the society as a whole. At this stage, I think that part of the report really offers more of a framework for analysis, an explanation of the types of estimating that have to be done. The end estimates do depend significantly on various assumptions about the continuation of rates of gain in subsequent years, about appropriate rates of discounting future dollars, and about the reliability of data on societal savings from reductions in criminal activity. But the initial estimate is that the dollar benefits to society for each Job Corps enrollee based just on the first 7 months' post-program experience, are larger than the economic costs of the program, though not by much.

The key limitation of the study, a necessary one at this stage, is that its findings are based just on the first seven months, so it's by no means clear whether the participants' positive gains in the early period are maintained, deteriorate, which is what has been built in to the benefit cost assumptions or whether they increase further, which has been the pattern in the 2nd through the 8th month.

So we will now carry forward this evaluation by following up on the participant and comparison group a year after the first follow-up, by which time we'll have an average of 19 months out of the program from that sample. We're also going to track the base line interviewees who had not yet left the program by the time of the first follow-up, or had been out fewer than five months. So we'll have both an enlarged sample of terminées and some check on whether findings hold up for participants who left the program at a later point in time. About this time next year, in time for the 1980 Congress, we should have readings on this somewhat longer term follow-up.

I close by saying that without fussing about whether these findings are the definitive findings for all time, we have established that it is feasible to do an evaluation, to do it on scale, and to provide sound, meaningful evidence which hasn't been present before.

DISCUSSANT:

MR. SUM: In the last year, I've been a position of working with a good many prime sponsors in Massachusetts in developing YEDPA plans, both by providing labor market information and other information to help identify target groups, in drafting sections of plans, in reviewing plans in a number of prime sponsor planning councils, and
in monitoring some of our programs for the Governor's Youth Employment Training Plan in Massachusetts.

First, let me comment on the finding that planning in the first year was "rushed, confused and characterized by a degree of dualism." If any of you had been involved in planning at the local level, what was said about YEDPA also held true for Title I, Title II, Title VI and STIP last year. Anyone involved in planning at the local level with Title VI funds, which will be withdrawn, if you don't begin to spend them quickly, is not going to place higher priority on spending a lot of time with your planners and your administrative staff in developing YEDPA grants. So I'm not surprised that basically we find that the process was rushed and confused. Most CETA planning last year was rushed and confused, and I believe that YEDPA was given a relatively low priority by many--given the importance of putting Title VI money out in the field.

But with the planning process, there were two problems that need to be addressed and reviewed over the next year to see if we've made gains. One is problem identification. Problem identification is generally weak in grant applications of prime sponsors. Previously, we were talking about using CPS data to identify youth unemployment problems. But how would you like to use data base programs for Berkshire County, Massachusetts, when the number of matches you've got is equal to about 4 persons? A basic part of our problem is the limitation of the localized data base. We don't really have a good fix on local youth employment and unemployment problems. The data base that we've got is very fragmented; it has to be pulled from a great many sources; and it's not well understood by many prime sponsor administrators yet.

The problem with problem identification is that it's not clear who we should have been targeting our service on during the first year. I think we made a number of mistakes. In the first year, it seems in Massachusetts at least, that there was an overemphasis upon out-of-school, unemployed youth. Basically what we found is that we had problems filling slots because we just exaggerated the number of unemployed out-of-school youth we felt would be out there.

What I think is a worthwhile issue to examine this year is the extent to which our experience in the first year led us to shift target groups during the second year. Are we focusing on certain, different segments of the youth population? Part of that learning experience may well be learning who your target groups really are.

The objectives of youth programs are a second issue. Part of the problem with many of your youth programs is that there were poorly identified objectives in the first year of plans. The objectives in most plans were more of a statement of intent to deliver services, rather than to produce various types of outcomes. Most YEDPA plans don't state objectives in terms of educational objectives, high school retention, job placements, etc. The problems with a failure to identify objectives in terms of outcomes is that it
hampers the ability of prime sponsors to undertake any type of systematic evaluation. If you're not clear what your objectives are, how are you going to evaluate yourself? So knowledge development at the local level is only going to take place if we begin to have a better understanding of the problems we're trying to address, and if we are more explicit within our plans about what our objectives truly are.

I see progress in these areas this year. More of the plans seem to be stating explicitly what the objectives of the YEDPA system are. I think that ought to be monitored fairly well to see if the prime sponsors are beginning to state objectives in a more explicit fashion.

There is a relatively low emphasis on the preparation of youth for career jobs by prime sponsors, and particularly low emphasis on on-the-job training and vocationally oriented institutional training. The primary emphasis is instead on basic work experience, remedial education, counseling, career guidance and job search techniques. The question, though, is why? Why does such a low share of our YEDPA funds get devoted to those activities? The explanations are quite diverse and are at times confusing. For example, it's frequently stated that youth are simply not ready for such decisions. Well, basically, the young age of participants is the thing that is influencing the services mix, and the question would be--do we find prime sponsors serving different age groups having different mixes of services? Do, those focusing more on the older, out-of-school groups tend to have larger share of their funds devoted to OJT and institutional training? If not, then how do we explain it?

I would like to know to what extent was the services mix for youth influenced by the services mix under Title I? Do those prime sponsors that run the larger share of Title I programs involving institutional skill training and OJT also run the larger share of their YEDPA programs in the same types of activities? I'd like to know, then, whether that's a learning experience? Do prime sponsors that have good Title I programs transfer that experience through YEDPA programs?

There's a third issue around the question of how much of the low amount of training provided to youth is due not simply to youth attitudes, youth preparation, readiness for jobs and job training, but rather to employer reluctance to hire youth in OJT programs or to hire them out of institutional training? Too often it is assumed that the problems are simply with youth themselves; when youth change, the unemployment problem will go away. What seems to me more often the case is that employer's attitudes and stereotypes have a lot to do with this.

Finally, in regard to institutional training, prime sponsors are reluctant at times to put money into that, because your outcomes have to be stated in terms of unsubsidized placements. There's an unwillingness to devote money to activities from which people are going to expect placements at the end of the pipeline. The way to be safe in guaranteeing yourself against condemnation by the regional
office is to put your money into work experience programs, because nobody really has expected much in terms of unsubsidized placements out of those activities. If we want to change it, we might have to have the regional offices take a much more sophisticated look at expected placement rates out of those programs so that prime sponsors who are willing to take the risk of putting more of their funds into training youth are not punished.

Youth Planning Councils, in general have not played a major role in the YEDPA plans. For example, in the Balance of State, it's hard to get two people on a youth subcommittee to sit down and vote on an issue because all of them have conflicts of interest. One of the problems is that, Youth Planning Councils are dominated by the people running the programs. The problem is not just getting youth to participate on councils; the question is how do you get councils to be active and play a major role in providing inputs into the system?

The question of private sector involvement and how it can be achieved remains unanswered. How active a role have employers played in the planning and design of the YEDPA programs? If you want to get the private sector involved in YEDPA programs, then you'd better run institutional OJT programs. Private sector representatives are not going to sit down and talk about the greater glory of work experience in the public sector. For the most part, they're not interested. But if you want to get private sector involvement, you've got to get private sector involvement in the hiring and training of those youth. I would like to see YEDPA programs try to develop over the next year tie-ins with the STIP programs. The kinds of employers we're gearing ourselves to under STIP, the kinds of jobs we're gearing ourselves to, the kinds of wages that we're gearing ourselves to are the best in the employment training system this country has ever had. Is it possible for youth to participate in YEDPA, go through that screening device, learn those basic attitudes, get that credential to be rated as stable, and then be sold to employers in the STIP program? I think tie-ins of that type are highly desirable; I'd like to see more of it in the future.

I will not say much about community based organizations, except that in Massachusetts, a number of primes are drawing youth programs in house, because they are concerned about the fraud and abuse provisions in the regulations.

The experiences on LEA agreements appear to be quite mixed. For the most part, they're largely non-financial in nature in my area. But I think even getting non-financial agreements signed is evidence of progress in this area. Getting the schools to understand what their roles should be and trying to gear their activities more towards students who are not college bound is a success. The question that I would ask about LEA agreements is to what extent are we monitoring them to guarantee that the services that were to be provided are, in fact, being provided? I would like to see more involvement on the part of YEDPA with cooperative vocational programs and work study programs in high school. Cooperation with those programs has a number of advantages. They tend to have good contacts with
employers. They have worked out the problems about work scheduling, work arrangements, hour laws, and the like. Academic credit is given for a good deal of that experience.

On the substitution issue I'm going to be a heretic here this morning. I am not as concerned about the substitution issue as other people are. It doesn't appear to be a problem. What I would like to have known is whether it varies by prime sponsor. This year a number of prime sponsors are going to ask to be given exemptions in the maintenance of effort, and I think some of the exemptions for the maintenance of effort make sense, particularly in those prime sponsor areas where over the last four years we never built up an institutional or OJT component under Title I. When we're spending 65% of our money on youth under the age of 24, one has to recognize that it violates the equity provisions in terms of delivery of services to adult economically disadvantaged. When prime sponsors can justify the fact that they have in the past been serving a substantially large number of youth, they should be given some flexibility. We ought to view it on a case by case basis at the local level.

The last issue is local evaluation. I believe that the reason why much local evaluation is not being done is simply that little substantive local evaluation has been done for Title I programs where there are more explicit and clear objectives, such as the placement of people from on-the-job training and skill training into unsubsidized employment. Since we have generally not required detailed systematic follow-up studies of our participants in Title I, how do we expect detailed follow-up capabilities to be developed in programs whose objectives are far more complex and more difficult to measure, such as those under YEDPA?

I think there is potential for changes in local knowledge development. During the last few years in Massachusetts we have been working with prime sponsors to develop follow-up capabilities for all Title I adult programs. This year we're trying to bring in all Title I programs for youth. Those programs have been supported by a combination of state money, regional office support, university tie-ins, and some support from the national office this year.

With respect to the expansion of CLMS to cover YEDPA programs, I'm optimistic about the potential value of that, because I think it might help to provide a comparison group for those activities that youth are involved in under those programs which experience a longer term follow-up. For example, we do follow up youth that are involved in institutional training, OJT or PTSE over a 36 month period. Now what we might be able to do is get a longer term follow-up to compare youth in work experience with those going through regular institutional and OJT programs.

What I would like to see considered, however, is the following. If work experience under YETP or YCCIP is significantly different from what it has been under Title I, then I would suggest that we ought to include a longer term follow-up for regular work experience.
programs under Title I to see whether or not this different type of work experience has any longer term payoff on employment and earnings.

In the last year, Bennett Harrison and I prepared a paper for the National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics in which we made a recommendation that there be an expansion of the National Longitudinal Survey for Youth, with major focus upon disadvantaged youth, to learn more about the mobility process. That's why I take a certain degree of personal satisfaction to see that we have in fact agreed to fund such a study. Yet, one problem with the NLS is the following: The question is whether we ought to continue to draw on a national probability sample, covering most states throughout the country, or rather should concentrate on a few major metropolitan areas to learn more about larger samples of youth at a selected number of sites.

Now the results in the localized longitudinal studies will be less generalizable; however, I would argue that I think they could be more rich and more informative about how youth behave in the labor force, and what determines their success in the labor market. If you want to answer questions about the family, the schools, and the labor market, they're best understood in a localized environment. So, I would have liked to have seen a National Longitudinal Survey that was geared to a selected number of metropolitan areas to give us a richer understanding of what really happens to youth.

On the questionnaire design, I would have liked to see in the new NLS more information on the characteristics of establishments where young people find jobs. We have a tremendous data base on the characteristics of young people, on the characteristics of their families, on their human capital attributes; we have almost nothing on the attributes of the establishments in which they find work. For instance, recent evidence suggests that continued tenure with employers for black youth does not have the same payoff that it does for white youth, in either skill development or wages. Why is it that staying with your employer does not matter as much for black youth? There are a number of alternative explanations for that, but one explanation is that black youth end up in establishments that have substantially less market power, less integrated internal labor markets, fewer opportunities for moving up on the job. The question is whether or not the only way we're going to get employment stability to pay off is to put black youth into different types of establishments. Knowing more about that, I think, will give a richer story for people trying to design employment and training policy.

The last thing I would have liked to have seen is a sample of youth participating in vocational education programs throughout the country, to see how vocational education programs work, relative to the employment training programs under YEDPA.

Concerning the Job Corps evaluation, my only comment is that while the aggregate analysis is useful for national policymaking, I
would be more interested in results for each vocational area in order to determine the best training occupations.

GENERAL DISCUSSION:

MR. WURZBERG: I would like to comment on the notion that kids should be matched with jobs somehow tied to their career interests. It's one thing to talk after the fact about a kid liking a job because this correlates with his or her career interest; it is something else to try to determine beforehand what an enrollee or a potential enrollee's career interests are and try to set up jobs according to that. We're not recommending that they de-emphasize work experience. But we're recommending that they de-emphasize work experience as the principal vehicle for finding out about other careers.

MR. TAGGART: One of the really interesting things in the MDC study is that it seems to indicate on the average that the new jobs under YEDPA are better than the old jobs under Title I in terms of the emphasis on supervision and on the quality of work. The way we pursued that through our regulations was to insist that prime sponsors have high supervisor-to-youth ratios. And yet, another conclusion drawn from the MDC study was that the Title I slots tended to have more supervisors per youth. But the supervisor-to-youth ratio regulation that we had used to achieve an objective was not correlated with the objective. The question was whether putting it in the regulations achieved better work-site supervision even though there was no correlation between the supervisor ratios and the quality of supervision. That is, did we achieve the objective by doing something even though it had no direct correlation with the outcome. The ratio may be the only way to get supervision in the regulations. It may then be wrong to say that you should not have in the regulations the supervisor-to-youth ratio, even if the studies find no relation to outcome. To judge from our MDC study, on the average, the new programs had better work sites than the old programs. What is it that made that happen? The only mechanism that we had in the regulations was the supervisor-to-youth ratio.

MR. LACEY: We found that the prime sponsor in a lot of instances had never even visited the sites. Even though monitoring was stressed, there were good work sites and bad ones whether or not there was monitoring. I think there's a larger issue here concerning how you get institutional changes. People do the right things for the wrong reasons. And I think the prime sponsors, a lot of them, looked at the letter of the regulations and reinterpreted it in their own way.

Now, what's critical is how the regional office reacts to that. In some cases, regional offices took the regulations and applied them very mechanically without thinking about the objectives. I think a lot of prime sponsors are inclined to say, okay, we're not going to get that specific ratio, but instead we're doing something else, which we think is qualitatively a better way to get at that objective.

MR. LACEY: I think you give them a simple objective that they can hang a hat on; a simple ratio; and then you also build flexibility
into the regional offices so that they don't enforce the things mechanically.

MR. STROMSDORFER: In assessing institutional change and the relationship to government policy I have rarely seen an awareness that when you do a process analysis, apart from monitoring the system as carefully as possible, you're going to have to look at things which policy can affect and things which policy can't affect.

There are some variables or some policy tools which can be exercised at the federal level and some which cannot. Those are rarely identified. If you don't clearly distinguish between those things which are amenable to policy and those which aren't, the process studies are going to be sterile, and the government is left with the only tool at its disposal for institutional change, just dumping one hell of a lot of money out there. Presumably, we're trying to create some sort of directed institutional change, and not just any old change. I have the impression that the studies so far have not focused on what sort of change could be accomplished within the current system.

The second point I'd like to make is to get back to an earlier comment made by Mr. Sum, that the NLS should be targeted to a few areas. The purpose of NLS is quite different from the purpose of other kinds of case studies. You can have case studies but you also need information about how youth are doing across the nation. That is the kind of information on which national congressional policy is going to be made, not on the basis of specific cases. I don't know if we have the proper balance in case studies, but I do not feel the NLS is misdirected.

MR. DIAZ: We're just beginning our work site evaluation on Entitlement, so we really don't have anything developed on whether or not we have better work sites or not. It would seem to me, though, if they are better work sites, that my sense is that the primary reason would be that there are very large dollars involved in the program, and it was stressed from the outset that the quality of work sites would be followed up by an evaluation.
CONFERENCE SUMMARY AND A LOOK FORWARD

MR. HAUSMAN: There are three questions we should address in seeking to summarize these discussions: First, what information is needed to answer the questions which Congress is interested in answering before it re-enacts youth legislation? Second, will the research that currently is initiated under YEDPA yield the numerical or non-numerical answers to those questions? And third, what programs either ought to be expanded or newly developed to deal with the most serious problems of youth unemployment?

I think that the conference has yielded for a few of us some perspective on our research--some recognition of the limitations. I have a sense that some people have unusually high expectations about what research might yield. For example, I have heard repeated references to controlled social experiments, and I guess I would wonder whether there ever has been one. Thus I don't know that the youth program should be held to that standard when, in my view, and I think in the view of many others, it has never been done before.

PRESENTATIONS BY CONFERENCE PANELISTS:

MR. NICHOLS: I don't have the list of specific Congressional questions. The law spells out specific kinds of programs that had to be run and different kinds of approaches that were to be tested. Their comparative effectiveness is really the big question which must be addressed. But the information that's needed is information of the kind that I think we are going to get from the Entitlement Program, though not necessarily within the deadlines. We must build the calendar into the planning of research, but not promise unattainable research results. On the Entitlement Program, we should know how many people went back to school or are expected to go back to school. That's a simple kind of question. What is the impact on local unemployment rates? That's a little more difficult to answer, but that's ultimately a question that Congress has in mind--can we reduce unemployment and, if so, at what cost? This is a question that looks for simple hypotheses that can be answered, given the state of the art. We cannot demand definitive answers to questions that science is not up to answering, but this is one issue we must address.

Congress' goal is to reduce the unemployment rate, and that requires reducing youth unemployment now. Even if the jobs programs do not provide skills or output value, they serve a purpose at the present time. I think youth programs are useful--they are a source of income. Also, in simple terms, jobs must reduce youth unemployment.

We once had an economy where four percent was full employment. We now have an economy where it seems we can't get near that without inflation stirring up. We ask why this is the case. The answer everyone gives us is that the structure of the labor market is changing. It's not too big a question, I think, to ask in what way
and how that structure has changed. If we can tell in what way it has changed, I think that's the first step of knowing how to unchange it.

I have no simple answers, though I do think the research community has the responsibility to define questions more simply than they've been defined in the past. I recognize problems of nonhomogeneity that exist in any of these programs we're involved in, yet I think we have excused ourselves too long by saying our job is difficult. There are some things that can be done. We must move towards greater refinement and specification.

MR. TAGGART: Within DOL, we have debated the research questions to determine which were prominent and highest-priority issues. We stated priority issues in the 1978 Knowledge Development Plan. We have now revised and augmented them in the 1979 plan. In fact, we have another $215 million of discretionary activity, much of which is already underway, and the plan is soon to be implemented. What has surprised me is how little cognizance there is of this broader framework even among researchers involved in parts of the activities. The question we have to address is not just whether our little part works or whether we can make it more effective, but how we bring that totality together. That's potentially different from what we did in the '60s was that we began by stating the issues, and then structuring activities to address them. There must be cognizance of structure if synthesis is to be achieved.

Over the last couple of days we have had arguments about pieces that should not be assessed in isolation. Let's take the simple issue of work evaluation. We have four different assessments ongoing of work valuation. We have a theoretical assessment of work valuation methodologies. We, thus, should have a number of ways of getting at these issues, and each must complement the other.

So the questions are: What are the magical questions and what is needed to answer the magical questions? We have a continuing revised list of what are the major issues, and we have a set of knowledge development efforts that are directed to those specific issues. Will research solve those issues? I think they'll solve it as much as research, evaluation and demonstration can ever resolve such things.

There were a number of challenges to us to improve the content of those activities. Many of these are valid. Others have been addressed. The plan for next year lays out a whole set of programs which fill many of the gaps that have been identified. What are kids in the ghetto really doing with their time? What should be done for special groups—the handicapped or young mothers, for instance. A variety of activities to address such issues are written into the plan for next year because we already know we have to address those issues.

So somehow, everybody who is doing parts of this has to grab hold of the totality. We have to be concerned not just with what
we're doing but what everybody else is doing. We've got to coordinate empirical and theoretical research with evaluation and with demonstration activities. We've also got to integrate institutional change measures, econometric measures, economic variables, psychological variables. We've got to have pure research combined with advocacy research as well as publicity efforts. All these things have got to be integrated.

There seems a reluctance to get to the big policy issues, to get to this synthesis. Everybody seems to be focused on narrow questions.

I think the direction that ASPER suggests is crucial. First, what are the big issues, how are we going to solve them, and in what time frames? It's most appropriate and necessary for everybody here to also address those same questions and also look at the big picture. And I think there's absolutely no question that if everybody does that, we will have the resources and the flexibility, to achieve the major things that Congress wants.

I think what we have to do is look at how the total effort is structured. We've got to adjust our plans, if they are deficient. For instance, we did not lay out the time frames for results or provide for their integration in the initial drafting of the 1979 plan. Appropriately, we were sent back to the drawing board to do that.

As we go along, we're going to have to adjust and refine these plans. We're going to have to go to each evaluator and say, "Can you speed up on this, can you get additional kinds of data at this time; because it's what we need?" And all of us have to do that together.

MR. O'KEFE: There are some very significant questions that Congress wants answered in the Youth Employment and Demonstration Act. They want to know what the effects are on educational participation, youth income, increases in employment, and changes in labor force participation rates. And I think that everybody in this room has to make an effort over the next six to nine months to pull together whatever information we can.

However, I think part of our responsibility is not just responding to some very narrowly-defined questions. Part of the process is to raise for the Congress and for the public-at-large the other issues that we should be concerned about as we pass a law—a law that's probably going to dictate our youth policies for the 1980's. For instance, I'm not sure that youth policies in this country should be directed solely at reducing current youth unemployment. We do know these kids are going to grow up, we do know that they're going to be in the labor force for the next 45 years, and therefore I think every policy that we put in place should not only look at its immediate effect in terms of unemployment or labor force participation or education, but it should also ask the question, how is it affecting the longterm prospects of these individuals?
If I had to give an example of the kinds of questions that we're being pushed to answer right now, I would say that we've got to find out over the next few months how the programs affect the labor force participation rates in narrowing the differentials that exist between minorities and whites. How did they affect income derived from the employment? But, I think that assessments of unemployment changes are much more problematic.

For instance, I think there's a real question for educational policy makers as to the extent to which labor market interventions are able to induce youth to return back to school. I've often wondered why, in our education policies, we haven't been able to experiment more directly with paying kids to go to school, especially kids we can identify as being at risk. It doesn't seem to me that that's a labor market intervention but rather an educational intervention.

The legislative cycles will be very unyielding. If there are going to be any big budgetary changes in the next budget cycle they are going to be in the youth area. The Administration has to respond to the inflationary pressures that it's confronting and what we're going to find is that there are going to be decisions on both the Hill and the Administration about cutting the budget.

In the youth area we've got to be very careful about making a case for how much money we want to take in a categorical fashion for youth labor market interventions.

Over the past two days, we've been told about a lot of good research, evaluation and demonstration activity that's been going on. Right now there seems to be a lot of people out there re-writing the various books of the Old and New Testament. However, a lot of policymakers and policy analysts like myself never really did read the Books. We've always looked at the Classic Comics. There isn't anybody right now pulling together the Classics Comics version of what we're doing.

The time frames are fairly narrow, and therefore, what we've got to think about, as each of you do your individual studies, is how is it you can relate it back to what you've heard here, to what you know that's going on.

But, I think we must do more than simply respond to legislative objectives. We must put on the table the extent to which the objectives we had for the current program are realistic. Is it realistic to expect that a billion-dollar program is going to reduce or seriously cut into the problem that's been with us for 20 years, a problem that we've spent somewhere in the neighborhood of $50 billion on over the past 15 to 20 years? As we go forward, we've got to try to decide the extent to which our expectations for interventions in the labor market on behalf of youth are realistic, and whether those expectations can be carried out in a system that pulls on a string at the national level and expects responses at
the state and local level.

MR. BRIGGS: If I were a Congressman, I would ask first about the impact on unemployment. I think the law was passed largely as a reflection of concern about youth unemployment. But I hope that that's not the first question someone will ask, because I think that would miss the whole contribution of this legislation. I don't think the Act and the programs will likely have much impact on youth unemployment. That does not mean that I think anything is wrong with the legislation. The question is, "What is it we expect to get?" Is it job creation? Is it reduction of unemployment? Or is it getting people back in the schools, and back into learning situations? I think the prime sponsors see the latter in this legislation, and I think this is an accomplishment. Entitlement Programs and a lot of local efforts strongly emphasize getting people back in the schools, or to stay in schools, whether these people were unemployed or out of the labor force. So, either they were at school to begin with, or they were potential dropouts and are now being identified so that they don't become dropouts. Therefore, it's going to be pretty hard to figure out just what the impact might be on the unemployment statistics.

If you really try to focus on out-of-school youth, those in the labor force full-time, then the problem is, of course, that you encourage people to drop out of school, and that's what keeps the prime sponsors from doing it. I have run right into that in a number of areas. One of the reasons they don't want to sweeten up OJT for young people is that they fear that it will be an enticement to leave school. And so they want to stay away from offering too good an enticement.

There are some mixed feelings in these discussions about whether or not the purpose is to get people back in the schools or into educational training, or into a learning environment of some sort, or whether we want to actually get them into jobs right away. This paradoxical question runs through a lot of the legislation and a lot of the programs; the prime sponsors are faced with the same question.

I think the knowledge development activities that are being conducted focus on two separate themes. There's one theme of sponsoring research on youth in general to learn something about youth. It is marvelous that we're finally able to get attention to youth problems and youth labor market conditions and to identify who the youth are and to assess the effectiveness of institutions that impinge upon their lives. On the other hand, we also have a lot of activities trying to evaluate, study, and assess programs that have been created under this legislation. We have to keep those separate sometimes. I can support the basic research, the idea of doing basic research for young people in general, and I think that's very helpful and positive.

On the other hand, I think we also have to be careful that we may not set the same standards when we get within the programs.
The programs run into a tremendous amount of institutional resistance in trying to bring about change, as in the CETA program last year. Quite frankly, in most of the prime sponsors I have to deal with today, the YEDPA is a backburner issue. These people are now concerned with private sector initiatives at the local level. Since we were there last fall we've had Title VI buildup, the HIRE and STIP programs, etc. The most important things in the second year are to keep the youth program at the local level and to see to it that the prime sponsors and some of the other program people take it as serious and have the same interest that they had last year.

I think that the educational institutions in the schooling process are the ones on which this Act may have the greatest impact. The educational establishment is massive and very hard to change. By definition, an "institution" means something that doesn't change very quickly. If you try to find measures for desired outcomes, you are not going to find observable change in three months or six months. In fact, I really fear that you're going to run into the story of the man who went out to pick his flowers every day to see if they were growing, and killed them. The flowers have just been planted, the programs have just gotten started. Now, it's important to track them and watch them grow. But it's not demand totally definitive answers so soon after many of these programs have just gotten off the ground.

That leads me back to one of the other institutional problems that we've got that affects all of these programs, the whole CETA system. YEDPA, like all CETA programs, suffers from a lack of planning at the local level. They're trying to plan; there's a lot of encouragement to local planning. But maybe it's just endemic to the whole process that there can be very little planning for CETA manpower programs. The lack of national planning in many ways filters down to the local level.

Under YEDPA, there was great pressure to get started last fall. In most cases, it really didn't get off the ground until well into the spring, and all the pressure to get it going only complicated the process. The first six months were chaos at the prime sponsor level. About the time it did get off the ground, the private sector initiatives were the big things pressing on these sponsors. It's very hard to isolate exactly what the impacts of these programs are from looking at either the program data or even some of the case studies. There are a lot of other things going on.

At the same time, institutional changes are something that we do need to look for. I think they are coming with the schools, with the vocational education establishment, with academic credit for work experience, GED programs in rural Mississippi, and the like. This legislation has been a wedge for introducing a lot of new ideas like alternative schools for sponsoring some of these and saving some programs that were about to get cut out because they were too expensive for local school districts.
It's a grab bag of accomplishments, but in many ways I think that the Youth Act, by focussing so much of the attention on education, has taken on the institution that is most important in youths' lives—and that's the educational system itself. It's not going to change the educational system entirely. It's not meant to affect all youth. But for many of the youth that have become the clientele for many of the programs in the past, this legislation may have some impact.

I don't know how you actually convey that idea to a Congressman in any precise way, because in one community it's the vocational educational establishment that you're dealing with, another it's the dropout programs, and so on. It's a variety of individual types of accomplishments. But I think we shouldn't lose track of these accomplishments and in the second year we ought to continue to push the prime sponsors into experimenting more in trying to reach new groups and to try to document in some sense some of the institutional change that's taking place, as well as some of the normal quantitative measures. We're asking a variety of quantitative measures. Maybe we ought to ask researchers to tell us a few stories, and give us some non-numerical accomplishments and changes.

I've seen institutional changes in the communities that I've been to—major changes that can be credited directly to this Act. Someone can pinpoint this, and say this Act has helped us make this change. As an example, consider a work program in El Paso. People there have been pushing for years to get it; with this legislation it came about. In Albuquerque, there is movement into a whole new industry, the hotel industry, by the cooperative education community. Nothing ever touched this industry, the largest one in the city, and how they're doing it.

There are a lot of things that this legislation can accomplish, and I don't know whether you can capture them in the quantitative data, especially if their real impact is likely to be on the institutions, and especially on educational institutions.

MS. WILLS: I think to understand these youth programs we need a sense of their history. There's a very smart man we have in Washington, Ray Marshall. He went down to an island before Carter was sworn into office and he figured out fairly quickly that the only new money that was going to be in the budget in the first year of the Administration was something that was going to be packaged and was going to be called an economic stimulus program. Mr. Marshall had no illusions that it would solve all the problems of youth. You can't do that in a one-year program as part of an economic stimulus program. He seized upon the opportunity, and thank God he did, and we had the youth legislation.

Another thing happened, though, on the way to this legislative forum. One of the criteria they used when they were trying to put together that early package was to avoid new pieces of legislation by using existing authority. It was correctly pointed out to
Ray Marshall at that time that he could use Title III, the Secretary's discretionary authority. But there was a very basic and fundamental problem: Nobody trusted the DOL to use the discretionary authority of Title III in CETA legislation, including myself and the organization I represent.

Interestingly enough, he could have done it with one paragraph in appropriations legislation; he could have gotten all the money that he needed, $1.5 billion. Instead, you have 100 pages of legislation. In the process of getting that 100 pages of youth legislation, a variety of missions came into being. Quite frankly, it was a plea; it was an act of desperation on the part of concerned people on the Hill and within the Administration.

Indeed, there is not only the economic stimulus to put the kids back to work. As I recall the statistics, the range was between 600,000, up to 1.5 million youth in this economic targeted population. And indeed we can serve that number of people with programs coming out of the Department of Labor in a year or a year and a half. The question is, how do we touch all those people, and with what kind of programs?

I remember well, because I sat there and talked with the lobbyists of the education community that pounded on the door and pleaded with the interim task forces that were trying to put legislative agendas together. They wanted very badly to get an increase in terms of funding for their programs so that they could begin to affect the lives of youth. They were willing to admit they hadn't done a very good job. They didn't get it, because it couldn't be a part of the economic stimulus package.

Another kind of question that came out, and is one of the reasons that there's so much Secretary's discretionary money, is, "how do you really target?" You know there are inadequacies in terms of the formula grant programs in terms of targeting. Is there any possible way within the political process to target the funds on a formula grant basis that's going to make any difference to the kids in the inner-city ghetto and out there in the rural areas?

Clearly, another mission of that legislation is institutional change. It's the publicly financed structures that were very clearly the target. If you bother to take the time to read the committee reports and the conference committee reports, it's there, and it is a plea. That's why you have the 22 percent set aside. I'll never forget the day that I was saying that you can't do a 22 percent set-aside the way you have it written because there are 1200 public districts or so in a particular state and there are only 23 prime sponsors; now how are you going to mesh it? The point was that the Congress, in an act of desperation, because we, representing the institutions in the manpower world, and the educational world hadn't bothered to get ourselves together, decided they'd do it for us. Indeed they did.
Academic credit wasn't in the first draft of the legislation. Three different times it was taken out as a goal. The Department of Labor did not want academic credit placed in that legislation. As you can see, it is in there.

So I think that there is a very clear plea for a variety of missions, a variety of tests that the knowledge development planning is attempting to address. By the way, I think Ray Marshall was right. He knew that there would be continuing money and that it would not just last one year, and I think he's probably smiling about that.

There are so many missions that it is necessary to keep an eye on all of them. For instance, I think you're going to have to take a look at some numbers on female participation, for example, in YACC and YCCIP. That obviously has some implications in terms of program design, whether or not you have a separate part of the title, for that kind of program. More than that, throughout that legislation, when one bothers to correlate that with the legislation going through now, you will find that the Hill is getting much stronger in terms of the language used concerning elimination of artificial barriers and sex stereotyping. I think we need to pay some special attention to the issues of the handicapped. That's just a political observation. The Minority Leader in the House next year, for this committee, is very concerned about the handicapped and I suggest you cover yourselves on the issue. Besides that, it's an important issue.

I think a question that's going to have to be answered is whether and by what means we reach the target population, which basically translates into blacks, Hispanics and low-income whites. What are the implications, for instance, of using the 70 percent lower income living standard? Should we raise or lower it?

I would also suggest that we will have to consider universal coverage responsibilities. For example, there's the vocational education program and all the educational systems. I'm hearing when I'm talking to labor market people that kids are dropping out because of the real and/or perceived opportunities in CETA of the income transfer payment program and the family income and participation in this part of CETA and the rest of CETA. What does that really mean and what implications would that have for designing policies perhaps more strictly on the income transfer side, as opposed to the manpower side?

Another issue is labor market and occupational information. Congress got frustrated with the lack of response on the part of the federal fiscal agencies, and the lack of coordination between HEW and vocational and CETA systems. It created the National and State Occupational Information Coordinating Committee. Rest assured you're going to be asked to respond back to Congress about what you have done with the mission of the NOICC and SOICC, in terms of the development of the career occupational information systems. Also, the local prime sponsor system, in 90 percent of their responses on what they want out of state and federal government say more
information on significant segments of the population. They're desperate for that kind of information. They don't have any help and nobody's giving them any help on that. And if NOICC isn't the right solution, then some of you say so and give them better alternatives next time around.

I would hope that one of the things that you're going to be able to take a look at in the case studies are ways that would make things easier. This is really a plea, having operated some of these programs out there. One of the responsibilities policymakers have back up here in Washington is to try to write a piece of legislation that will make it easy as possible to administer. We often don't do that and we end up having to have five million different administrative councils, regulations, and the like.

MR. POULARD: What information should the research provide? I believe one major concern should be delivery institutions. Questions should be formulated, raised, and collated that address the mechanisms and the institutions that seem to be effective, as delivery agents, as operators of programs and advocates of the right kinds of policies. I think any research well done would, or should, acknowledge that even certain of the sacred institutions that have been a market for the Department of Labor have flubbed over the years. There's nothing to be seen in their participation at present that can adequately recommend that they be left untampered with. Conversely, there might be seen some institutions that have had to fight their way in. These might be identified and the research finding used to support their position so that they no longer have to force their way in. I had in mind, in particular, community-based organizations. Ideologically and geographically they are nearest the poor. Almost all of them came into existence primarily, if not exclusively, for the purpose of helping the variety of individuals who are chronically and structurally unemployed.

On the basis of that generalization, of course, one can proceed to argue that they ought not to have to rely on circumstance and pressure tactics to force their way into meaningful roles. At least, as research bears out the useful role they're performing at the local level, perhaps their task should be made easier regarding their future participation.

I would cite, as one particular example, the fact that out of the limited discretionary money in the YCCIP program, $12 million is being spent by discretion given to HUD to pass on to ten community-based organizations. Some of you even here might be startled to learn about the additional millions of dollars which these ten community-based organizations parlayed by virtue of their small grants. For instance, the Watts Labor Council leveraged its money from Washington with additional money from the state, the county, and the city. It was able to affect very quickly the appropriate kind of working relationships with the union and that was needed because housing construction was undertaken. It was able to train a large number of persons in the construction trades.
As a result, there is a housing stock consisting of new construction and major rehabilitated units being produced at a pace that might embarrass our largest contractors. It's there for the skeptics to see. Beyond that, most of these are home-ownership programs, so that in 20 years the people, who currently pay their notes, will own the houses. Where do you get that kind of bang for the money? And who's doing it? Not some sophisticated institution but, rather a ghetto-located community based organization.

I'll admit there are some that can't do that, but many can. My point is on behalf of those who can. That CBOs have to spend too much time and too much of programmatic energy fussing, fighting, struggling, and trying to get in.

The point again is that I hope the research will yield information that will profile adequately the meaningful role that some of the CBO's are now playing and might play in the future.

I would hope also that the research would yield some views of participants. Frequently I hear it said that there are many thousands of jobs going begging, that unemployed youth and others don't care to accept. Why is it that unemployed youth don't want the jobs that the newspapers advertise, or other jobs that are supposedly available? Might these youth tell you, if questions were posed to them, what these jobs are like, the kind of wage they get, which when received represents an inadequate payment for what is expected of them?

I would suggest also that questions be formulated regarding the views of user-agents. What do some of these user-agents that get the subsidized labor think of people sent to them under these programs?

If you find out what I think you're going to find out, I would not ask you to shift gears or wear a new hat as advocates and no longer be scientists. The rest of us will do that. If you were to learn the views of some of these user agencies, I have an hypothesis regarding what you would find. If you were to make public these findings and hold them up to public debate, I think at that point the advocates would then assist the scientists in pushing that issue on behalf of the chronically unemployed.

MR. LOVE: There's one thing conspicuously missing in the debate: the role of the private sector. We have heard talk of "increased demand," but I don't know how we're going to increase that demand. For instance, there's a lot of publicity behind private sector hiring. But the HIRE program never got off the ground. In the Labor Department, it's known as How Industries Refuse to Employ. So, if you're talking about expanding job demand, it's got to be in the public sector. That's got to be where youth legislation is geared. The AFL-CIO, organized labor, has been spending many years training youth, as, for instance, in the Job Corps. This is important. But the end answer is that there are simply not enough jobs.
There is also the problem of adequate wages. Everyone seems to agree that the minimum wage is fine for kids. If all youth see is working at McDonald's, is that going to inspire future prospects?

The biggest problem I've found in the last ten years is that organized labor was not contacted and involved in program development activity. You wait until a program is designed and then say "sign off on it." That's wrong. Apprenticeship programs are the biggest training mechanism in this country. They are jointly operated by management and by labor. You are not going to get into that system unless you deal with labor.

So, if you're going to go out and do research, read the basics. Organized labor is written into the legislation, and we're going to be in it. If not, we're going to rap up and down the Labor Department's halls and even go to the White House: We have fought for this CETA and we are going to play a role because organized labor is here and we're going to stay here.

DISCUSSION:

MR. POULARD: I would hope also that the researchers are able to formulate some questions that would provide some insights regarding the factor that many of us feel is most important in youth programs--the personnel directly involved in program operations. Noble and high-sounding goals of these programs notwithstanding, it comes down to the selection of people who provide counselling and training and support services.

I remember one case in Chicago where a group was asked to place only 20 percent of the graduates of its very complex training program. With unemployment rampant, a particular lady ended up placing 88%. She did so well that the prime sponsor approached her and begged her on behalf of the city to accept another contract to do placement for other agencies doing the training for the city. It's not because it was a community-based organization alone, it was because those people were committed, were trained, and were skilled. It was because the director of the organization did not assume that just anybody was qualified to do it. They were careful in whom they hired.

Again, I would suggest that the research, if possible, formulate some questions to get some data regarding how critically important personnel are in these programs. It's not just the legislation, it's not just the volume of dollars, it's not just the program design. Success primarily is determined by who's running it. I think sometimes, at least at the level of regulation or field memoranda, credentials or requirements or qualifications for personnel should be addressed.

MR. TAGGART: This legislation is quite different from the rest of CETA in terms of labor union and community-based organizations' involvement. VEDPA requires front-end involvement of labor unions and special consideration of community-based organizations. The reason that special consideration was given, the reason labor union
front-end involvement was put in the legislation, was because that it was believed these alliances would improve youth programs.

It is our job to assess whether these assumptions are true. The process evaluations are structured to assess whether community-based organizations do better than established institutions. In addition to that, we have earlier discussed the HUD CDC project, in which we had comparisons between the CBOs and other performers. We have found that, indeed, community-based organizations have had good leverage. That is the finding, and it will be researched further. The school-to-work transition demonstration which has not been discussed has a group of CBO's in varying circumstances offering well defined, well structured, and sensitive services with impacts measured by post-tests. The Employment Service is doing the same thing so that we can test comparative effectiveness.

Next year we're funding CSA to work with Farmers Home Administration to test the effectiveness of rural CBOs as opposed to the balance-of-state delivery institutions.

We're doing the same things with labor union involvement and what we as researchers have to address is whether special considerations and labor union involvement have measurable benefits.

MR. OSTROWER: I can relate some things that we saw in our studies. We saw that CBO's, of course, have greater participation under YEDPA than they did under the Title I program. But we also saw that CBO's were more successful and more effective when they dealt with things like motivational training and job preparedness than when they were beginning to deal with things like training and other types of things that had them compete against the traditional agencies. Much of this may have been learning curve problems. Those groups that are getting money for the first time and going into construction are having more start-up problems than those that have been at it for awhile. But what I think we're noticing is that they're developing similar structures.

Another point is that where the community-based organizations have a geographic focus, they have a constituency and they basically work with those in that constituency. In other words, they are more likely to target:

MR. POULARD: I'm beginning to feel that I've done CBO's a great disservice. The last thing I meant to do was to make comments which would pit CBO's against other institutions. That is not at all my point. My point is simply that they've had to fight and force their way in. Let all the other grandma and grandpa organizations that have been around since Day One and that are still effective remain. If they can train better, God bless them, let them train. The only point I was seeking to make is that there ought to be, a comprehensive mix, the utilization of all program components and institutions as well. If CBO's are effective, then use them. If
they can only do outreach, let them do outreach. If they can also train, let them train. At the level of perception, of policy, of legislation, regulation, of field memoranda, let there be some provision which recognizes them as an entity, as other traditional entities are recognized as entities, so that they are more easily involved in the process, rather than outsiders who have to always fight their way in. It's not one or the other; it's a partnership.

MR. OSTROWER: We're in the process of doing the comparison studies right now to determine whether CBO's do a better job of targeting. It depends on whether the community-based organizations have their own territories. In cities like San Antonio, where the groups are funded through the prime sponsor and are expected to have a larger territory, there's less targeting.

MR. LEVIN: When you look at the youth problem, one of the reasons we are in it to a significant degree is because of the schools and their inability or unwillingness to do a significant training job with kids. There are ideas about alternatives. One that I'm thinking about is school vouchers. This "market" approach might make more sense.

MR. TAGGART: We've made a major commitment to testing educational vouchers. We've completed implementation studies, and it's a complex issue. We have seven million dollars next year set aside to provide vouchers for participants in selected work experience programs.

We are, in fact, testing all the alternatives to schools we can think of. We've got the Career Intern Program alternative. The Job Corps is the largest alternative education program in the country. We've got educational vouchers, which is another alternative. We've got the CETA system creating all kinds of alternatives. We've got schools creating alternatives under the Exemplary In-School Grant Program. The question is, which works best and for whom? Some will do better with some types of kids than other types of kids. We have to integrate all that research to assess comparative effectiveness. You've got to have all the angles on things to assess them. That's why the structural foundations in the knowledge development plans are so important, and that's why everybody has got to know what everybody else is doing.

MS. GUERON: I'd just like to add that Entitlement is the most targeted of all programs; it is open only to people on poverty levels or if the family is on welfare. There are some difficulties in income conditioning the program, but I think there is going to be quite a good job of enforcing the eligibility criteria. To that extent, it may be more targeted than may be the other programs.

MR. TAGGART: The most important fact is that there are kids out there that want to work and are coming out of the woodwork, if we offer them even minimum wage jobs, much less jobs that pay
higher. One thing we're going to prove by the raw numbers is something realistic about the universe of need.

MR. HAUSMAN: One thing that amazes me is how many agencies--and now yours, too--are in the business of determining eligibility by income and other things. One time or another, we're going to fund a research project to see how much money we are spending per family to look at its eligibility for several different programs, whose eligibility standards don't vary too much.

MS. GUERON: The difference is that you can bring in your welfare stub and that's the ticket to eligibility for Entitlement.

MS. WILLS: I'd like to perhaps speak the unspeakable on this question as to whether we're serving the hard core. I'm not sure that it can be done in this next year or two years, but I think we're going to have to look eventually to reasons why the dropout or the younger individuals simply do not participate in some of these programs.

My conversations, interestingly enough, with a lot of CBO's indicates that they are seeing a tendency for what they're calling the "CETA hustle" in the local areas, where the kid comes in and he drops out and knows how long he needs to be unemployed, and/or is not going to take the job, because frankly he can make more money in other economies of our society.

I think you're going to have to address that. One can get fancy and talk about reservation wages and all these other things, but I don't think it's really necessary. I think that in the next year or two years, you're going to have to think about those you are really calling the hard core. I think we're going to be forced to begin to address those kinds of questions, I think it raises questions from DOL perspective, as to where are the limits of government intervention in terms of employment and training programs, and I think it needs to be approached from that way.

One other comment in terms of dissemination. I heard a lot of words about replication yesterday. And I would suggest to the representatives in the Department of Labor that perhaps one of the things that we need to think through a little bit more is to think through a strategy for real dissemination of information. The project operator or the user out there in Mississippi may or may not have access to or interest in documents. Everyone in the world calls for a better training and technical assistance from the Department of Labor, but perhaps one of the things that we can do is with utilization and the regional training grants and a whole systematic strategy is go beyond that.

And I would think also that the approach of developing a cohesive knowledge development plan, itself, needs to be replicated in other parts of ETA.
PART II
CONFERENCE PAPERS
This paper summarizes research activities on the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects that will be conducted by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC), and Abt Associates, Inc. (Abt). MDRC is responsible for the development and oversight of all research activities on Entitlement. At MDRC, Joan Leiman is the research manager, and Joseph Ball and William Diaz are responsible for the design and conduct of the implementation analysis. At Abt, Ernst Stromsdorfer, the principal investigator, and Robert Jarrett, III, the project manager, are responsible for the impact analysis.
SUMMARY OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES ON THE
YOUTH INCENTIVE ENTITLEMENT PILOT PROJECT

The Entitlement program (Title II, Subpart I of the EEDPA) is designed as a demonstration—an experiment—to (1) test whether school-year (part-time) and summer (full-time) jobs can be guaranteed for 16-19 year old, economically disadvantaged youth residing in a designated area who are in secondary school or who are willing to return to school or enroll in a course leading to a certificate of high school equivalency; and (2) test whether such jobs will be an incentive to increase high school retention, return, and completion, and longer term employment and earnings of program participants.

Within designated areas during the school year, otherwise unavailable part-time employment or a combination of part-time employment and training is guaranteed to those economically disadvantaged youth between the ages of 16 to 19 inclusive who are in secondary school or a program leading to a certificate of high school equivalency. During the summer, full-time employment or a combination of employment and training is provided to all eligible youth.

Because of the high cost of Entitlement, only a few full scale programs could be launched that would test the saturation of an entire central city or multi-county area. In order to test a number of secondary experiments and innovations proposed by the legislation, the Department of Labor specified a "two-tier" approach. Seven large-scale, or Tier I, projects test whether CETA prime sponsors can feasibly implement programs that will encompass all or a large segment of their service area. Tier I demonstrations are expected to provide jobs for between 3,500 and 10,000 youth. Somewhat smaller Tier II projects, each
covering the area served by a particular school or small school district, test a greater variety of programmatic approaches. Each will enroll no more than 1,000 youth and the majority will enroll less than 500 participants.

To meet the legislative mandate which specified diversity and required estimating the probable costs of a nation-wide entitlement, sites were selected to represent a wide economic and geographic range—both large and small cities, high-density urban areas and sparsely populated rural regions, and areas of varying unemployment rates, school dropout rates, and racial/ethnic composition.

In section 329 of the Youth Act, the Congress has directed the Secretary to report findings on the efficacy of the entitlement projects with respect to:

"(1) the number of youths enrolled at the time of the report;

"(2) the cost of providing employment opportunities to such youths;

"(3) the degree to which such employment opportunities have caused out-of-school youths to return to school or others to remain in school;

"(4) the number of youths provided employment in relation to the total which might have been eligible;

"(5) the kinds of jobs provided such youths and a description of the employers—public and private—providing such employment;

"(6) the degree to which on-the-job or apprenticeship training has been offered as part of the employment;

"(7) the estimated cost of such a program if it were to be extended to all areas;
"(8) the effect such employment opportunities have had on reducing youth unemployment in the areas of the prime sponsors operating a project; and

"(9) the impact of job opportunities provided under the project on other job opportunities for youth in the area."

Additional research concerns can be inferred from the Statement of Purpose to the demonstration projects Title of the Act (section 321):

(10) "It is explicitly not the purpose of this part to provide makework opportunities for unemployed youth; instead, it is the purpose to provide youth...with opportunities to learn and earn that will lead to meaningful employment opportunities after they have completed the program."

Finally, the Act specifies congressional interest in understanding the importance of the service delivery system for implementing entitlement, with a statement that the purpose of the demonstration projects shall be:

(11) "to test the relative efficacy of different ways of dealing with these problems in local contexts...(section 321), and by providing for tests of 'a variety of administrative mechanisms to facilitate the employment of youths under an entitlement arrangement...' (section 327 (b))."

The Congressional mandate is reflected in the Office of Youth Program's Knowledge Development Plan which addresses the requirement that the demonstrations test the efficacy of Entitlement under differing socio-economic, regional and governmental circumstances (p. 10a); assess the feasibility of Entitlement for entire prime sponsor jurisdictions and estimate the probable costs of such programs; describe the scope and nature of jobs which would be created; and assess the program's impacts on labor markets
and school completion and retention rates (p. 11). In addition, the Plan anticipates that the research effort for Tier I projects will also examine the long-term impact of the program on participating youths in terms of their post-program labor market and other behavior. Finally, the Plan notes that the research is to be concentrated in the Tier I projects, with a qualitative or process assessment of the smaller Tier II projects which would examine the range of new and improved approaches, methods, and techniques to be explored and demonstrated at these sites and would also generate knowledge to complement the Tier I analysis (pp. 12-13).

Three major issues will be analyzed to meet the congressionally mandated research findings and the Knowledge Development Plan:

a. The impact of the program (on participants, eligible youth, and other youth);

b. The costs of the program; and

c. The operation and coordination or implementation of program service delivery mechanisms.

The Department of Labor has contracted with the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) to conduct these impact, cost, and implementation analyses, and to coordinate the implementation of the Entitlement demonstration under the supervision, management and direction of the Office of Youth Programs. MDRC has, in turn, subcontracted with two firms respectively for the conduct and analyses of program impact surveys with eligible youth: Mathematica Policy Research of Princeton, NJ and ABT Associates of Boston, MA. Implementation and cost analyses will be conducted by MDRC research staff. Each of the analyses and the congressionally mandated issues and questions which they will address are discussed below.
THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

IMPACT ANALYSIS

Several of the mandated research areas concern the impact of the Entitlement demonstration upon youths in entitlement areas and upon the labor markets which they comprise. With reference to the legislative questions enumerated above, the impact analysis will address the following issues and hypotheses:

A. Participation rate of eligible youth (1, 4)
   a. What proportion of eligible youth enroll in the demonstration?
   b. What are the socio-economic-demographic characteristics of enrollees?
   c. How do participants compare to non-participants?
   d. What program design and environmental factors explain participation?

B. Short-term educational attainment and school performance (3)
   a. What is the impact of Entitlement on the performance of, students already enrolled in school and on their retention in school?
   b. What is the impact of Entitlement on the return to high school or GED programs by former high school dropouts, and their performance in such programs?

C. Short-term impacts on employment, unemployment, and labor-force participation of poor youth (8)
   a. What is the impact of Entitlement on the employment and unemployment rates of students?
   b. What is the impact of Entitlement on the employment and unemployment rates of former dropouts?
D. Longer-term impacts on earnings, post-secondary education and expectations (10)
   a. What is the impact of Entitlement on the post-high school earnings of students and former dropouts?
   b. What is the impact of Entitlement on the college entrance rates of students and former dropouts?
   c. What is the impact of Entitlement on participant expectations?

E. Effects on the labor market for non-poor youth (8, 9)

COST ANALYSIS

The cost analysis, to be conducted by MDRC, will address issues (2) and (7) in the legislative mandate. Data will be drawn from the Entitlement fiscal reporting and information systems that have been designed and are being managed by MDRC. Data from these systems will be used to determine total program costs, costs per participant, and costs per participant-year for different subgroups of youth. These unit cost measures, combined with the sample survey estimates of program participation for the different groups of youth, will be used to estimate the cost of extending Entitlement to all areas of the country.

IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS

The purpose of the implementation analysis is to understand and explain the programmatic development of the Entitlement demonstration at the sites and draw lessons concerning the demonstration's operational feasibility, both generally and under varying site circumstances. Although there is a basic program design for Entitlement under the management of CETA prime sponsors, there is considerable variation across sites in the administrative arrange-
ments established for operating the program. The implementation analysis is examining the influence of these varying institutional arrangements, processes, and decisions upon the program's development, as well as local, political, social, and economic factors that may also affect the way in which Entitlement operates.

The general research on the implementation of Entitlement will cover a number of key areas which are discussed below (for each area, the corresponding question in the legislation is indicated parenthetically).

A. Program Description (1, 5, 6).

This will be straightforward description of program content and operations:

a. How many youth were enrolled?
b. What are the characteristics of enrollees?
c. What kind of work did they do?
d. For what kinds of employers?
e. What kind of schools did they attend?
f. What roles did participating agencies perform?

In addition to providing narrative descriptions of what happens in the Entitlement demonstration, this will be a principal data base for other areas of implementation analysis discussed below.

B. Factors Affecting Participation (4)

Participation at each site will depend on the specific form in which the design is implemented as well as underlying local conditions and youth preferences. This component of the research will describe those aspects of program implementation considered most relevant to the youth's decision to participate in Entitlement and, as such, will complement the impact analysis in explaining the participation rates at the sites. The data collection will focus on recruitment and enrollment procedures, the nature of jobs
and the worksite experience, the educational alternatives available and the implementation of eligibility monitoring and grievance procedures. It is assumed, for example, that participation will be higher where there is an aggressive outreach effort and where, for another example, youths are offered a variety of educational choices.

C. School-Prime Sponsor Linkages Under Entitlement (11)

This study will document and analyze the roles played by the two primary agents in implementing the two "halves" of the Entitlement offer. Although school systems and prime sponsors have generally established a number of working relationships over the years, Entitlement will provide these two institutions with the opportunity and necessity to coordinate work experience and school services to a greater extent than has usually been the case with in-school work programs. In some cases, the relationship will be an entirely new one. Since the schools and prime sponsors have overlapping but different senses of mission with respect to youth and employment, Entitlement offers the chance to explore the conditions under which such coordination works effectively and to assess the lessons this partnership provides for carrying out a guaranteed youth job program elsewhere.

D. The Adaptability Of The CETA System to Implementing A Large Job Guarantee Demonstration (21)

There will be an effort to document the problems encountered in prime sponsors' implementing a job guarantee concurrent with ongoing (and possibly competing) program responsibilities. Problems may arise, for example, from an assumption of resource scarcity on the part of the prime sponsor derived from past experience with programs whose limited resources have required careful selection of sub-populations ("significant segments") to receive program services. Such an assumption in Entitlement, which is designed to provide all eligibles with jobs upon request, may lead to overly cautious
program implementation. Other problems may arise from the imposition of a demonstration program on the decentralized CETA system where program discretion for prime sponsors will be more limited than with other CETA programs.

E. Tier II Innovations (5,6)

Most of the implementation analysis will be concentrated on the larger Tier I sites. However, there will be a systematic documentation of the program innovations introduced at the Tier II sites. Reporting on the special innovations will concentrate upon comparison of experience with the same program feature across sites, and upon lessons concerning the replication of those innovations that appear most effective. Effectiveness will be considered not only in the context of a job guarantee under these special arrangements but also in the more general context of exemplary program services for disadvantaged youth.

The general implementation research will be supplemented by special implementation studies in three important areas.

F. Private Sector Work Experience (5,6)

Given the unique wage subsidy provisions of the Entitlement demonstration which allow a wage subsidy of up to 100% to private sector firms that provide program worksites, Entitlement sponsors may seek to develop a stronger private sector involvement than has typically been the case with youth work experience programs. A special study will examine the role of the private sector in the demonstration, the subsidy arrangements that were utilized, other arrangements to make participation in the Entitlement program more attractive to the private sector, and the effects of these arrangements on the volume of private sector job creation.
G. Rural Programs

The demonstration includes programs in rural areas of Mississippi, Steuben County (NY) and Monterey (California). In studies of job creation and enrollment, there will be particular emphasis on the difficulties in creating jobs in rural areas and the arrangements that developed between the employers and the schools to deal with transportation and other coordination problems. Of particular interest is how different in scope and type these problems are in relation to those that may arise in urban sites.

H. The Quality of Work (10)

As part of its monitoring responsibilities, MDRC will survey a sample of program worksites to develop a profile of the quality of the work experience at the different programs. The importance of the Entitlement worksites lies in their ability to provide an exemplary work experience that develops and reinforces the positive aspects of work for youth. Therefore, we have tentatively identified five factors on which a sample of at least 50 worksites for each Tier I site will be assessed. These factors, derived and adapted from the literature on job quality of earlier work experience programs, are:

a. The content of the work provided;
b. The organization and management of the worksite;
c. The level and nature of supervision provided;
d. Youth perceptions of the value of the assignment; and
e. The value of the work to the sponsoring agency or firm.

The discussion that follows addresses in some detail the research design and analysis strategies, and their limitations, for responding to the above issues and questions. These will be discussed first for the impact analysis followed by a discussion concerning the implementation analysis.
DESIGN ISSUES

IMPACT ANALYSIS

Research Design and Analysis Strategies

The key issues and hypotheses identified above for the impact analysis and coherent time-sequencing of program treatments and effects present the unique opportunity to trace the entire process of program enrollment and program operation through the receipt of treatments ultimately to observe both the intermediate impacts and final impacts of the program. This process and sequence of events comprise the following general analytic models of behavior:

1. A model of pre-program behavior.

The purpose of this model is to exploit the baseline survey data to describe the work/schooling experiences of the subjects prior to Summer 1978. Particular attention will be given to part-time versus full-time work experience: summer jobs versus jobs held during the school year; wages received, the nature of reservation wages and their effects on labor market behavior; and the nature and extent of time spent in school.

2. A model of participation.

The purpose of this model is to:

a. estimate initial demand for the program;

b. model continued enrollment, late enrollment, and attrition; and

c. provide parameter estimates whereby program participation can be used to generate an instrumental variable to serve as one control for self-selection bias.
It is expected that participation will be examined separately for Spring 1978; Summer 1978; Fall 1978, and thereafter. Of particular interest will be the propensity of Summer enrollees to honor their commitments to attend school during the Fall.

3. A model of intermediate time allocation program impacts.
   This model examines labor supply, time spent on schoolwork, and time devoted to other activities during the secondary school years. Summer activities and school-year activities will be considered separately.
   a. Labor supply. Daily, weekly or total program enrollment hours spent in the labor market;
   b. Schooling (educational production functions):
      \[ b_1 \] length of additional weeks or months spent in secondary school
      \[ b_2 \] the probability of secondary school graduation
      \[ b_3 \] change in grade level completed
      \[ b_4 \] change in grade point average
      \[ b_5 \] change in class standing
      \[ b_6 \] change in school attendance:
         i) change in times tardy;
         ii) change in number of days absent, given the required attendance period;
         III) change in weekly hours spent in school building; and
   c. Leisure and other activities.
These are intermediate program outputs which become final program inputs in models which estimate postsecondary education and labor market impacts. It is important to examine these intermediate program impacts separately during the summer and the school year. Close attention will be paid to the quantity and mix of school courses or other types of training or education that occurs.

4. A postsecondary labor supply and employment effects model.

The purpose of this model is to measure the size and statistical significance of the intermediate program impacts on final labor market impacts. Thus, the secondary schooling or other training and education effects which were intermediate outputs above become final program inputs in the model of labor supply and labor market effects.

5. A model of the demand for postsecondary education.

The purpose of this model is to complete the estimation of desired program final outputs or impacts. Again, the secondary schooling or other training or educational intermediate outputs become final program inputs in this model.

6. It should be noted that the labor supply model and the postsecondary schooling demand model can be combined into a simultaneous equation system whereby hours spent in the labor market and hours spent in postsecondary schooling can be jointly estimated.

A variety of statistical and econometric approaches will be used to perform the above analysis. It is important to note that while relatively
complex behavior will be modelled, the salient features of analytical findings will be systematically displayed and discussed with appropriate cross-tabulations developed either from a standard analysis of variance approach or through more complex regression procedures. Complex econometric models will not encumber the main body of any report.

The data required for the impact analysis will come from several sources. First, a household survey was conducted in four Entitlement sites and four control sites. By means of screening interviews administered to an estimated 120,000 households, a sample of about 8,000 eligible youth has been selected and interviewed, 2/3 from the pilot sites and 1/3 from the control sites. The first (baseline) interview was administered in early 1978 to the eligible youth and their parents (if they live together); the second interview will be administered in early 1979 to youth and their parents; the third interview will be administered only to youths in early 1980. And the fourth and final interview of youths will be administered in 1981. The exact mix of youths among seniors, juniors, sophomores, and freshmen has not yet been decided for the second, third and fourth interviews.

A second data source will be the records of the high schools and GED programs in the four Entitlement and four control sites. Finally, data will be collected through the demonstration’s information system designed and operated by MDRC.

**Research Limitations**

Perhaps the major technical problem in this study is that of proper estimation of the program participation function and the use of this function to help overcome the problem of self selection bias.

---

*The four Entitlement sites are Cincinnati, Denver, Mississippi (selected counties) and Baltimore; the four control sites are Louisville, Phoenix, Mississippi (non-Entitlement counties) and Cleveland.*
Participation breaks down into two components. One must first predict the probability that a person will join the program. Once having joined, one must predict the extent that one participates. While it is possible to use the immediate benefits of the program, such as earnings on the subsidized job, as predictors of the extent of participation, it is not possible to use these benefits to predict whether one enrolls or not. Rather, independent or exogenous variables which are not directly related to short term program benefits must be used to perform this task. Here we come to the problem of self-selection bias.

Self-selection bias is essentially an omitted variable problem. In other words, crucial variables needed to explain the likelihood of participating and succeeding in the program are missing. To give one example, if "ambition" is omitted from the analysis to predict ultimate educational attainment, and if, other things equal, more ambitious youth select themselves into the group of program participants, then the estimate of net program effects will be biased upwards. That is, the self-selection effects of ambition are attributed to the effect of program services.

In the Entitlement study, this problem is substantially corrected through the use of a household survey to identify eligible persons in both the program site and a control site prior to program start-up. Each site contains eligibles, but, as figure 1 shows, in the program site, there are both participant and nonparticipant eligibles. Under the assumption that the program has no effect upon nonparticipant eligibles, we can attribute any difference which is observed between this group and the controls to the fact that this group consists of the individuals who did not select themselves into the program. When the participant eligibles are joined with the controls to form a data set for analysis and analysis is employed in which a dummy variable identifies "experimentals" versus "controls," the measure estimated for this
dummy variable is the sum of the program effect and a selection effect. If we knew the magnitude of the selection effect, we could subtract it out and thereby find the true program effect. But we can measure the selection effect by creating a different pooled sample, one containing nonparticipant eligibles and eligible controls, and estimating program effects for them, with the several groups identified by a dummy variable. Then, the measure associated with the dummy variable in this calculation is wholly attributable to selection.

Figure 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Control Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Participant</td>
<td>Participant Eligibles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Eligibles</td>
<td>Eligible Controls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dummy Variable Coefficient = Treatment Effect + Selection Effect

Dummy Variable Coefficient = Selection Effect

The result is an unbiased estimate of program impact.

Another limitation to be noted is that rigorous measurement of the impact of Entitlement job opportunities on other job opportunities for youth, including non-poor youth (question 9), would require that a random sample of all youth in the selected areas be surveyed. It was determined that the costs of this sample would be prohibitive, more than doubling the sample size and cost. The sample size was determined, therefore, by the need to answer with sufficient confidence the questions of short and long-term impacts only for poor youth. Other data sources will have to be utilized to develop an approximate estimate of Entitlement's impact upon non-poor youth employment, and these estimates will not permit the same level of statistical confidence which would be

*See page 3, above.*
possible through surveys.

IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS

Research Design and Analysis Strategies

Implementation analysis addresses the behavior of key "actors" (institutions, agencies, firms) who participate in the delivery of Entitlement services to participants, and the effects of other local circumstances on the program. In order to describe and account for the behavior of service deliverers, it is necessary to understand major features of their structures, missions and organizational stakes in Entitlement, previous program operating experience, and previous working relationships with each other. The way in which these factors come together for an organization will help to account for the way in which the organization carries out its role in Entitlement and the extent to which the organization's members perceive an incentive to cooperate with the other actors delivering Entitlement services.

A dynamic program implementation process in unique local settings, particularly when this process involves many different actors, with different histories and administrative arrangements in the several Entitlement communities, does not lend itself to highly quantitative measurement. It is important to derive an understanding of Entitlement processes through the collection of data about program decisions and actions, along the range of qualitative variables mentioned above, from the viewpoint of all participating actors, and where possible, by "triangulating" the observations of more than one outside observer. Building such an understanding is a holistic process, and multiple actor viewpoints do not constitute redundancy. The data sources which are being utilized in the implementation analysis reflect this conception.

The sources of qualitative program data include outstationed field monitors assigned to the Tier I sites, MDRC central field staff who periodically visit the sites as part of their oversight function, and consultants to MDRC.
All of these have responsibility for documenting and assessing various aspects of program implementation through periodic, structured research reports. The outstationed field monitors responsible for describing and assessing basic program activities such as recruitment and enrollment, schooling, job creation, and others in a series of structured research reports. In addition they will carry out the field research for the quality of work study (see below).

Central MDRC field staff, and a group of consultants under subcontract to MDRC to monitor five Tier II sites, contribute to the research through sharing of their field visit reports and through periodic debriefing with the research staff. In addition, they contribute through structured research reports on the management and coordination of the demonstration by prime sponsors and their managing agents.

To enable a more thorough analytical assessment of the development of Entitlement at the Tier I sites, the implementation analysis design also calls for a series of interviews with the prime sponsor and other program agents during the course of the demonstration. These interviews, carried out by MDRC consultants during a week's field visit, are structured to address background factors at the sites that may explain the program's development and content. Such factors include local political conditions, the quality of the relationship among the various program agents, their perceptions of the program and of its problems and successes, and the rationales behind administrative decisions and organizational arrangements.

Finally, quantitative data on program participants and content is being provided by MDRC's Entitlement Information System on a monthly and quarterly basis with special reports produced as needed. This system, which in addition to informing the implementation analysis serves other MDRC units and reporting requirements, produces data on the number of enrollees, their demographic and employment backgrounds, their source of referral, school enrollment data
by type of school and type of curriculum, participant activity in terms of
initial job or training assignment, termination and re-entry where applicable,
characteristics of the worksite or training sponsors; monthly levels of
youth participation by types of jobs, training, and wage rates,
and total wages paid to individual participants.

Research Limitations

One research limitation that should be noted is that the quality of work
study will not be a highly rigorous and quantitative evaluation of the work
experience provided to participating youths. Due to the part-time nature
of the majority of the work provided during Entitlement, the fact that it
is a youth program designed to primarily provide a good work experience
rather than to impart specific vocational skills, and other cost and data
limitations; a qualitative and extensive worksite assessment strategy is
planned. It is anticipated that from 350 to 500 Tier I worksites will be
assessed by the Tier I monitors using a structured assessment instrument.

Another potential limitation is the reliance of the Entitlement
Information System on data recorded and processed by local prime sponsor staff.
During program start-up, there have been numerous and serious delays in the
delivery of data by prime sponsors to MDRC’s central information system staff.
While the problems have largely been alleviated and data from most of the sites
are now flowing in a satisfactory way, the system obviously still remains
vulnerable to unforeseen difficulties.
TIMETABLE OF RESEARCH PRODUCTS

The Entitlement demonstration and research activities are still in an early stage: the demonstration began enrollment in late spring 1978, the baseline survey for the impact analysis was completed in the summer of 1978, and a variety of interim reports and interviews on the start-up period have only recently been completed. The following research reports are tentatively scheduled for the dates indicated:

Impact Analysis Reports

Baseline Report
January 1979

Participation Study
January 1980

Report on In-program Impacts
February 1980

Report on Post-program Impacts
January 1982

Implementation Analysis Reports

General Implementation Report
January 1980

The Quality of Work in Entitlement
January 1980

The Role of the Private Sector in Entitlement
October 1979

Entitlement in Rural Areas
February 1980

In addition, MDRC is preparing a report on the early program experience as specified in the YEDPA (section 329).
POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The potential policy implications of the research obviously follow from the questions and issues articulated by Congress and the Office of Youth Programs as presented earlier in the paper and as explicated above. Among the major issues to be addressed are:

1. The operational meaning and feasibility of operating a guaranteed jobs program under varying local circumstances and administrative arrangements.

2. The impact of such a program, when school-conditioned, on the school performance and labor market behavior of participating youths both during their participation and beyond it.

3. The costs of operating such a program and the potential cost should it be extended.

4. The ability of prime sponsors to create jobs in the private sector under wagesubsidies ranging up to 100 percent.

5. The quality of work that can be provided in a large scale, rapidly implemented work experience program for youth.
REPLICATION * VALUATION * IMPACT

THE VENTURES IN COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT PROJECT (VICI)

A YCCIP DEMOStrATION AND RESEARCH PROJECT

SUPPORTED BY THE OFFICE OF YOUTH PROGRAMS
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Paper prepared by John M. Kelley
Corporation for Public/Private Ventures
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

For presentation at the Office of Youth Programs' Knowledge Development Projects' Conference
October 5, 1978
INDEX

INTRODUCTION TO VICI

I. OVERALL PURPOSE OF THE DEMONSTRATION RESEARCH

II. SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS, ISSUES, AND APPROACHES

II.1 THE FEASIBILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF A REPLICATING METHODOLOGY

II.2 TO DEVELOP AND REFINE A "WORK EVALUATION" METHODOLOGY

II.3 TO COMPARE POST-PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

III. TIMETABLE OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

IV. KNOWN, ANTICIPATED, OR LIKELY RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

V. ANTICIPATED RESEARCH FINDINGS

VI. WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN TO YOUTH POLICY PRIORITIES?

VII. WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN TO RESEARCH?

APPENDIX A ESSENTIAL AND REQUIRED MODEL PROGRAM ELEMENTS

APPENDIX B THE CPPV DESIGN
I. OVERALL PURPOSE OF THE DEMONSTRATION RESEARCH

As noted in the Knowledge Development Plan for YEDPA, "the underlying objectives of this demonstration project are:

(a) to demonstrate and test the feasibility and effectiveness of a replicating methodology itself (i.e., how and under what conditions can the program model be adequately replicated in various communities.)

(b) to develop and refine a "work evaluation" methodology which may eventually be incorporated into the formula-funded community Improvement type efforts.

(c) to compare the post-program experiences of youth participating in the replicated projects (which will mainly provide job experience) with those for a comparable group of young people of similar backgrounds who have participated in other manpower programs (which have emphasized classroom training, manpower and support services) in the same localities." (p.17)

II. SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS, ISSUES, AND APPROACHES

II.1. The Feasibility and Effectiveness of a Replicating Methodology

Consistent with the Knowledge Development Plan, CPPV conducted "a review of both appropriate post programs and designs of projects financed through the formula allocation for Community Improvement" (p.17) and selected a model program, the Emergency Home Repair program (EHR) of Portland, Oregon. This program utilized in-school and out-of-school youth to complete home repairs for poor, elderly, and handicapped homeowners. In addition to meeting basic YCCIP criteria (e.g., the target population and the production of tangible, long-lasting community improvements), the EHR program boasted several aspects that were especially effective:

- Close union involvement: EHR youths work in small teams. Each team is supervised by a crew chief who is a journeyman member of the local carpenter's union. This aspect not only appeared conducive to good skills training, but was deemed as a positive asset in subsequently motivating youths to seek entry into the building trades' unions.

- An effective community agency linkage system: EHR, in its planning and operation, effectively involved a number of local agencies (schools, unions, courts, and a variety of municipal bodies) in order to:
  - provide sound program management
  - refer ample and interested youth from the target population
  - generate a suitable inventory of work projects in a timely manner
obtain building and licensing permits/approvals

provide post-program employment, training and education

The successful transfer of the EHR model to diverse jurisdictions must be based on a clear distinction between essential characteristics of the model and incidental features of particular program operations and particular jurisdictions. For example, while direct union involvement via the designation of journeymen crew chiefs was deemed essential, it was not deemed essential that the one particular union need play the lead role in all replication efforts. This distinction between the essential and the incidental is critical, because circumstances vary from one locale to another. The process of replication must, therefore, maintain the essential principles integral to program success and yet be flexible and sensitive to the needs and conditions of diverse communities.

Based on an intense analysis, CPPV distilled nine (9) essential program elements which sites who participated in the demonstration are mandated to incorporate. These elements are listed in Appendix A.

The efficiency of the VICI replication process will be assessed primarily by means of process evaluation which will yield a documentary analysis of issues such as:

- The extent to which linkages required to implement the model are pre-existent in local communities and/or the processes involved in creating those linkages locally.
- The "politics of replication" in local areas—i.e., the extent to which idiosyncratic local factors (quality of leadership, prior history of inter-institutional cooperation, local politics of CETA, etc.) enhance or impede successful replication.
- The speed with which local sponsors mount programs, their ability to attract and retain the target population in the program, and their ability to perform valuable work on a timely basis.
- The extent and nature of the quality of inter-institutional linkages exhibited during program operation.
- Assessment of ways in which local economic conditions, political climate, and city scale impact the program.
- Ways in which local preference, initiative or conditions produce local innovations and augmentation to the model.
- Evidence of "spin-offs" from successful program implementation.

To accomplish this process or documentary research, CPPV has retained the services of two (2) independent evaluators who have demonstrated competence and experience in this type of undertaking.
II.2 To Develop and Refine a "work Evaluation"

An important outcome of the VICI demonstration will be the production of tangible and valuable physical improvement to local communities. The growth of public employment programs has added urgency to developing reliable measures of the dollar value of work performed. In order to address the effect of VICI in monetary terms, a practical and workable methodology must be developed. To date most work valuation procedures have relied upon expensive and time consuming fiscal audits or have utilized cost/effectiveness formulae involving admittedly arbitrary and subjective components.

CPPV, has designed and will evaluate, a fairly straightforward method for determining the value of VICI work products. For each VICI work project, local estimators will compute an estimate of the cost that an alternative supplier, specifically a typical private contractor, would charge for producing the same product. The price that a private contractor would charge will be equated with "dollar value" of a VICI product with possible adjustments made to reflect differences in the quality of outputs.

"Work Evaluation Methodology" in this context has been operationally defined as attributing a dollar value to the outputs produced by VICI participants. "Work valuation" is perhaps a more accurate term in describing the nature of this task.

CPPV has selected Research for Better Schools (RBS) to conduct the quantitative portion of the VICI research.
II.3 To Compare the Post-Program Effectiveness of Youth Participating in the Replicated Projects with Those for a Comparable Group of Young People of Similar Backgrounds Who Have Participated in Other Manpower Programs

The key question to be addressed in this task is: "Does participation in VICI lead to getting a better job than participation in other manpower programs?" Clues to this answer will be obtained by simply comparing VICI termination data with the termination data gleaned from other YCCIP formula programs, and HUD demonstrations that may be operating at each locality. CPPV, has asked RBS to gather existing data from other YCCIP and HUD programs that resemble VICI in each site, and to present this data in a descriptive, summary fashion in order to compare VICI and other programs along such dimensions as:

- youth characteristics
- nature of work performed
- strength and extent of linkage systems
- retention rates
- cost per positive termination
- post-program placements

In addition, it is anticipated that this inter-program comparison effect will provide information that will aid DOL in assessing the effectiveness of different kinds of delivery systems in mounting programs of this type. Specifically, comparative delivery system data will be presented relative to the use of:

- an intermediate unit (CPPV)
- community-based agencies (HUD)
- prime sponsors

It was recognized, however, that in order to draw confident statistical inferences, about the impact of VICI on youth, a research design would have to be developed that would better assure equivalence between VICI and comparison youth.

Indeed, unless there were an equivalent group of young persons with whom to compare VICI participants, it would be impossible to confidently attribute "outcomes" to participation in VICI since a number of other plausible explanations could account for outcome patterns (e.g., local economic conditions, the type of youth involved in VICI.) However, the generation of an equivalent comparison group has been a problem which has continuously plagued manpower research, and perhaps all social services research. In addition to programmatic problems, serious ethical problems arise when one attempts to launch a "social experiment." CPPV staff, as well as its VICI research subcontractors (RBS/ARB) and private consultants, worked for several months in order to come up with a design which would satisfy research criteria as well as ethical and programmatic standards.

* CPPV has approved RBS' selection of Associates for Research in Behavior (ARB) as a subcontractor to perform the follow-up interviews for VICI research, to maintain the computerized information base, and to offer ongoing input regarding the VICI research.
Consistent with DOL instructions, CPPV presented the design to the appropriate representatives from each VICI site as an option, not an order. Seven (7) of the eight (8) approved sites opted to adopt the "CPPV design" as presented or with minor variations. Our design is explicitly described in Appendix B.

III. TIMEABLE OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

More than half of the eight (8) VICI programs have begun enrolling candidates. All sites should be operational by mid-October, 1978. CPPV has designed a comprehensive set of uniform data collection forms and manuals for use in all VICI programs. Data from this information base, as well as from the process evaluation, will be incorporated into brief monthly progress reports and extensive interim reports. The final research results will be available in May, 1980.

IV. KNOWN, ANTICIPATED, OR LIKELY RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

In addition to those potential limitations, which all research efforts encounter (e.g., accurate and complete filling out of forms, being able to find and interview sufficient youth in the post-program follow-up), the main limitations of this study may occur around generating an equivalent comparison group. The design that was earlier mentioned assumed that VICI programs could recruit and screen almost three-hundred (300) youths within about a four-month period. Preliminary feedback indicates that problems may occur in finding sufficient youths. In addition, the added screening burden may cause one or two sites to abandon this design, because they lack sufficient intake resources.

Should problems like these arise and scuttle the design in certain sites, CPPV may shift its follow-up resources to tracking youths who have participated in other manpower programs without going through VICI screening. Admittedly, such a fallback position jeopardizes the equivalence or comparability between groups since other programs may have screening processes or programmatic goals which differ from VICI. However, comparisons of this nature should yield clues as to the impact of VICI compared with other manpower programs.

V. ANTICIPATED RESEARCH FINDINGS

Since data collection is in its embryonic stage, few directions or trends can be discerned at this time, which would give evidence for anticipated findings. One critical area wherein a specific finding is apparent relates to the replicating process. As noted above, all VICI applicants were required to meet a set of fairly arduous program criteria. In most sites, this called for the forging of new inter-agency cooperations, union involvement, and securing supplementary funding, were especially viewed as potential stumbling blocks. However, of the acceptable applicants (13), eight (8) sites have met all criteria, and one (1) site is still in the running. This lends strong evidence to the feasibility of replicating even those model programs which make strong demands on local linkages, procedures, and other resources can be replicated. CPPV is paying close attention to the five (5) programs that could not meet requirements in order to document obstacles and formulate strategies that might enhance replication.

DOL eliminated two (2) of the original applicants for reasons not directly related to VICI.
VI. WHAT DOES THIS ALL MEAN TO YOUTH POLICY PRIORITIES?

If the VICI research yields certain findings it is possible that these could be the basis for several policy and procedural changes. For example, little evidence has been gathered on program replication. The term keeps cropping up and inherently seems to make sense. However, to date, there is a paucity of hard data in this area. Should VICI demonstrate that replication is not only viable, but economically practical and effective in aiding youth enter the mainstream of employment, it is possible that planned replication may gain increased prominence as a program planning and implementation policy.

The research that addresses alternative delivery systems (prime sponsor, intermediate units, and community based agencies) should yield preliminary evidence as to the efficacy of each variation. On the policy level, such evidence could influence future program implementation strategies.

On the procedural level, work valuation has been a problem which has befuddled economists, program planners and policy makers alike. CPPV's methodology, should it prove valid, would provide a long-needed mechanism that would yield extremely valuable information to policy-makers, planners, and administrators for purposes of program development.

VII. WHAT DOES THIS ALL MEAN TO RESEARCH?

In terms of adding to fast-growing body of research knowledge, the VICI project could provide substantial offerings. First, VICI will constitute one of the very few replication efforts that was well documented and evaluated. This, in itself, will contribute significantly to a better understanding of the replicating process. Second, the "CPPV design" is one that has not, to our knowledge, appeared in the literature. Yet, given the real world of the program operator, this design seems to strike an acceptable compromise among the demands of research methodology, ethical considerations, and program operations. The design may be especially useful in programs within the human services sector, and could possibly constitute an advancement in action-oriented research.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the VICI data collection forms and the "CPPV design" were not conceived in VACUO by a "bunch of researchers who don't know what running a program is all about." Both the data collection forms and the design resulted from intense interaction and numerous meetings among CPPV research staff and field representatives, DOL national and regional staff, prime sponsor staff, front-line program staff and youth. To be sure this made the design process more time consuming and at times somewhat frustrating. However, CPPV believes that such a process served to produce not only better products, but tended to engender genuine feelings of involvement and commitment to the research efforts of VICI. CPPV will document this process and explore its effects. From a planning perspective, it is possible that this process can offer a model to future research efforts which like VICI are dependent upon the cooperation, effort, and commitment of literally hundreds of people if the data is to be properly defined, recorded, transmitted, stored, analyzed and promulgated.
APPENDIX A

ESSENTIAL AND REQUIRED MODEL PROGRAM ELEMENTS

1. Participants 16-19 years old who are unemployed, underemployed, economically disadvantaged and confronted by severe difficulties in obtaining access to jobs.

2. Work projects which provide both needed physical community improvements and varied work and training for participants. The work projects must be completable within the life of the demonstration; and the work must be of a kind which would not be routinely done in the absence of the program.

3. Project participants recruited from the areas where youth work activity will take place.

4. Well defined work crews led by skilled supervisors and a supervisor-participant ratio small enough to permit skills training.

5. Linkages of public and private agencies with clear assignment of (and agreement to) roles and responsibilities to include:
   (a) A local management agency with the experience and capacity to conduct and manage the program.
   (b) A youth referral agency with demonstrated access to and experience in working with youth who are the target population for this program.
   (c) A work providing agency with the demonstrated capacity to provide a suitable inventory of projects and work orders in a timely and continuous fashion.
   (d) Labor unions and trade organizations cooperating in the referral of journeymen instructors and provision of apprenticeship training credit for youth who work in the program.
   (e) Educational institutions which can provide youth participants with opportunities to receive a G.E.D. or enroll in other forms of continuing education.

6. Provision for obtaining licensing approval and/or permits to undertake physical improvements work, inspection of completed work, and valuation of work performed.

7. Provisions for post program training, education or employment.

8. A commitment to provide the necessary data and information to meet the research requirements of the demonstration.

9. Local funding to supplement the amount provided by DOL, particularly for building materials and supplies.
APPENDIX B

THE CPPV DESIGN

The proposed design calls for 60 participant slots. In addition, the VICI structure calls for two cohorts of participants at each site. The first sixty will remain in VICI for up to twelve months but no more. A second cohort of wave of youth will be enrolled after the first wave has completed VICI. Thus, there will be at least 120 (60 + 60) participants. Assuming a 25% or so dropout rate, it is predicted that there will be about 150 (60 + 60 + 30) VICI participants per site.

Because of the urgency involved in getting VICI up and running, the "CPPV design" opts not to delay intake until a sufficient pool is built and applicants can be randomly selected for VICI (i.e., the classical experiment) or selected via other procedures from such a pool (i.e., quantifiable scores/ratings.) Building up a large enough pool before VICI start-up would simply push back the schedule inordinately. Therefore, the "CPPV design" calls for programs selecting the first youth cohort (n = 60) and several waiting-list youth (between 10 and 30) according to the program's own procedures and own time frame.

After the first VICI cohort is selected along with a small waiting list, the "CPPV design" calls for each program to continue intensive intake for several months until an additional 220 or so youths have been found who meet all VICI criteria (both DOL's and the local program's criteria.) These youths will have undergone the exact screening as the first cohort and will be assigned, by lottery, a place on the VICI waiting list. It is predictable that the first 60 of these 220 youths will be selected for VICI before the demonstration is over. It is equally predictable that those youths who are placed towards the end of the waiting list will not get into VICI during the demonstration period. Approximations of the chances of getting into VICI can be made for those youths who are toward the middle of the waiting list. The "CPPV design" calls for honestly and promptly informing the youth of his/her odds of getting into VICI as soon as the youth has a waiting list number. This decision, namely, to be totally honest with youths, is called for in order to avoid undue raising of the youth's expectations. For the youth who has little chance of getting into VICI, or for the youth who may well get into VICI but chooses not to wait, full effort will be made to place the youth in another appropriate employment/training program as soon as possible. CPPV expects that a sizeable number of youths will be placed in ongoing programs. It bears noting that the CPPV design neither directly nor implicitly encourages the formation of a "no-treatment control group" whose waiting list position indicates little chance of VICI entry. There must be a real chance, not just a sham chance, of receiving alternative manpower services. To better insure this option, CPPV has mandated that no site wherein there is not sufficient potential to place youths from the waiting list into alternative CETA programs will be permitted to use the "CPPV design."

CPPV, through its research subcontractors, RBS and ARB, would follow-up eighty (80) VICI participants and an equal amount of waiting list youths who did not get into VICI. Follow-up will be done at a standardized time. For example,
three months after a youth terminates VICI, both this youth and a youth selected by chance from the waiting list will be followed up. It is foreseen that this design will yield a comparison-group that is sizeable enough for conducting statistical analysis and boasting a level of homogeneity with VICI youths that is adequate for drawing confident conclusions. Homogeneity between VICI and comparison groups will be double-checked by examining scores from a standardized test of ability which will be administered to all VICI and waiting list youths.
YEDPA RESEARCH VIA INTERAGENCY AGREEMENT (AND DISAGREEMENT):

A STUDY OF CONFLICTING OBJECTIVES

Roy E. Feldman and Jay Ostrower

Paper presented to U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Youth Programs, Knowledge Development Projects Conference, Sheraton Conference Center, Rest, Virginia, October 5 - 6, 1978.

1 The research described in this paper is being conducted under HUD Grant No. H-2881-RG.
Three agencies might appear to have some stake in this YCCIP demonstration project: DOL and HUD because this demonstration project is being formally operated under an interagency agreement, and CSA because it has provided money for the operation of the project. According to the DOL Knowledge Development Plan the evaluation of this demonstration project is to determine whether: "(a) CSC's can more effectively link youth Community Improvement efforts to other funding sources and, if so, whether there is a multiplier effect reflected in project outcomes: (b) CDC's can facilitate particular productivity by youngsters which is not generated by formula funded projects: and (c) the nature and value of project accomplishments which distinguish the CDC efforts from those of formula-funded projects."  

A YEDPA document dated 9/11/78 changes the second item above to "value of community improvement work" and the third item above to "the impact of these projects on communities and participants in comparison with that for YCCIP formula-funded projects at CETA prime sponsors."

HUD's objectives differed from those of DOL. They were to give priority to (a) impact on the CDC, (b) impact on the community, and (c) impact on the participants. CSA's objectives are not clear. CSA representatives never attended any of the briefing meetings in Washington which were attended by the evaluators and HUD and DOL representative. Because of the structure of the evaluator's contract with HUD (and not with DOL or CSA), HUD determined the basic priorities of the evaluation.

---

3. "YEDPA Knowledge Development Project Funding as of 9/11/78."
4. HUD Grant No. H 2881-RG Contract
The project design and methods of analysis are in two parts. First, there are three site visits of about two weeks each to five of the ten demonstration projects. These are to observe the programs, view the work done, interview operators of both HUD and formula-funded programs, interview community leaders and youth participants. The second part of the study is to analyze data from YCCIP intake forms, termination forms and a small sample of participant interviews on their perceptions of the programs. We hope to compare data for both HUD and formula-funded YCCIPs but it is not clear whether we shall get access to all appropriate formula-funded YCCIPs because they are under the auspices of DOL whereas the evaluation is under the auspices of HUD.

Among the major limitations of the study are the missing items on the YCCIP application and termination forms. Because we are funded by HUD, we are unable to offer any incentives to the DOL formula-funded YCCIPs to cooperate or to improve data quality. Because HUD/YCCIP operators know we are reporting to HUD, they have generally been very cooperative.

On the positive side, the amount of time we were able to allocate to field research at each site has meant that we can arrive at a detailed description of each of the five sites we are visiting and adequately describe the impact of these demonstration projects on the CDC, the community and the participants.

Nevertheless we have come to come clear but still tentative conclusions within the limitations discussed. 5

1. The programs are working and in most cities useful work is being completed. In some cities the programs are well organized, work is going smoothly, and participants are pleased. In most others, work is going relatively well but the programs are having some organizational problems.

2. There seems to be a trade-off between institutional impact on the one hand and participant and community impact on the other. The greatest institutional impact of the HUD grants will be on those organizations that have the least experience and consequently have less impact on the community and participants. Conversely, those organizations with high levels of experience and a sophisticated institutional infrastructure will be more able to have a significant community impact (e.g., number employed and skill development). These distinctions lead to the suggestion that the administration of the program should be responsive to these differences. Potential for expansion seems directly related to previous organizational experience. Those organizations with the least construction experience need to do the most planning.

3. Those programs that are faring best have had construction experience; housing experience, and are able to combine both the youth and work aspects of the program with little difficulty.

4. The programs that have the most impact on the organization are those that either change the direction of the organization or substantially increase the organizations' resources.

5. Those programs that seem to have the most short-term impacts on their communities are those that have decided to concentrate resources in the most limited geographical areas.

6. As expected, among the most important participant impacts of the HUD project are the receipt of money by the participants and the work experience for these youth, many of whom have never been employed. In addition, many of these jobs demanded the kind of work performance comparable to unsubsidized employ-
ment and provided significant skill training.

7. The job supervisors are particularly influential in working with youth. Union journeymen in particular are highly skilled and seem to serve as economic role models. Examples can be found of supervisors who helped participants get unsubsidized jobs and they have also helped a limited number of participants to enter the unions.

8. Obviously, programs where participants are engaged in complex work (e.g., housing construction and rehabilitation) are providing greater opportunities for skill acquisition than those with relatively simple tasks (e.g., lot clearance and building demolition). At this point impact seems significant where participants are engaged in complex tasks and craftsman/participant ratio is not high. Where this ratio has been observed to be high, e.g., 1:10, a variety of problems seem evident. These include: a) slower skill acquisition, b) more discipline problems on the job, and c) a lower likelihood of the supervisor providing an effective role model.

9. Although it is still too early for definitive comparisons with the formula funded YCCIPs, the following observations can be made: a) In general, the HUD/YCCIPs are substantially larger than the comparison groups. The larger scale of these projects and more limited definition of "community" predisposes questions about community impact in favor of the HUD/YCCIPs. b) Where we have been able to make site visits at the comparison projects, it appears that the HUD/YCCIPs are having a larger community impact. Obviously, these conclusions are still based upon interim observations and interviews in the community. They will be pursued at greater length during future site visits.

10. Given the current state of our research, we believe it is important to develop ideas on how neighborhood units can be integrated into an overall employment strategy.

One important purpose of an interagency demonstration is probably to permit the substantive priorities of the second
agency to impinge on the demonstration project. It is probably reasonable, therefore that the evaluators take serious account of these priorities and depart somewhat from the objectives of the primary agency (DOL). On the other hand, communication between agencies with regard to DOLs Knowledge Development Plan could have been better.

Estimates of project operators of the likelihood of project renewal probably has an important effect on their administration of the projects. Their belief that the demonstration will end in six, four, or two months affects the programs during their critical final phases. Basic activities of the programs such as finding new work, participant and staff morale, job development and departure of staff are affected by perceptions of when the project will terminate. This is a critical input for a demonstration project designed to last only one year. These demonstrations are probably of too short a duration to answer many of the questions of both HUD and DOL. In the absence of factual information, demonstration project directors have already made judgements of when the project is likely to terminate and are acting accordingly. This factor needs serious consideration in the design of program duration and in the design of evaluations.
Learning By Trying
Identifying the Strengths of Exemplary In-School Youth Employment Programs

A paper presented at the:
Knowledge Development Project Conference
of the
U.S. Department of Labor
Harvey Pressman
Youthwork, Inc.
October 5, 1978
For many low-income teenagers, the gap between school and work seems to be widening. The number of years between leaving school and finding a full-time, "adult" job is increasing. The kinds of preparation provided by the school for the "world of work" seem to be getting even less relevant. Very little is really known about how schools can effectively combine school and work experiences to facilitate future employability. Even less is known about which particular in-school models and treatments work well, and why.

The Department of Labor, as a means of encouraging innovation in school-related youth employment programs, has launched a special exemplary in-school demonstration project. This demonstration project is identifying some 55-60 program models in four primary areas of focus: (1) Career Information, Guidance, and Job Seeking Skills, (2) Academic Credit for Work Experience, (3) Expanded Private Sector Involvement, and (4) Job Creation through Youth-Operated Projects. The goal in narrowing the demonstration to primary areas of focus is: (1) to identify key areas in which more knowledge is needed, then (2) to support enough program models in each area, and (3) to learn a lot about each area from an analysis of a variety of related program models.

To help the Department of Labor select appropriate program models, provide technical assistance to funded projects, coordinate what can be learned from the demonstration, and prepare "how-to-do-it" guides for in-school employment related efforts, a non-profit intermediary corporation was formed in the winter of 1978. This corporation, called Youthwork, Inc., has undertaken the responsibility for insuring that we learn as much as possible from what the demonstration projects are trying.

Youthwork's special mandate from the Labor Department is to focus attention on the employment problems of in-school youth, on the capacities of educational institutions to address these problems, and on critical issues emerging from the evolving relationship between the educational and CETA systems. With regard to the problems of in-school youth, Congress wants to know about (1) the feasibility of, and procedures for, implementing, expanding, and adapting exemplary programs for in-school youth and returning dropouts, (2) the number and characteristics of youth served by these programs and of those rejected, (3) the kinds of experiences, training, and other services being provided to youth, and the kinds of work being performed by them, (4) the time spent in programs, and (5) the costs of various programs and approaches. Youthwork's knowledge development plan places high priority on obtaining this information. Gradually, Youthwork has also developed a knowledge development strategy designed to maximize what will ultimately be learned. This paper is an effort to describe the outlines of that emerging strategy.

The strategy begins at the very beginning. It assumes that so little is currently known about effective work-education combinations that few working hypotheses are justified, intense documentation is required, and an initial knowledge and data base must be developed.
It attempts to address the following broad questions:

1. Can the school become a more valid institutional instrument for preparing low-income youth to make successful transitions to the world of work?

2. What changes (necessary institutional modifications) have to occur to help the school become a more valid institutional instrument for preparing low-income youth to make successful transitions to the world of work?

3. What are the most effective techniques and strategies to develop closer cooperation and coordination between the CETA system and local educational agencies?

4. What are the most useful available mechanisms or strategies to attract and maintain more intensive private sector participation in in-school youth employment programs?

5. Do the "exemplary" programs included in the demonstration have the power to impact differentially upon the educational direction, training opportunities, and early employment outcomes of participants?

6. How (or why) do the "exemplary" programs impact differentially (i.e., do a better job) upon the educational direction, training opportunities, and early employment outcomes of low-income youth?

7. What is the relative impact of a variety of different treatments and models with similar goals, in each, of the four focus areas?

8. What are the particular components of programs which can be isolated as most critical to increased opportunities and other successful outcomes?

9. What effective techniques can be developed to link what is learned through job-site experiences with academic credit leading to a recognized degree?

10. How can young people be more directly involved in the creation of their own jobs, and in the planning and operation of employment programs designed for their benefit?

Ideally, we would want to know the ultimate impact of the various programs on participants' employability, future education and employment records, income levels, etc., but Youthwork's knowledge development plan recognizes, as does the Labor Department's plan, that the practical limitations of time, money, and research capacity in a one-year demonstration program are very real; and that such goals are probably impossible to realize.

Instead, the strategy focuses heavily on the developmental process within each project: how it evolves, where it accomplishes anticipated outcomes, how it accomplishes anticipated outcomes, what are the characteristics of each participant at the beginning; what changes participants experience, etc.
This information will be obtained through a three-tiered, hierarchical knowledge development system: (1) a local management information component, focusing on the individual data which will be regularly fed into Youthwork's centralized data bank; (2) the execution of a local knowledge development plan, sponsored on-site by each funded project, with technical assistance, advice, and coordination from Youthwork; and (3) a national, cross-cutting analysis of funded projects, designed to shed light on several major issues: whether (and how) the school can be an effective instrument in preparing low-income youth to make successful transitions to the world of work; the means for increasing private sector participation in in-school youth employment programs; whether (and how) demonstration programs improve low-income youth's prospects for better employment outcomes, future training opportunities, or future educational opportunities; and whether (and how) steady progress can be made in promoting closer cooperation between prime sponsors and local education agencies. The three-tiered approach is designed to have a natural logic of its own, in which the unit of analysis gets broader as one moves from tier to tier (individual participants, local projects, national demonstration). The ultimate objective is to facilitate making generalizations across projects about the value of various treatments, or approaches.

Each of the three levels of inquiry has a corresponding method of data collection, analysis, and reporting. In addition, the three levels combine to cross-validate certain impressions and to form a common pool of data and conclusions that will be used to answer higher order policy concerns. Inquiry at the policy level will be conducted with a case study methodology. Data for a case study of key projects will be collected by field researchers, using structured observation and interview techniques. In addition to forming the basis for individual case studies, these data will be used to cut across the various projects and focus areas to make judgments about pressing policy issues.

The intermediate level of inquiry is built around local knowledge development plans. Where programs have used common designs and treatments, Youthwork has asked that common measures and standard instrumentation be utilized in local knowledge development plans. These common measures will be used to verify project results and to conduct special across project examinations to determine if there are differential impacts on the various populations served. Another major component of this level of inquiry will be a third party summative evaluation of each project. These evaluations will be synthesized to make judgments about various program treatments and designs. Data from these reports will be synthesized to prepare a series of policy reports.

The third level of inquiry will gather data from a series of one-time-only reports to be submitted by each project. These reports include reports on start-up, unique features, outcomes and project costs. Cross-cutting analyses of each of these reports will be conducted to determine the most effective program designs and treatments. Conclusions from these analyses will be synthesized in a series of How-To-Do-It Guides and policy reports.
How-To-Do-It guides will focus on such specific issues as how local programs can conduct effective self-studies; how to involve young people effectively as peer counselors and job placement specialists; how to tailor on-the-job learning to facilitate the maximum development of writing, reading, and mathematics skills; how to reduce barriers to youth employment in the private sector through intermediary organizations which deal with bonding, insurance, paperwork, and other "overhead problems" of the employer; or how to organize the financial aspects of youth-operated projects so that earned income can be utilized for project expenses. Policy reports might cover such questions as what responsibilities the school systems should have for the education and training of young people and what responsibilities are more appropriately handled through another system, such as CETA.

National knowledge development activities began before the funded projects were known, with the initiation of four kinds of activities:

1. Knowledge development agenda - setting conferences in each of the four key focus areas, to help guide early decisions regarding areas of emphasis for local knowledge development;

2. Reviews of research and literature in each of the focus areas;

3. The creation of how-to-do-it guides regarding local knowledge development in each focus area, so that each funded project could have, at an early point in their history, clearly written technical assistance manuals regarding how to learn as much as possible about what they were trying; and

4. A corporate self-study, conducted by an outside third-party observer, regarding the decisions made in the development of Youthwork's activities, the factors influencing the, etc., to provide on-going data about the progress of an intermediary organization created for the purpose of implementing a Labor Department demonstration.

Other knowledge development activities currently planned include:

1. How-to-do-it manuals: As funded projects move into their implementation phase in October of 1978, information will be systematically gathered regarding components most critical to successes. This information will ultimately be synthesized in how-to-do-it guides in each of the four key focus areas.

2. Policy summaries: Each of the funded projects will produce one-time reports on start-up problems, implementation issues, outcomes, and costs. These reports will be synthesized in four policy summaries, which will be published periodically. The first report (on start-up problems) will be ready in February or March, 1979.

3. Special studies: Special studies will be commissioned on an as needed basis, focusing on studies which can be put to immediate use by local program managers and policy planners. These studies should be completed by July or August, 1979.
Although the Youthwork knowledge development plan is ambitious, the limitations and impediments to learning from the demonstration have also been recognized. This is not a controlled experiment, nor even an uncontrolled experiment. It might best be described as an uncontrolled non-experiment. It is not controlled because it was conducted as a competition involving many relatively unsophisticated program operators. It is not an experiment because the program operators have each formulated their program design with only occasional reference to the application guidelines; and many program operators have demonstrated little or no interest in experimental designs. Many paid only lip service to knowledge development in their original proposals; and negotiations regarding knowledge development have had to be conducted hurriedly, in order to keep to Labor Department funding schedules.

There is even some considerable question regarding the "exemplariness" of many funded projects. Although the program is referred to as a demonstration of "exemplary" in-school projects, it cannot be taken for granted that most programs will actually prove to be exemplary in their implementation. This is an issue which must still be studied, as all the others. This creates problems, for example, in thinking about "planned variations" across sites. It is a lot more difficult to accomplish planned variation among non-exemplary programs.

Another limitation springs from restrictions on amounts available for local knowledge development. Although the program is labeled a demonstration, regular CETA restrictions on administrative costs (20% maximum) have been applied; and knowledge development is defined primarily as an administrative task. Since more than 10% has usually been allocated for administration by prime sponsors and program operators, less than 10% is usually left to pay for local knowledge development costs. This is another example of what the Labor Department referred to, in its original (1977) knowledge development plan, as the tension between getting the money into the pipeline and carefully organizing to learn as much as possible from the funded programs.

All these limitations argue for the strategy adopted at the outset. To the extent possible, resources have been concentrated and structured so that underlying ideas can be given a reasonable test. Youthwork's national knowledge development efforts have been focused on finding out how to do a few key things better. We have attempted to direct (or redirect) a major emphasis of each project's knowledge development plan on an issue or issues identified as national priorities. If all goes well (a big "if"), valuable information should be available, for future researchers, program operators, and policy makers, within twelve months; we might discover, for example, that jobs can be created less expensively through youth-operated projects than through public sector employment. Or that jobs created in youth-operated projects provide a more valuable transitional experience than public sector jobs. We might learn more about how to build basic skill instruction (writing, mathematics, etc.) into the on-site job experience, and how to measure the academic credit value of skills learned on the job more accurately. We might identify techniques for cushioning first job experiences in the private sector, with implications for the expansion of private sector placements.
Our national study might also tell us more about the value of placing a certain proportion of youth employment funds within the schools. What, for example, would be the policy implications of a finding that, even in "exemplary" in-school programs, institutional impediments make significant participant outcomes highly unlikely? What would be the implication of a finding that peer or para professional counseling makes roughly the same impact as professional counseling? What would be the value to program operators of a private sector treatment which successfully places small businesses in a mentoring relationship with individual participants and absorbs some of the usual costs (in time, money and energy) of employing temporary help?

From the above, it should be clear that Youthwork is dealing with issues which are potentially very important to program operation and policy-making in the area of in-school youth employment programs. If its current knowledge development efforts are successful, it will not only have provided useful ways to identify and spread the best of what happens in the in-school demonstration, but it will have created a sophisticated data base in an area where the currently available data are skimpy and incomplete. This may make possible future research tasks that are hard to get at in a time-limited demonstration - areas involving institutional changes within schools, changes in the definition of the kinds of people most appropriate for various staff roles, information about how to facilitate the maturation process through increasing the operational responsibilities of young people within a project.

The implementation problems of the first year may also argue for a significant narrowing of the knowledge development focus in a demonstration prior to the beginning of any competitive or non-competitive process, in recognition of the powerful anti-research forces unleashed by the simple desire to "put a jingle in the jeans" of our nation's disadvantaged youth. Or, finally, we may at last begin to focus on the question of whether efforts which begin with the motive of putting a "jingle in the jeans" of our nation's unemployed youth too often end up adding to the rustle of dollars in the trousers of the professionals who staff the CETA systems and local education agencies.
BACKGROUND: THE PURPOSE OF THE PROPOSED DOL/NI2 FIELD TEST OF THE CAREER INTERN PROGRAM

- The Problem and the Program

(1) The Problem: In 1973, over 10 percent of youth aged 14 to 24 left school before receiving a high school diploma. The percentage of those that left school was higher for blacks than for whites: among 18 and 19 year-olds, 27.7 percent of the black males and 23 percent of the black females had dropped out in 1973, in contrast to 14.1 percent for white males and 15.2 percent for white females. Dropping out meant bad economic news. According to the U. S. Department of Labor, 20 percent of high school drop-outs between the ages of 16 and 24 were unemployed in 1974, compared with 10 percent of all high school graduates. When drop-out unemployment rates are compared by race, youth from black and minority groups are doubly disadvantaged: about 16 percent of white youth without high school diplomas aged 16 to 24 were unemployed in 1974; 32 percent of drop-out youth from black and other minority groups wanted jobs and could not find them.

(2) The Program: A program developed by the Opportunities Industrialization Corporations of America, Inc. (OICs/A) in Philadelphia, Pa., gave promise of showing how to turn around these statistics. The Career Intern Program (CIP) is an alternative high school for 16 to 21 year olds who have dropped out of school or are at risk of dropping out before graduation. The goals of the program are to enable these students to complete high school, acquire occupational knowledge, plan for a career and improve their reading and mathematics skills—in short to facilitate the transition from high school to work or further education.

The CIP itself has three phases. Phase I is directed at improving student's career awareness. The phase lasts 21 weeks and includes classes in English (with an emphasis on skills mastery), Mathematics, Social Studies and Science. During this phase, learning is keyed to occupations through specially developed materials. Weekly individual counseling sessions, combined with the exploration classes, lead to development of an individual learning plan for each intern.

Phase II may last from four months to a full year, depending on how many credits interns need for graduation and rate of student progress. In Phase II, interns participate in two to four "hands on" job experiences and in other courses which fuse academic and career information in a sequence of individual learning activity packets. In addition, Phase II stresses individual instruction, independent study and advanced courses in the academic subjects. In Phase III, students concentrate on the transition from high school to work or to more advanced education. Students choosing the option of vocational or on-the-job training are assisted by counselors for six months after leaving CIP; college-bound interns are counseled for a full year after leaving.
The Evaluation Design, Methods, Measures and Findings for the Original Philadelphia Study

(1) Design: The design involved three separate cohorts of applicants, applying at six to eight month intervals. Through over-recruitment and a lottery process, known in advance to all applicants, three separate sets of experimental and control groups were selected in a ratio of about 3 interns to 1 control. This ratio was selected to permit maximum entry into CIP with the minimum N estimated to be needed for a group large enough to be sensitive to educationally meaningful effects.

(2) The Methods: Study methods combined ethnographic studies and psychometric data. The ethnographic study included (a) case studies in depth, over time of interns and control students (b) semi-structured observations of classes and program events, and (c) field observations through a participant-observer. The primary purposes of these studies were (a) to help understand how the student's experiences in CIP and in the comparison schools differed, (b) to improve the description of the CIP processes and practices, (c) to identify what about CIP might be accounting for program effects, and (d) to collect data about effects useful in their own right to describe program results.

(3) Measures: Four tests were administered: The Stanford Achievement Test (for reading and math performance), the Career Maturity Inventory (for career knowledge and development), the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory, and the Internality/Externality scale. These measures are described in the Final Report, Vol. I, pp. 11-18; pp. 81-149. All tests were administered prior to selection of all applicants and after the program to interns and to controls. (See Final Report, Vol. I, pp. 9-10)

(4) The Findings: All data were audited. Several statistical approaches were used (variants of ANOVA and ANCOVA) to help rule out the possibility the conclusions would be due to a statistical artifact. Among the findings:

- In December 1975, 67% of the CIP students but only 13% of the controls had graduated or were still attending school. About 44% of the interns had received high school diplomas and 23% were still at their studies, while only 7% of the control students had graduated and only 6% were in school.

- Changes in reading and mathematics achievement showed interns gained more than controls, although the final levels of both groups left room for improvement.

- CIP interns showed very high levels of career planning and development skills, as measured by the tests, interviews, and the ethnographic observations.

- Graduates were followed up in Fall 1975. Of 77 graduates, 71% were employed, in college or in technical school as compared to 39% of the controls. None of the control men had enrolled in college or technical school as contrasted to 29% of the male interns who were continuing their education.

The Proposed Department of Labor/National Institute of Education Field Test of the Career Intern Program

The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 (PL 95-93) is addressed to the plight of the three million young people between the ages of 16 and 21 who in 1976 alone were out-of-school and out-of-work. Many of these unemployed young people came from very poor families, families who were unable themselves to cushion the blow of youth employment. Many came from minority groups. Many had dropped out of high school. The Youth Employment Act and Demonstration Project Act (YEDPA) has two main thrusts. The first is direct provision of work; the second is learning what could be done to have a larger, and longer-term impact on the problem of youth unemployment. The YEDPA provides authority to conduct demonstration programs.

Under the demonstration program provisions (Section 341), the Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, is supporting tests of a variety of approaches to helping young people stay in school, complete their training, and then to make the transition from school to work. Of particular interest is finding out whether programs proven effective on a small-scale continue to be of benefit to low-income youth when the approaches are implemented on a larger-scale. Such studies will help identify specific programs that can work on a nationwide basis; but also the studies might identify what program elements are necessary, sufficient, and reproducible and thus inform the development more generally of workable, effective projects.

The Career Intern Program came to the attention of the Department of Labor as a program of proven effectiveness on a small scale (Philadelphia prototype site) in helping low-income youth, who had dropped out of school or who were at risk of dropping out, complete school and make the transition from school to successful post-high school experiences. The Department of Labor has entered into an Interagency Agreement with the National Institute of Education to manage a field-test of the Career Intern Program.

The Interagency Agreement established two components for the field test. The first component is the operation of the Philadelphia prototype site and at least four additional sites (three urban and one rural) by the Opportunities Industrialization Corporations of America (OICs/A). The four sites are Seattle, Detroit, New York and Poughkeepsie. A separate award from the Institute to the OICs/A has been established for the management of the program operations. The second component is an evaluation of the field test. Both components are under the direction of the National Institute of Education.
Goals and Objectives of the Evaluation Study

A. Goals: The goals of the evaluation study are two-fold. The first is to learn what education, broadly defined, can do to help low-income youth at high risk of being unemployed prepare for a successful transition from high school to work or further schooling. The second goal is to find how educational innovations which give promise of working on a small scale can be transferred elsewhere to benefit the larger populations whose needs the smaller programs were intended to serve. These are ambitious goals indeed for research. The field study may contribute modestly to reaching them; it is not expected to attain them.

B. Objectives: There are four specific objective tasks which the evaluation of the CIP field test is expected to reach. These are phrased below as questions:

1. What happens to the Program itself in the process implementation in additional sites? What accounts for the changes or adaptations, if any? For the fidelity, if any, to the original program goals and practices (process evaluation)? Information on the implementation of CIP in the new sites is intended to help answer three sub-questions:
   - does the program remain the same in terms of goals and practices?
   - are the changes, if any, improvements in terms of the overarching goal of effectively helping young people who are drop-outs, unemployed or at risk of dropping out?
   - is the process of implementation more effective through a system such as OIC in comparison to the processes of research utilization and dissemination through the usual developer-public school linkages?

The answer to these questions should help assess how well and readily the CIP approach can be implemented, a question of some importance with regard to the possibilities of larger dissemination efforts. The answers also should contribute to knowledge about implementation in systems which differ in power relationships, political considerations, incentives for change, and other variables believed important in the literature on educational change.

2. Does the Career Intern Program continue to be effective in helping youth when it is implemented in sites other than the Philadelphia prototype? The CIP "worked" in Philadelphia, according to the earlier evaluation studies. Interns completed high school, improved their reading and arithmetic skills, improved their career planning knowledge and skills, and successfully made the transition from CIP to paid employment, continuing education at the postsecondary level, or, voluntarily, the occupation of homemaker. Does CIP continue to work in helping other young people achieve these outcomes, when the approach moves from a small, somewhat protected prototype, to at least four other sites?
3. What happens to young people in the CIP process that could account for its effectiveness? The early evaluation identified what seemed to be essential elements which accounted for CIP's effectiveness for the interns. (See Final Report: Vol I, pp. 201-206). These program components, identified mostly through the case studies and ethnographic research, are hunches about essential elements. The four new sites offer additional opportunities to find out if these elements are in fact responsible for CIP's outcomes and if they are essential for program effectiveness. The task is to identify the essential elements. The answer to this question might help in designing other programs.

4. How does the CIP approach compare in effectiveness, feasibility, impact and other factors important for policy with other approaches (e.g. Job Corps, Action sponsored youth programs) to helping the population to be served through the YEDPA? The answers to this question, which may have to be quite tentative, should help cumulate knowledge about the relative merits (and demerits) of different approaches to helping low-income, high-risk youth.

- Summary of Data-Collection Methods of the Evaluation Study

In general, there are four data-collection methods proposed to gather the information necessary to complete Tasks 1 and 2: standardized tests, interviews, observations, and ethnographic studies. In addition, there is one questionnaire to be administered to controls at the posttesting session.

Tasks 1 and 2: Standardized tests. To assess program elements on interns, a battery of standardized tests will be administered immediately before, about midway through, and after treatment. The content of the tests includes academic achievement, self-perception, logical reasoning, and career awareness and planning skills.

To determine if program climate is the same in the new sites as in the prototype site, standardized site climate tests will be administered to interns and staff members.

Interviews. Study staff members will interview CIP interns and staff members as well as relevant community members to collect information for both Tasks 1 and 2. For Task 1, data from the unstructured interviews will be used to create descriptions of the CIP implementations at the four new sites. These descriptions will be compared to a model of the prototype program developed on the bases of analysis of the program documents used by OIC/A staff to train new site staffs and of descriptive information gained directly from interviews with the OIC/A staff. For Task 2, interviews will yield data about outcomes of program participation not measureable with standardized tests, such as how satisfactorily CIP graduates perform in jobs compared to controls, in the perceptions of employers.

Interview topic checklists were designed to structure interviews as little as possible. The study staff's experience has been that the most comprehensive and most accurate data can be obtained when respondents are not limited to a prespecified set of responses to questions. Thus the interview guides consist primarily of mnemonic lists to remind interviewers of the topics about which data are needed from respondents.
Observations. In addition to interviews of CIP participants to determine the fidelity of new-site implementations to the prototype, the study will include structured observations of CIP classroom sessions to see if the instructional techniques prescribed by the developers are followed. Data from the classroom observations will enhance the analysis of CIP operations for Task 1.

Observational data collection requires no respondents, as the observers do not ask questions of those observed. They simply record events.

Ethnographic studies. Another method of data collection for which no instruments are needed will be ethnographic observation by study staff members. Through the ethnographic studies, more data will be collected for making the judgments necessary to complete Tasks 1 and 2.

Ethnographic participant-observer data will be recorded by evaluation-team staff members who will spend several weeks in each CIP site. The participant-observers will attend classes, assist teachers and other staff members, and get to know CIP participants in a more casual way than short exposure allows. The ethnographers will record their observations of CIP processes for inclusion in the study's database.

Questionnaire. One questionnaire is included in the survey design. To be administered to controls at posttest time, the questionnaire is designed to find out what the controls were doing while the interns were in the program and what they are currently doing, so their further education contacts or employers can be interviewed.

Task 3 entails analyzing the CIP processes and its outcomes on interns jointly to draw inferences about which program features lead to which outcomes. No data beyond the process and outcome documentation involved for Tasks 1 and 2 are necessary. In essence, Task 3 is an analytical process, requiring no additional data.

Like Task 3, Task 4 is primarily analytical. Data will be reviewed about other programs intended to achieve similar outcomes for similar groups of youth through secondary analyses of evaluative data collected by these other programs (e.g., Job Corps, Action-sponsored programs). These data will be obtained through literature reviews and conferences with other evaluators. Only cost information, which can be obtained through document review, is needed from the CIP sites in addition to the data collected for Tasks 1 and 2.
1. **Overall Purpose of the Demonstration and Research**

The Corporation for Public/Private Ventures (CPPV) is under contract to the Department of Labor's Office of Youth Programs to design, operate and research a multi-faceted Private Sector Initiatives Demonstration, aimed at testing a variety of approaches for increasing private sector employment opportunities for youth.

The initiatives in this demonstration represent five different approaches to the problem, as follows:

1) **New Career Pathways** -- building access routes for disadvantaged youth into private sector jobs through restructuring of entry-level positions; developing institutional linkages between private sector firms and public or non-profit organizations; creating subsidized training relationships between employed adults and youth with a low adult/youth ratio; and carefully modeling training and career entry sequences tailored to the needs of specific firms or industries.

2) **Youth Pre-Employment Services** -- testing the effectiveness of existing non-profit programs which combine job development, placement and follow-up activities with modest job-related education and counseling.

3) **Use of local business intermediary units to reduce transactional costs to firms** -- such as private sector-run placement and job development services, or OJT contracting services -- which eliminate paper work, "hassle" and the necessity of private employers to deal directly with government agencies and programs.

4) **Youth Entrepreneurship Programs** -- testing the viability of several approaches to creation of small business ventures which combine modest front-end subsidy (to keep them competitive) with a youth training and employment agenda.

5) **Direct Incentives** -- a formal and limited experiment to test subsidy formats, more generous than existing OJT, to increase hiring and training of out-of-school disadvantaged youth by private sector firms.

In addition, CPPV may conduct research on a program which tests the use of volunteers (employed adults) to assist youth in job placement and adjustment.
The overall purposes of research are to study the impact of each initiative, and the programs funded within each, on youth career enhancement; to assess and document the program development and implementation process followed in each initiative and its component programs, both to provide qualitative assessment and to provide information useful for replications of successful approaches; and to compare effectiveness (for whom and under what conditions are programs effective?).

The initiatives in this demonstration are closely derived from the OYP Knowledge Development Plan, which said:

A demonstration project will be undertaken to study and test four separate approaches to increasing employment for youth in the private sector:

(1) Direct employment subsidies will be provided for each disadvantaged youth hired.

(2) Training cost subsidies similar to those under the JOBS-contract program will be tried, with varying levels of subsidy and specification.

(3) Apprenticeship subsidies for smaller employers to hire and train youths similar to those tested in the Community Services Administration's exemplary Open Roads project will be further tested.

(4) Entrepreneurship options for youths which have been developed in some localities will be carefully demonstrated and tested.

The "pre-employment services initiative" was added to the typology of programs described in the KDP to enable close research scrutiny of a program model the Department of Labor has already provided considerable support, the 70001 program, and to permit expansion under close research scrutiny of the well-regarded Jobs for Youth program from its New York and Boston bases to a third site, Chicago. The themes of new career pathways and volunteer involvement in job assistance emerged from discussions with Office of Youth Programs staff subsequent to publication of the KDP.

2. Specific Issues to be Addressed in Impact and Process Analysis

Certain kinds of generic questions will be probed in all programs. These include:

A) Impact on Participating Youth

Here the emphasis will be on economic impacts, including skill development, increases in wage levels and increases in employment stability which can be attributed to program participation.
B) Impact on Firms

Here the emphasis will be on indicators of increased employer receptivity to the hiring of youth workers, as indicated by increased hiring of youth (as a percentage of all workers), and by such institutional impacts as alterations in personnel policies, hiring practices or job structures which have the effect of opening up opportunities for youth.

C) Indicators of Program Effectiveness

Such indicators include cost analysis (e.g., cost per positive termination, cost per placement in unsubsidized private sector employment per month); youth attendance and retention in program; and ability to reach and maintain projected service levels.

D) Process Analysis and Documentation

Under the rubric of process analysis and documentation, research will provide thorough statistical, budgetary and programmatic descriptions of each program; qualitative assessments of program operations (e.g., leadership, management skills, skills of trainers, organizational climate) and an analysis of factors enhancing or constraining program success, both within the program per se and in its political/organizational/economic (labor market) context.

Process analysis, in CPPV's view, is important not only to help draw policy inferences from quantitative findings but also, and especially, to provide guidance for replication of effective program models.

While these generic questions frame the overall research effort, each initiative raises intrinsic questions which are of special or unique importance to it. It is beyond the scope of this brief summary to list them all, but some of the major questions, by initiative, are:

1. New Career Pathways - Can job restructuring be applied in private firms as a conscious policy tool for increased access of disadvantaged youth to private, unsubsidized employment (and if so, under what conditions)? Can subsidized training relationships between youth and skilled workers, on a one-to-one or small group basis, be effective in increasing private sector employment opportunities and skill development? How can career pathways be developed in emerging industries/occupations which make youth competitive for entry-level jobs?

2. Youth Pre-Employment Services - Do pre-employment services succeed in matching disadvantaged youth with job opportunities in small- to medium-sized firms for which they would otherwise lack knowledge or opportunity? Can the existence of a pre-employment service impact firms' hiring policies in a way that results in a net increase in jobs for youth?
3. **Local Business Intermediaries (Reducing Transactional Costs)** - Does the establishment of a business-planned, business-run intermediary increase the effectiveness (i.e., increase private sector youth opportunities) of such traditional manpower tools as OJT and job placement/development services (essentially a test of a delivery system)?

4. **Youth Entrepreneurship** - Under what conditions can the business goal of profitability be reconciled with the public goal of increased youth employment and training? Is subsidy of business development a cost-effective manpower strategy for (some) youth? What are the most effective ways to provide technical assistance and support to such ventures to enhance their stability/profitability (e.g., traditional TEA, franchising support by an established company, linkage to community-based economic development or manpower programs)?

5. **Direct Incentives** - What level of incentive is necessary to elicit significant business "take-up"? What kinds of firms respond? What net increase in youth employment among those firms is achieved? Do direct incentives also constitute an incentive for firms to "cycle" youth as the subsidy expires? Do windfall profits result? Are adult workers or non-eligible youth displaced in these firms?

3. **Design and Analysis Methods**

In all its knowledge development research efforts, CPPV expects to combine quantitative analysis with process analysis. The former will rely heavily on computerized information provided by CPPV-designed reporting forms which will collect information tailored to each initiative, on: demographic characteristics of all youth (including prior employment and training history); program reports on all youth (attendance, skill increases, job placements, promotions, etc.); termination data (exit interviews on destination plus nature of termination, reason for termination); characteristics of participating firms (nature of business, size, demographics of work force, etc.); and program costs. Such information will be supplemented as appropriate per each initiative and its individual research design by data on firms over time, follow-up post-program data on youth, and data on comparison youth collected by CPPV research subcontractors.

This data base will be analyzed to assess economic impact of program on youth, and impact, as relevant in various initiatives, on the hiring practices of firms. Typically, multivariate analysis will be used to determine the variance in program output attributable to youth characteristics (e.g., sex, age, prior work history); program characteristics (e.g., duration, cost); and firm characteristics (e.g., size, industry). In assessing firm response to initiatives, the effort will be to factor in both the economic condition of the firm and local labor market conditions, as availability of data permits. In initiatives 1-4, the most probable comparative measure of impact on youth will be either a simulated
control or youth participating in public manpower programs. In the direct incentives experiment, our current (and still formative) thinking calls for a control group of firms, with a youth comparison group formed from subsidy-eligible youth seeking employment in control (i.e., non-subsidized) firms.

As a way of validating termination data from programs, and as a way of laying the groundwork for longer-term follow-up if preliminary results warrant same, follow-up interviews of participating youth (and, where appropriate, matched comparison youth) will be conducted three months after termination in each program.

The process analysis design for each program will consist of a series of programmatic, implementational and contextual questions designed for each initiative. The data base for process analysis will consist of information gathered from sites through periodic observation, semi-structured interviews and, as appropriate, survey instruments, as well as statistical descriptions of programs from the CPPV information system. Analysis of process findings will be largely qualitative and documentary, although in some cases process findings may be amenable to statistical analysis through use of 0-1 variables or scaled ratings in explaining program outputs. CPPV believes the process analysis may be particularly valuable in assessing the responses/reactions of private sector employers (from whom collection of quantitative data is inherently difficult), as well as in providing documentation and analysis useful for replication.

4. **Timetable of Research Activities**

With the possible exception of the direct incentives experiment, CPPV expects all research activities to begin between now and January 1, 1979. In all cases, research will be underway by the time of first youth entrance into programs (several of which are now in planning stages). Final analysis of each initiative will be due within two years of start date. In all cases, as well, a "working paper," based on CPPV field reports, process analysis or program start-up and information system data, will be prepared after the first four months of each initiative's operation. A preliminary research report from subcontractors will be due on each initiative (covering both process findings and, as available, preliminary quantitative analysis) after one year.

5. **Known or Anticipated Research Limitations**

Obviously, this research faces all the endemic issues of drawing strong empirical/statistical inferences from non-laboratory settings: difficulties in assembling or maintaining appropriate comparison groups; possible instabilities of organizations and programs undergoing research; cooperation of program operators; less than omniscient researchers, etc. It is further complicated by the twin effort to a) develop model programs, and b) research those models, since the failure for non-conceptual reasons
of one or more programs in the relatively small program samples in each initiative can cripple knowledge development (unless the failure is "exemplary"). Knowledge development concerning private sector initiatives inevitable involves considerable cooperation from private sector firms and individuals, who have no clear incentive (and may have reluctance) to cooperate. The hope is, of course, that careful planning, and putting research in place before programs begin, can minimize these obstacles. Finally, policy must ultimately consider the potential macroeconomic effects of programming approaches, but ability to generalize from the micro world of the demonstration to the macro level is inherently limited.

6. Other Possible Limitations

In general, this demonstration and its constituent initiatives occur in a fluid social, political and economic context where any number of factors exogenous to the demonstration per se can influence CPPV's ability to mount effective programs -- and hence to develop knowledge. For instance, the imminence of CETA Title VII complicates the possibility of testing local business intermediaries, since private industry councils may co-opt the ground; the possibility of a Targeted Employment Tax Credit aimed partially at youth, as the administration has proposed, may render a direct incentives experiment redundant; the political issues which surround and and all private sector initiatives -- but especially direct incentives to the private sector -- could blast some programs out of the water, etc.

7. Likely Research Findings

Since we are at the front end of this demonstration, it is simply impossible to predict the likely direction of research findings in any initiative.

8. Implications for Youth Policy Priorities

Whatever the nature and direction of research findings in this demonstration, knowledge development should reduce the uncertainty surrounding such key policy issues as: the cost effectiveness of private sector-targeted manpower programming for disadvantaged youth; the most promising approaches to such programming; the ability of government to increase the demand for disadvantaged youth in the private sector through manpower programs; the level of subsidy required to do so, and the effectiveness of pure subsidy approaches; the extent to which increased demand for disadvantaged youth substitutes for demand for other workers; and the characteristics of youth for whom various private sector initiatives are most effective in producing increased employment opportunity, stability and wages.

Additionally, the careful testing and documentation of program approaches should provide models for replication of successful efforts elsewhere in a field where little is known about what can be attempted, much less what works. In addition to Federal, state and local manpower officials, the broad audience for such information includes private sector organizations.
Specific audiences which are likely to find information yielded by this demonstration useful include private industry councils formed under the proposed CETA Title VII, and other efforts of Office of Youth Programs, such as the Corporation for Youth Enterprises (which will be launching a broader test of youth entrepreneurship).

9. **Likely Implications for Future Research**

Almost inevitably, any research effort spawns issues for future research, whatever the findings, and so one expects the current effort will do so also.

The most important contribution of this demonstration to future research efforts is, however, likely to be what is learned about efforts to research private sector behavior in response to manpower programming and policies. This is a relatively unusual research emphasis, yet clearly an important one: if public policy aimed at increasing private sector employment of the disadvantaged is to proceed on a basis of reliable knowledge.

The multi-faceted, multi-part nature of the research task for this demonstration is a complicating factor, in some respects, but it does provide a rich field for learning more about the feasibility of data collection in the private sector, the sources available for such collection and the approaches to data collection which are most tolerable to the private sector.
TO: Andrew Hahn  
Center for Public Service, Brandeis University  
DATE: 9/29/78  
FROM: David Muchnick  
Special Assistant for Youth Programs, ACTION  
SUBJECT: Project Overview Statement - Youth Community Service Project, Syracuse, New York

I. Overall Purpose

To demonstrate and evaluate the capacity of a local community to implement this model of a voluntary, community-based youth service program.

II. Specific Questions/Knowledge

1. Test the demand from and interest of all young people in youth community service.

2. Test the interest in youth community service of all potentially eligible types of sponsors (public agencies; private non-profit organizations; community groups and groups of youth).

3. Test the capacity of all interested sponsors (especially community groups and groups of young people themselves) to develop meaningful, non-traditional community service projects, consistent with a representative distribution among the eligible types of sponsors.

4. Test the relationship between the community service experience and the educational process.

5. Test the community's capacity to mobilize itself in support of its youth, and secure the maximum community mobilization in order to: demonstrate the community's commitment and loyalty to its young people; demonstrate the community's esteem for volunteers performing service; enhance the volunteer's pride in their community service and alleviate their alienation from their community; increase the opportunities available to youth when the program ends; increase the likelihood of some projects continuing after the program ends; and increase the community service provided by the limited federal funds available under the program.

6. Test the effects of youth community service on a diverse group of individuals, youth, beneficiaries, sponsors, supervisors, facilitators and the community-at-large.
III. Project Design and Analysis Method.

One evaluation of the YCS/S project focuses upon the process of implementing the demonstration in all sectors of the Syracuse community. This includes the administrative and decision-making process of the YCS/S board and staff; the inter-relationships between ACTION and YCS/S and the Syracuse community; the effects of the political, social, and economic structure of Syracuse and Onondaga County on the implementation of the YCS/S project and vice versa; and, an analysis of the volunteers and volunteer service projects. Periodic reports from these evaluators will enable ACTION and YCS/S to modify features of the program's implementation as the need arises. And, they will facilitate ACTION's design of future administrative organization and process in a manner consistent with its aim of maximum local responsibility.

In addition to the implementation analysis, ACTION has contracted with the Urban Institute to design several studies which may be used to complete the evaluation of the YCS/S demonstration. These include:

1. **Descriptive Study:** Basic to evaluating and monitoring the YCS are descriptive data on volunteers and their assignments, sponsors and their resource commitments, supervisors and supervision provided, YCS finances and expenditures, and other such aspects of the YCS. These data can be analyzed independently or employed as variables through which to examine effects under the other studies. The ideal means for obtaining these data would be through a management information system (MIS) for the YCS.

2. **Volunteer Impact Study:** This study examines the effects of the YCS on the volunteers during their tenure with the YCS. It does this through comparisons of YCS volunteers with youths in other programs and/or youths who are not in any employment program. The study collects data from the volunteers at several points during their service tenure.

3. **Volunteer Follow-Up Study:** This study is an extension of the Volunteer Impact Study. It examines the effects which the YCS has on volunteers after termination. Data are collected from volunteers and comparison groups by any of several survey techniques.

4. **Community Impact Study:** This study assesses the effects of the YCS on those individuals and institutions which have had direct contact with the volunteers. These individuals and institutions include the recipients of the volunteers' services, the volunteer supervisors and the sponsors. If it is desired, this study can be expanded by a "gaps substudy." It would augment the main study by determining whether or not the YCS has acted to narrow the gaps between disadvantaged recipients (e.g., poor) and groups of the more advantaged (e.g., non-poor).

5. **Volunteer Activity Survey:** Depending on the type of data which the MIS assesses on volunteer placements, this study can assume several configurations. In general, it is intended to document what the volunteers are doing, and to classify volunteer tasks so that they can be used as independent variables in examining YCS effects.
6. Moderator Variable Study: This study is designed to identify policy relevant and manipulable project variables which might affect the impact of the YCS. Where possible, the study will examine the effects of these variables on YCS impact. A primary focus of this study would be to examine the influence of sponsor and project organizational and contextual variable on the effectiveness of the YCS.

7. Cost-Effectiveness Study: No additional data are collected for this study. Rather, cost-effectiveness ratios for the YCS are established via cost data obtained through the Descriptive Study, and effectiveness data collected under the Volunteer Impact and Follow-Up Studies and the Community Impact Study.

IV. Research Timetable

1. Implementation Analysis

- October, 1978, Start-Up Phase Report:

  YCS implementation activities up to the Pilot group and initial perceptions of the "second wave" of volunteers and sponsors. Initial comparison of the policies of the program as set by ACTION with their actual implementation.

- March, 1979, Growth Phase Report:

  YCS implementation activities from the start of the "second wave" through December, 1978. A detailed analysis of the second and succeeding groups of volunteers as compared to the pilot group. The evolution of management "style" and procedures, the solidification of staff job descriptions, and responsibilities, key contextual influence during this period, critical policy decisions and their effects, and descriptions of field operations. The primary emphasis is sponsor development and volunteer recruitment activities. MIS information for this and the "Start-up Phase."

- July, 1979, Maintenance Phase Report:

  YCS implementation activities during the initial phase of project maintenance; i.e. that period in time in which YCS administrative resources become totally devoted to maintaining existing volunteer opportunities and insuring a productive and meaningful volunteer service year for volunteers, sponsors and the community. Extensive "site history" reports on activities to date for 10 to 15 selected projects. An analysis of the staff transition from a project growth to maintenance mode of operations.

- March 1980, Final Report:

  Discussions from the three previous report's with appropriate updates of field implementation activities in the "site history" project sites and key policy and administrative decisions between April and June, 1979. A full discussion of the Syracuse political culture and its unique impacts on the implementation of the YCS program. A full explication of key findings for replication purposes with particular attention to the implications of these findings for a National Youth Service.
Periodic report on the selection of staff for orientation and development, on the recruitment process, on the process of sponsor development and the involvement of YCS staff in project development, on the types of tasks and activities that volunteers are performing, on the service-learning agreements and activities of the volunteers, and educational institutions, and on the project supervisors' assessments of the YCS program.

2. The timetable for implementation of the studies being designed by the Urban Institute will be established on the basis of the proposed designs.

V/VI. Limitations

1. It is unlikely that data on the youth volunteers' attitudes toward volunteerism, community service, and other relevant factors can be obtained prior to their entry into the YCS/S program. To fill this vacuum, the designs for attitudinal studies are likely to employ comparison groups of youth not engaged in YCS/S.

2. It is likely that the time involved in undertaking programmatic and research objectives of developing and evaluating the local capacity to operate this model of youth community service will curtail the evaluation of the "saturation effects" of YCS/S - i.e., the effects of saturating the local youth employment market with a sufficient number of service opportunities to provide all available 16-21 year olds with an opportunity to serve.

VII/VIII. Possible findings/Policy Implications

The following are indeed tentative ideas on possible findings and policy implications based on the limited experience to date.

1. It requires a considerable period of time and education for a local community to understand and implement a program involving youth which follows neither the on-the-job training approach nor the income transfer approach to youth unemployment problems. This implies that this model of YCS could not be run nationally as a "no-strings attached, revenue sharing" program, but may require a grant application and some degree of federal approval of volunteer activities and projects (including the identification of supervisors).

2. The choice of service opportunities available to volunteers, the process of individualized match-making between volunteers and supervisors, and the quality of the service projects available has created a favorable impression of YCS/S among the volunteers. Some volunteers will require a substantial amount of direction in making a match with a project. Also project development needs to be coordinated with the level of skills among the volunteers being recruited, especially those with inadequate basic skills.

3. The quality of supervision given the volunteer is likely to be a critical factor in the volunteer's service experience. The studies should attempt to define the personal characteristics of a good supervisor as well as the characteristics of an organization conducive to good supervision.
IX. Research Priorities

The following three areas are of general interest to those engaged in youth policy. The research issues surrounding national youth service are not included.

1. Identification and searching examination of successful youth projects. What is "success" and why was it achieved? How can accomplishments of youth be conveyed to the adult population?

2. What are the expectations of both youth and adult sectors of the population about the constructive roles which youth can play in this society? How can the generalized feeling about youth as a "problem" be turned around?

3. Identification of the personal attributes and motivations of effective supervisors of youth projects. Identification of the types of administrative and organizational structures which are conducive to effective supervision of youth projects. The development of programs to train and support "non-professional" supervisors of working youth.
I. To demonstrate the relative effectiveness and the longer term benefits derived from three service mix models designed to increase the employability of this youthful target population.

The major goal is to learn which, if any, of the three mix models generates greater benefits in terms of costs; attitudinal and behavioral change; employability and employment retention.

II. In controlling for age, sex, ethnicity, employability, and pre-program work experience will significant outcome variations occur among and between enrollees in each of the following service mix models:

A: Labor Intensive: 35 hours per week of on-site job training and work experience.

B: Supportive Employment: 35 hours per week of a combination of classroom type occupational training, remedial education, and guidance/counseling.

C: Supportive Service: 35 hours per week...a combination of on-site work experience and supportive services (remedial education, and guidance/counseling).

III. Three sites will be utilized for this demonstration project: Broward County, Florida, Oakland, California, and Los Angeles, California. A total of 900 youth will participate in this demonstration project --- 300 in each of the three sites.

Assignment to the various training models will be based upon random assignment of participants matched by age, sex, ethnicity, and academic status. Applicants will be informed prior to assignment that they are to be involved in an experimental/demonstration program and will be required to participate in a series of test/evaluation efforts. Every effort will be made to assure commonality in the attributes and characteristics of participants assigned to each of the program mixes.
Multi-variate analysis will be utilized— noting relationships between participants background characteristics (See II above) and the various dependent variables utilized in the evaluation effort.

IV. Total project duration will be 24 months—all project sites will follow the same research/evaluation time schedule and will utilize the same pre-post instruments. Among instruments to be administered are the following:

Vocational Attitude Scale
Job Knowledge
Job Holding Skills
Work Relevant Attitudes Inventory
Job Seeking Skills
Sex Stereotype of Adult Occupations
Self-Esteem
Academic Proficiency

Test/Evaluation/Data Collection will occur at the following time periods:

a. Determination of eligibility—selection to program.
b. Assignment for program participation.
c. Mid-point of program (26 weeks).
d. Program termination.
e. Follow-up post program:
   --30 days
   --90 days
   --240 days

V. Lack of unified control of selection/assignment process.

Lack of unified control in administration of test/evaluation materials.

Lack of available instruments which are adequate in accounting for variations in age, academic proficiency, ethnic/cultural background.

Lack of instrumentation which would tell us something about variations in project social climate; staff variations; process-interaction styles.
VI. There are always unanticipated events and gaps between design expectations and realities. Every effort possible is being made in order to enhance the quality and integrity of the evaluative effort.

VII. None--far too early.

VIII. To learn whether or not program mix does make a difference. Basically, to show whether or not work experience alone provides benefits for low income youth equal to or superior to other service mixes.

IX. (1) More care/time in thinking out conceptualization/design.

(2) More pre-project effort in the selection of test/evaluateve instruments.

(3) Greater understanding of reasons for the too frequent conflicts between program operators and research/evaluation people.
An Economic Analysis of the Patterns and Trends in Youth Unemployment

Richard B. Freeman and David A. Wise

(Co-Principal Investigators)

1. Overall Approach and Purpose

Time series and cross-section data on individuals and groups are being analyzed to determine the characteristics of the youth unemployment problem in the United States and the causes of the postwar increase in youth unemployment rates. We hope to draw conclusions that will help in the formulation of policies directed toward the employment and unemployment problems of youth. The principal goal of the research is to explain the factors that underlie trends in youth unemployment and employment and participation rates, particularly of black teenagers. We are analyzing several supply and demand forces that can be expected to influence teenage unemployment, such as demographic changes in the relative number of teenagers, movement of jobs from the inner cities to suburbs, transitional adjustment from full-time schooling to full-time work, and the minimum wage, among others. We are in the process of determining the ways in which various characteristics of youth employment and unemployment, such as movement into and out of the work force, are associated with the high rates of unemployment and of obtaining information on how the young unemployed finance their consumption and spend their time. We are analyzing time series data, cross-section data, and cohort and longitudinal data to estimate the impact of several diverse factors on youth unemployment rates. An effort will be made to identify geographic areas with especially low rates of youth unemployment to obtain clues as to the factors that might reduce rates elsewhere.

2. Questions to be Examined

Several types of data are being used to analyze the trend and characteristics of the youth unemployment problem, evaluate the importance of various supply and demand factors in the determination of the high and increasing rates of unemployment among young workers, and to seek an understanding of the micro-economic factors that affect the rate of unemployment of young workers. The specific research objectives are:

1) To quantify the major characteristics and trends in youth unemployment, employment, and participation rates. Such quantification is necessary to document carefully the nature of the problem both overall and among persons defined by various characteristics such as sex, race, and education. One important set of issues relates to differences in the employment and unemployment of young persons seeking part-time as opposed to full-time work.
and to the labor market participation as opposed to unemployment among the young. Another has to do with the gross flows or turnover in youth unemployment, the short duration of youth unemployment, and the extent to which changes in turnover patterns may have contributed to trends.

2) To estimate the quantitative effect of supply-side forces on the level and trend in youth unemployment rates using time series, longitudinal, and cross-section data. The principal supply side factors to be examined are: labor turnover initiated by persons searching for jobs; attitudes toward low-level 'secondary' jobs which might lead persons to reject certain types of employment; family background factors, particularly the role of parents in obtaining jobs for teenagers, and of the broken home on black teenage possibilities; the increased number of young persons on the market due to high birth rates in the late 1950's and early 1960's; and problems in the transition from school to work.

3) To estimate the quantitative effect of demand-side forces on the level and trend in youth employment and unemployment rates. The principal demand side factors to be examined are: the industrial and occupational composition of the economy, which may have changed adversely against teenagers in recent years; the minimum wage and other 'rigidities' in the wage structure, which would reduce their employment relative to what it otherwise would be; decline of jobs in inner cities where black teenagers are concentrated; substitution of female older workers for young persons, especially on part-time jobs, induced by the increased participation of women in the labor force; and of the potential substitution of older workers for teenagers as a result of potential legislation striking down mandatory retirement laws.

4) To determine the distinctive factors influencing the unemployment and employment rates of specific groups of young persons, namely blacks and women. With respect to blacks, the problem is that the rate of unemployment of young blacks has risen relative to that of young whites since the mid 1960's and early 1960's. There has been no serious analysis of this pattern as yet and, more generally, relatively little information on the status of black teenagers. One reason for the lack of information is the "negative" nature of the unemployment data: it tells us that people aren't employed and are looking for some work but fails to tell us what they are in fact doing. A principal goal will be to relate the increased ratio of black to white teenage unemployment rates to such factors as the shift of jobs to suburbs and to how unemployed black teenagers use their time. With respect to women, we want to explain the extraordinary increase in the labor participation of young women in recent years and, in particular, pinpoint the role of attitudinal changes in this pattern.

5) To examine the decline in unemployment rates as a cohort aged, thereby casting light on the causes of the high unemployment among the young. The key question is whether anything beyond pure age and time underlies the drop in unemployment from 20-40 percent among 16-19 year olds to 7-15 percent among persons in the 20-21 year old age bracket. If any factor beyond age were found to contribute to the drop in rates, we would have an important clue to the structural factors behind the high unemployment rate and possible suggestions for policy. An important part of this objective is to investigate the possibility of changes in cross-section or cohort/longitudinal unemployment by age.
The final objective of the project is to produce two related reports: one lengthy technical report embodying the formal research studies undertaken; and a less technical and shorter report designed to pull the findings together to form a comprehensive picture. The shorter report will be written for a broad general audience and will be intended for wide dissemination.

3. Project Design and Analytic Method

The research plan for this project involves the work of several economists, who are using various data sets to answer the questions of concern. Most of the work involves detailed statistical analysis (described in Table 1) supplemented by discussion with personnel officials and others involved in the youth labor market. While each of the analysts is developing his own specific mode of examining his topic, there is considerable interplay among the researchers through frequent group meetings. A major effort will be made by the project directors to distill the findings into a unified picture.

The use of a variety of data sets is an important feature of the project. The data range from aggregate time series to cross-sectional data for SMSA's to longitudinal and cross-section data on individuals. While our ultimate concern is with explaining the trend and level of unemployment rates among the young, the standard problems with time series data makes it incumbent on us to conduct our analysis with a full set of individual and aggregate data. Cross-section and individual data sets can be used to test the effect of variables found to be important in the time series analysis.

The data sets to be analyzed are shown in Table 1. The principal characteristic of each body of data is given in column 1. The way in which they are being used is set out in column 2.

Interviews with persons involved in the youth labor market will be made at various points in the project. In addition, an effort will be made to bring 'outside' knowledgeable persons to some of the Bureau meetings on youth unemployment. It is hoped that this will help us to gain insights that might otherwise be missed and to provide us with checks on our interpretation of results. We will conduct our own interview survey of the allocation of time of black unemployed teenagers. The survey will be conducted on a small scale in Boston. The purpose of the survey is to gain insights into behavioral patterns, that we would be likely to miss through analysis only of more remote data sources.

By examining the potential causes of the high and increasing rate of unemployment of teenagers with several different types of data and by bringing the insights and suggestions of nonacademic persons to bear on the problem, we anticipate putting together the most complete and valid picture of the youth labor market problem that has been attempted to date.

The research work will be subdivided into several separate reports, each to be conducted by specific scholars, and distilled into a final report by the project directors. The principal specific projects are listed below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. NLS Young Men 14-24 in 1966, followed through 1977</td>
<td>Detailed job history and personal characteristics of individuals; longitudinal file</td>
<td>Will be major source of data for examining detailed characteristics of unemployed and employed youth and for evaluating changes in unemployment over time for individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. NLS Young Women 14-24 in 1966, followed through 1977</td>
<td>Detailed job history and personal characteristics of individuals; longitudinal file</td>
<td>Will be major source of data for examining detailed characteristics of unemployed and employed youth and for evaluating changes in unemployment over time for individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. National Bureau time series data bank</td>
<td>Basic time series data on labor force participation and employment by age</td>
<td>Key input into time series regression analyses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. NLS, High School Class of 1972, and follow-ups</td>
<td>Detailed information on schooling of young persons, with longitudinal follow-ups</td>
<td>Major data source for study of school-work transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Interview of Unemployed Teenagers in Inner City</td>
<td>Small scale project designed to determine allocation of time of black teenagers.</td>
<td>Provide insights into job market problems of black inner city teenagers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Census of Population 1950, 1960, 1970</td>
<td>Data on unemployment, employment and other factors by age for detailed geographic areas</td>
<td>Prime data source for comparing teenage unemployment rates across SMSA's and rates in areas with different overall levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Gross flows data from CPS</td>
<td>Data on movement in and out of work force by individuals</td>
<td>Will be used to investigate characteristics of teenage unemployment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Reports and Authors

Report No. 1  Trend Patterns and Characteristics in Youth Employment, Unemployment, and Conflicts Between Various Statistical Sources  
D. Ellwood  
M. Feldstein

Report No. 2  Time Series Analysis of Changes in Youth Unemployment Rates  
M. Wachter

Report No. 3  Analysis of Unemployment Rates of Young Blacks  
R. Freeman  
J. Medoff

Report No. 4  Analysis of Young Female Unemployment Rates  
M. Corcoran

Report No. 5  Dead-End Jobs and Youth Unemployment  
C. Brown

Report No. 6  Implications of Geographic Differences in Youth Unemployment Rates for Aggregate Levels and Changes Over Time  
R. Freeman

Report No. 7  Analysis of Effect of Various Schooling and School-Transition Patterns on Youth Unemployment  
D. Wise

Report No. 8  Summary, Distilling Major Results  
R. Freeman  
D. Wise
The project directors keep in close contact with each of the authors and maintain an ongoing review of the progress of each study. The periodic seminars and conferences involving all of the participants in the project also serve as a primary vehicle for mutual exchange of ideas and suggestions for the improvement of individual studies as well as the project in general.

4. Time Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 3-4, 1978</td>
<td>Working conference to discuss preliminary research results (papers).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 17-18, 1978</td>
<td>Conference to present and discuss final research papers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June, 1979</td>
<td>Executive Summary of major results</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Research Limitations

Our initial findings suggest to us that the youth unemployment problem goes beyond traditional economic analysis. First, the problem is concentrated among certain subgroups living in particular social environments: high school dropouts, blacks who do not go to college, and those from disadvantaged families. Second, much of the problem shows up in persons out-of-the-labor force, about whom government statistics are noninformative. We lack sufficient sample sizes for the groups where the problem is concentrated; have little information on the career progress of dropouts; and no real knowledge of what persons out-of-the-labor force are doing. Since available data sources do not provide needed information about the most severely affected groups, it is difficult to see how these limitations can be overcome in the short-run.

More broadly, we believe that the interrelations among various problems facing the young -- broken homes, illegitimate children, welfare, crime, drug abuse -- suggests that the youth employment problem cannot be treated in isolation but must be viewed as part-and-parcel of a broader range of social problems.

6. Gaps

Thus far, we feel that our final product will conform in all important respects to our initial intentions.

7. Findings

--- Unemployment rates calculated from longitudinal surveys (NLS of the 1972 High School Class) are considerably lower than those based on CPS data.

--- The October 1972 unemployment rate of Spring 1972 high school seniors (based on the NLS of the 1972 High School Class) was .102; the rate for white males was .054; and for black males was .130.
The hourly wage rates of blacks and whites in five successive Octobers, beginning in 1972, were about equal (based on the 1972 NLS).

Post high school labor force experience is not greatly affected by high school "vocational" training.

Work experience during high school has a significant positive association with both wage rates and weeks worked in the years just after high school.

Achievement test scores, high school class rank, and parents' income are all positively associated with post high school wage rates.

There is significant variation in youth employment/population ratios, participation rates and unemployment across geographic areas, indicating that the problem is less (more) severe in some areas than in others.

Much of the difference in youth employment patterns by area is associated with labor demand conditions as reflected in aggregate unemployment rates, rates of growth of income in the area, and the distribution of industries.

The youth employment problem is intrinsically linked to other social problems. Not-employed young persons tend to come from families on welfare, in public housing projects, receiving food stamps, and from families headed by women.

There is some indication that young persons who have an initially poor employment record suffer for several years from this experience.

The major group suffering from joblessness is young blacks. Black/white differences in employment, unemployment, and labor participation cannot be explained by other factors. Much of black joblessness is associated with low labor participation rates and high unemployment among entrants to the labor market.

A large part of youth unemployment is accounted for by a relatively small, hard core group of young people who experience long spells of unemployment. While most unemployment spells are short, this is due to the high rates of labor force withdrawal, rather than to job finding. Among male teenagers out of school, for example, over half of unemployment was due to those with more than six months of unemployment in the year.

There is a close link between the social pathology plaguing young blacks and joblessness. Many not employed black youngsters are on drugs, engage in crime, and exhibit other socially aberrant behavior.

Demographic patterns resulting in an increase in the number of young persons on the labor market have contributed to the increasing rate of unemployment, and decreased labor participation rates, and has acted to depress employment/population ratios.
8. Policy Implications

-- Policies should be directed toward a rather small proportion of youth, such as black high school dropouts.

-- Policies must be directed toward bringing these youth, or more likely future generations of them, into the labor force.

-- While traditional aggregate demand policies will have some affect on overall youth unemployment, they should not be expected to solve the problems of those that are the hardest hit -- young blacks.

-- We fear that only a broad based policy aimed at changing the whole social environment of the most severely affected groups will substantially improve their employment prospects.

9. Research Priorities

-- A special detailed survey of the groups suffering most from youth joblessness with particular concern to out of the labor force young persons.

-- Additional survey questions to obtain information on what the not-employed young persons do, how they finance consumption, how they eventually move into permanent jobs.

-- Research should focus more specifically on the groups with the worst employment problems, and should deal with the full spectrum of social ills facing these groups, not just traditional economic concerns.

-- The youth employment problem should be related to personnel policies of employers.
Teenage unemployment has been at high levels in the United States in recent years. Explanations for this fact vary. Some contend that the measured rates are misleading because full-time students are included. Others suggest that minimum wage laws curtail demand for teenage labor. Still others point to high rates of voluntary turnover among young people who "job shop" early in their career.

Concern about the high unemployment rates of teenagers, particularly blacks in urban areas, has prompted the passage of the Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act of 1977. This law creates new youth programs and expands funding for existing employment and training programs serving youth.

This paper addresses the question of what impact this expansion of employment and training programs for youth is likely to have on employment and unemployment of young people. The method used in the analysis will be to specify a model of the youth labor market which focuses on turnover flows between employment, unemployment, and school and, then, to introduce employment and training programs and determine their impact on employment and unemployment both in the short-run and the long-run. The turnover model will be similar to the Markov model discussed in Toikka (1976).

The theoretical model will identify those program characteristics which are important in affecting employment and unemployment. The following program characteristics will be evaluated in the model: (1) the extent to which the program is targeted at a particular group, e.g., the unemployed, low income, etc.; (2) the placement rates of individuals leaving the program;
(1) the scale of the program; (4) the timing of the program; and (5) whether or not the program changes the participants longer term labor market success.

Inferences will be drawn about the impacts of previous employment and training programs on youth unemployment. This analysis will be similar in objective to the analysis conducted by Small (1972); however, the data will be interpreted in light of the theoretical model described above. Finally, based on present knowledge of the parameters of the labor market model and the program characteristics of the expanded youth programs, projections will be made of the impact of these programs on youth unemployment in 1978-9.


The Social and Economic Significance of Teenage Unemployment

(Richard Toikka and Frank Levy)

In recent years, both the public at large and government policy makers have shown increasing concern over high teenage unemployment rates. Even during the low unemployment years of 1967-69, the unemployment rate for individuals aged 16-19 never fell below 12 percent. As the economy entered the downturn of 1974-75, the 16-19 year-old unemployment rate rose above 19 percent and the unemployment rate for certain subgroups—e.g., black males aged 16-17—exceeded 38 percent. In reaction to these figures, Congress passed the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 which created a young adult conservation corps, a program of community improvement projects, and a variety of other public job programs for both in-school and out of school youth.

Despite this concern, the feeling remains that the problem of teenage unemployment is not yet in perspective. How, for example, should one compare a teenage unemployment rate of 17 percent to a head-of-household unemployment rate of 7 percent? Uncertainty over this question exists in two areas. The first concerns the extent to which teenage unemployment reflects true hardship in the short run—the inability of a household to obtain necessary income. The second area involves a longer run concern; the extent to which a teenager's unemployment is the first signal that he or she will experience continued labor market problems over his or her career.

With respect to short-run hardship, some observers argue that teenage unemployment rates seriously overstate the amount of harm involved. In their view, teenage unemployment involves a good deal of job shopping and voluntary turnover as teenagers lower unrealistically high expectations. In many cases, teenagers can afford this leisurely search process because they are supported
by their parents—their income is not crucial to the household. But Harwood (1969) cites anecdotal evidence to indicate that high reservation wages and prolonged search create voluntary unemployment for teenagers from low-income households as well.

Conversely, other observers argue that teenage unemployment rates underestimate the short-run harm involved because they fail to count high numbers of teenagers who need and want jobs but who become discouraged and drop out of the labor force [Thurow (1977), Levitan and Taggart (1974)]. In the first quarters of 1976, the Current Population Survey (CPS) tabulated an average of 1.6 million persons aged 16-19 who said they wanted a job but who for various reasons were not working or looking for work.\(^1\) This 1.6 million figure equaled about 20 percent of the number of 16-19 year olds who were in the labor force at the time. A second understatement of harm may occur because unemployment rates fail to capture teenagers who are working part time but who desire to work full time. The relative magnitudes of these overstatements and understatements are unclear.

The long-run implications of a teenager's unemployment are equally unclear. Some observers argue against any long-run impact or "scarring" by pointing to the way in which group unemployment rates decline with age. For example, in 1976 all 16 and 17 year olds in the labor force had an unemployment rate of 21 percent, all 18 and 19 year olds had an unemployment rate of 17 percent, 20 to 24 year olds had an unemployment rate of 12 percent and so on.

But the meaning of these declining rates is ambiguous, because while older cohorts have lower unemployment rates, they also have higher labor

---

force participation and greater absolute numbers of unemployed. In 1976,
an average of .8 million 16 and 17 year olds were unemployed each month as
were .9 million 18 and 19 year olds and 1.7 million 20 to 24 year olds. Thus
it is possible that many of those who were first unemployed when they were
16 and 17 could continue to have serious labor market difficulties in later
years even as the unemployment rate for their cohorts declined.

To summarize, the current problems in interpreting teenage unemployment
rates center on three questions:

a) To what extent does teenage unemployment impose an economic
   hardship on the teenager’s family?

b) To what extent does the teenage unemployment rate arise
   from voluntary supply decisions?

c) To what extent does unemployment as a teenager presage
   unemployment problems in subsequent years?

The research discussed in these pages focuses on short-run labor market
decisions by young people. For data, we are using a matched March/April
Current Population Survey which has information on individual and family
characteristics and can be used to estimate movement between labor market
states such as employment, unemployment, and non-participation in the labor
force.

The research plan follows a path broken by a number of researchers
[Holt (1977); Toikka (1976); Smith (1977); Harston (1976); Barron and Mellow
(1978)] in that the short-run (monthly) changes in labor market state are
modelled using transition probabilities. The three state (employment/
unemployment/not-in-the-labor force) Markov model used by many analysts will
be extended in directions which are appropriate for studying the behavior of
youth. Six labor market states will be of interest: (1) full-time employment,
(2) part-time employment, (3) unemployment of those who lost their
last job, (4) unemployment of those who left their last job, (5) unemployment of entrants or re-entrants, and (6) non-participation in the labor force.

The first stage in the empirical research involves estimating the probability of being in each of the six labor market states as of March 1976 conditional on a series of variables which will include age, race, sex, education, family income, sex of family head, presence of young children, previous year’s labor force status, area unemployment rate, degree of urbanization, and an imputed wage. These tabulations should provide a summary statement of how young people are distributed in the labor market. This distribution will be analyzed with the following questions in mind: How important is age relative to other factors in determining labor force status? What generalizations can be made about the relation between labor force status and family income? To what extent is teenage unemployment a problem of urban areas and to what extent is it a problem for non-urban areas as well.

The second stage of the empirical research will entail estimating models with transition probabilities as dependent variables. At this stage, it will be easier to identify the behavioral patterns which produced the observed distribution of persons by labor force status. For example, it will be possible to determine whether a high (low) rate of non-participation results from a high (low) labor force exit rate or a low (high) labor force entrance rate. In some cases, it will be possible to go further and test interesting hypotheses about the effects of age and family income on labor force participation, quits and layoffs.

After the probability functions have been estimated, it will be possible to characterize the normal labor market experiences of young people.
with certain types of characteristics. These empirical models can offer substantial insight into the three questions posed at the beginning of this summary. First, because the models include family income as an independent variable, they will permit an investigation of the extent to which teenage unemployment produces short-run hardship. Second, by differentiating between unemployment arising from quits, the role of voluntary decisions in determining teenage unemployment can be investigated. Finally, by including the previous year's labor market history as independent variables, the extent to which early unemployment experiences signal subsequent labor market difficulties can also be investigated.
References


Harwood, Edwin, "Youth Unemployment - A Tale of Two Ghettos," The Public Interest, Number 17, Fall 1969, pp. 78-87.


PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

Federal government welfare and labor policy has recently placed more emphasis on both public service employment and employment and training opportunities for young adults. One important objective of public employment programs, including those specifically targeted toward young people, is the provision of goods and services. Although providing these goods and services is not the primary reason for implementing the programs, differing assessments of the value of the output produced will undoubtedly have an important role in the continuing political and academic debate over them.

The two major objectives of the research are (1) to provide preliminary information on the value of output of a sample of youth employment and work experience projects, and (2) to assess the feasibility and relative desirability of various strategies for valuing the output of youth projects in the future.

To accomplish these objectives, a number of specific questions must be answered:

1. From a policy perspective, what information on the value of output and other aspects of youth employment projects should be provided? This is partly a theoretical question based on standard evaluative criteria, and partly a practical question of what information will be most useful to policymakers and program operators.

2. In assessing value of output, what are the methods for measuring the relevant variables? Can they be measured at all? How accurately? How much confidence can be placed in the measures? When more than one strategy exists, what are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

3. What are the best methods for eliciting and analyzing descriptive information on the projects? Do the methods vary by type of project? What are the best sources of this information?
How costly is the measurement, data collection, and analysis likely to be? How does this vary with the extent of information available, the strategies adopted, the characteristics of the program, and other factors?

These questions are obviously interdependent, and they must be addressed accordingly. The purpose of the study is to respond to them in a manner that best meets both the short-run and long-run objectives by conducting a set of pilot studies of existing youth employment projects. These studies can provide both quantifiable and descriptive project information on a preliminary basis without having to wait for future research efforts. In addition, actually undertaking a series of studies should add significantly to our knowledge of the benefits and costs of particular project definition and measurement strategy alternatives.

**PRIME SPONSOR/PROJECT SAMPLE**

In order to insure that we have a good representation of various types of projects, we have stratified the sample of projects along certain dimensions. A key stratification is by type of program. The Department of Labor has asked us to include the following types of youth work projects in the study:

A) Existing Title I Youth Work Experience Programs
   1. CETA in-school projects
   2. CETA out-of-school projects
   3. CETA summer work projects

B) Existing Work Projects of the Title III SPEDY Summer Program

C) Programs Funded Under YEDPA
   1. Youth Adult Conservation Corps (YACC)
   2. Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects (YCCIP)
   3. Youth Employment and Training Programs (YETP)
In selecting the prime sponsors and YACC sites to be visited, we have attempted to obtain a representative sample in terms of the type of prime sponsor (i.e., city, county, Balance-of-State, and consortium), geographic area, and population of the area. Our plan has been to select between 40 and 45 projects at 14 sites to be included in the study. Of the 14 sites, 12 are CETA prime sponsors and two are YACC sites. The sample size assumes that we will study three randomly selected projects at each site. At some of the sites all three projects studied will be youth projects, while at other sites we will study two youth projects and one adult PSE project engaged in work similar to that being done in one of the youth projects studies.

FIELD STUDY TASKS

The field study portion of the study is structured by the major tasks which we list below and which follow directly from the objectives and issues discussed above. As one reads through the list, it is clear that each task has subsequent activities associated with it, many of which are particular to the circumstances of the specific prime sponsor or project. Nevertheless, this list of the major tasks does indicate the scope of the work and level of effort required in the study.

1. Determine the state of the local prime sponsor and other operating agency program records. Many parts of the value of output study will require local program data in the form of local prime sponsor or other agency records. An assessment of the adequacy of these records will be critical for the accurate determination of the feasibility and costs associated with
alternative measurement strategies. Appraisal of the state of the local program data will identify the constraints which might eliminate particular measurement strategies.

2. Test and Assess Supply Price Estimation Procedures

A major task of the study will be to test various methods of estimating the price an alternative supplier would charge for the work performed by the program participants. While consideration must be given to whether one procedure can be used universally across projects or positions, our experience indicates that the feasibility of alternative procedures will vary by the type of work performed.

Our basic plan will be to use the pilot studies to test various supply price estimation strategies, many of which we have used in previous studies, in order to assess their appropriateness for the youth projects. We will be able to assess, on the basis of the pilot studies, whether there are certain types of projects which are more (or less) conducive to specific estimation strategies, and whether there are acceptable cost-reducing modifications of those strategies.

3. Test and Assess Strategies for Obtaining Information on the Demand for the Project Work

Deriving estimates of the demand for the work performed is a very important yet particularly thorny issue. A primary question to be addressed in the study is what particular type of information on the demand for the work is desired and available. For example, will it be possible to place a monetary value of society's demand for the output? Can we obtain descriptive information relating to the demand for the work, such as the objectives or rationale for the project, whether the work was performed (or planned) prior to the project, whether there are plans for continuing
the work after the program ends, whether there was opposition or barriers which emerged in the implementation of the project, either by the recipient or an alternative supplier of the service or product, how much publicity was given to the project, and various assessments of the usefulness of the project. Beyond this, the form of the information must be addressed: Can we get quantifiable data on demand for the work, or do we rely on descriptive information? One objective of this part of the study will be to determine whether a single set of procedures can be used for all assessments of demand, or whether the procedures must vary by type of work or some other dimension.

4. Test and Assess Strategies for Obtaining Information on Project Costs and Inputs

Estimating the costs of the work performed is extremely important in interpreting the value of output results. However, estimating the costs of the project, particularly the social costs as opposed to the budget expenditures, is usually not a simple task. In many cases the program accounting system is not structured in such a way that all the costs associated with the particular project or job slots under consideration can readily be identified. Costs of administration, supervision, equipment, or materials, which may be substantial, may not be included in accounting data, or their treatment may vary from project to project. The expenditure data may not contain all the costs or the correct costs needed to calculate the social cost of the work. Our experience has shown, in fact, that in many cases it is the most time consuming of all the tasks associated with the value-of-output effort. In light of this problem, it has been necessary to test the cost data collection strategies on a sub-sample basis.

In addition to assessing the availability of cost data, the availability of data on labor inputs associated with the project must also be
assessed. Almost any conceivable use of the results of a value of output study would require that they be put on a "per hour", "per month", "per year", or "per enrollee" basis. Our experience on other program evaluations suggests that this conversion is both important and potentially error-prone. This task, therefore, will include an examination of both national and local data on participant labor inputs, and the conversion of the value of output estimate to a per period of service or per enrollee basis will be attempted for every project studied.

5. Investigate the Determinants of the Value of Output and Costs

Another important part of the project studies will be to obtain information on the determinants of the value of the project output. These determinants could range from the overall motivation for the project to such things as the eligibility criteria for the participants, the work technology and flow, various aspects of project supervision, disciplinary problems, and even the amount of visibility or publicity given to the project. While it is unlikely that the information elicited will be sufficient to permit extensive project-by-project comparisons in this area, it should be possible from the pilot studies to generate some hypotheses concerning the determinants of value of output and to better define what types of data on value of output determinants are readily available.

6. Determine the Representativeness of the Projects Studied

In addition to the individual project studies, information is being collected to determine the representativeness of the projects studied, in terms of the type of work performed and any other dimensions which may be relevant in interpreting the results of the pilot studies or planning future value of output research efforts. While it is highly unlikely that
a sophisticated analysis of the representativeness of the studied projects can be undertaken within the limited scope of the study, there should be data available to make at least a crude comparison of the projects studied to other projects at the site.

SCHEDULE

The study is scheduled to be completed in a ten month period. It began in March, 1978 and is scheduled for completion in January, 1979. The primary design phase was completed in March with some minor revisions made after the completion of the first set of project visits in April and May, 1978. All field studies are to be completed by early October, with the summary and analysis of the data collected to be undertaken during the months of October and November. A draft of the final report is scheduled for the end of November.
Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS) of YDPA Programs

by Seymour Brandwein
Director, Office of Program Evaluation
Employment and Training Administration

The Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS) has been tracking an annual national sample of participants in CETA decentralized programs. It is now being expanded to include a sample of enrollees in the two YEDPA formula-funded programs: Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects (YCCIP) and the Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP).

This paper briefly reviews what the CLMS is, the basic purposes of extending it to YCCIP and YETP, the timetable involved, some limitations, and several issues in such coverage.

Background on CLMS: The CLMS selects and obtains detailed information from a national sample of participants in CETA programs, run by State and local governments ("prime sponsors"). The sampling and data collection are conducted by the Census Bureau, with technical aid, basic analyses, and reports provided through a contractor (Westat, Inc.) under the direction of ETA's Office of Program Evaluation.

The sample is designed to provide national estimates; it does not provide information on individual prime sponsors. In FY 1978, the national sample, drawn from 147 sponsors, was 18,000 new enrollees. This included a subsample of 2,000 in youth work experience activities (including summer youth work programs). The remainder of the sample is drawn to represent the other major CETA activities, which are geared largely to adults (public service employment, classroom training, on-the-job training, and adult work programs), but it includes (and provides separate data for) the youth enrolled in such activities.

1/ Prepared for "Knowledge Development Projects Conference" of Office of Youth Programs, October 5-6, 1978.

2/ A technical report on the CLMS, available on request from the Office of Program Evaluation, describes more fully its sample design, data collection procedures, and statistical confidence levels, and presents its data collection instruments.
Procedurally, at the end of each quarter, the CLMS draws the sample for that quarter in each of 147 sponsor areas, checks the sponsor records on each enrollee in the sample for information on the activity in which enrolled, and then finds and interviews the enrollees to get detailed information from them on personal and family characteristics, on employment, earning, and school experience in the year preceding entry to the program, and on their attitudes to the program.

About 9 months later, the CLMS follows up both to check sponsor records on the services provided to the sampled participants and on termination dates of those who've left the program by then, and to interview the participants on their continuing labor market experience. This has been the final interview for those in the youth programs, but those in the adult-oriented programs are followed up again at 18 months and at 36 months after enrollment.

CLMS Coverage of YCCIP and YETP: The same design and procedures are now being used to develop information on a sample of FY 1978 YCCIP and YETP participants. For FY 1979, additional questions on youth attitudes are to be added to the survey on an experimental basis.

The sample will be 3,000 a year in the YETP activities and 1,000 in YCCIP; the 3,000 in YETP is assumed to be sufficiently large to enable sizable subsamples for in-school as against out-of-school youth and for work experience activities as against class or on-job-training.

Purposes of YCCIP - YETP Survey: The principal initial purpose is of course to determine, in detail not available from the sponsor summary reporting system, just who is being served by the two YEDPA programs. The initial interview will provide extensive information on the demographic and economic characteristics of those enrolled. It also will permit comparison of the makeup of the youth enrollees in other CETA activities as against those in the two YEDPA programs.

A second purpose is to get the views of participants on the program. The CLMS asks, while they are still in or shortly after they have left the program, and again upon followup, about their "satisfaction" with the program, what they most liked and disliked, and views as to possible improvement.
A third purpose, from the followup tracking, is to determine how long they stay in the program, whether there are notable distinctions in who stays longer versus leaving early, reasons for leaving, whether they remain in or return to school, and what their early postprogram employment and earnings experiences are.

The data will also enable identification of major patterns of differences between the two YEDPA programs, the major YETP components, and other CETA activities with large youth enrollments.

Timetable: The initial focus is on data to be available for the March 1979 report to Congress on YEDPA.

The data collected from sponsor records should be available for the full sample of FY 1978 enrollees. The data from the personal interviews will be available for those enrolled through 3rd quarter, FY 1978. (Since interviews of those enrolled in the 4th quarter of FY 1978 will not be completed until December 1978, it is unlikely that processing and analyses of that data can be completed in time for a March 1979 report). Still, the data that will be available should permit a comprehensive report on just who was being reached and served by the YCCIP and YETP programs in their initial year.

Thereafter, information from the first (baseline) interviews, conducted with enrollees after the quarter in which they enrolled, should be available approximately 9 months after their entry quarter (about 5-6 months from the end of the interviewing period). Information from the followup interviews should similarly be available some 6 months after end of the interview quarter (although problems of constructing merged pre-post longitudinal files and of developing suitable analytic formats probably will require a longer interval for the first followup analyses).

Limitations: One limitation of the CLMS data, as indicated in the notes above on "timetable," is its timing: there is an inherent time lag before the basic data can be provided, and more time is necessary for any complex analyses.

Specifically, since the survey activity does not start till after end of a quarter, and then requires sampling, checks of the sponsor records, finding and interviewing of
the enrollees, processing of the questionnaire forms for computer handling, development of data tapes, development of tables, and then analyses, it is 8 to 9 months after the end of the enrollment quarter before basic analyses ordinarily can be available.

There are various technical limitations of reliability and consistency on some data items because of wide diversity and some erraticness in sponsor recordkeeping practices (on recording of termination dates, for example, and on identification of activities or services provided), but these should not seriously limit the utility of the basic CLMS data.

Issues: Three major design issues have arisen which warrant comment.

(1) The Office of Youth Programs believes it would be desirable to develop a "psychological" profile of YEDPA participants and also to try to gauge whether certain attitudes change after program participation. It developed questions about perceptions of work, occupational aspirations, perceptions of future opportunities, self-esteem, and other attitudes. The questions are similar to those in the Parnes Longitudinal Surveys or in several other youth studies.

The Office of Program Evaluation and the Census Bureau were dubious about adding these questions, a bit because of concern about utility, but more so because of concern about their effects on answers to other questions and on response rates, as well as concern about bias where parents or others are present during the interview.

The compromise decision has been to add such questions on an experimental basis for the FY 1979 sample. The questions (assuming OMB approval) will be asked of half the enrollee sample, as a means of testing the effects of such questions, getting the information if it proves practical to do so reliably without adverse effects, and reducing the risk of adverse effect on the entire sample if it turns out that the questions do significantly alter responses and cut the response rate.

(2) A second issue is the timing of the followup interview and the number of followup interviews. At present, the first CLMS followup interview, intended to provide early information on initial postprogram experience, is approximately 9 months after enrollment (about 6 months after the initial interview). This limited period between the initial
and the second interview has probably helped maintain response rates and eased recollection problems. But on the negative side, the limited time before the followup interview has meant that many or most enrollees are still in the program when reinterviewed, so that initial post-program data is just for a reduced sample and only for relatively early leavers.

Consideration is therefore being given to deferring the first followup until 12 to 15 months after enrollment, to get at least some postprogram information on virtually all the YEDPA enrollees. This presents logistic problems for the Census, however, which will have field scheduling problems if different CLMS followup intervals are used for YEDPA as against other CETA enrollees. A likely answer is that the followup interval may be changed to 12-15 months for all of the CLMS.

As to the number of followup interviews, the YEDPA enrollees are tentatively scheduled to be followed up twice (compared to just once for other CETA youth programs and three times for CETA adult-oriented programs). The second followup would be 18 months after enrollment; if the first followup is deferred from the present 9 months to a new 12 or 15 months, it will make sense to defer the second followup to at least 24 months after enrollment.

Whether to retain the planned second followup or add a third followup will be decided at a later point in light of experience and findings of the first followup.

(3) Finally, there is the basic issue of how to estimate net impact of the YCCIP and YETP programs upon participants. The CLMS followup data will present gross information on their postprogram experience, but will not be able to determine how much of any level, or any pre-to-post change, is attributable to program participation rather than other factors.

For the adult-oriented CETA programs, the CLMS is developing a comparison group from the Current Population Survey, and will compare its Social Security earnings with those of the CETA participants. The differences in nature and extent of earnings changes for the two groups will indicate the net impact of program participation on participant earnings.
A similar effort is not being planned specifically for youth program participants because the unsettled movement of youth in and out of school and in and out of the labor force severely limits the meaningfulness of any earnings comparison with a constructed comparison group and requires a longitudinal comparison at least some years into adulthood.

At the moment, general plans are to explore whether youth comparison groups developed for other youth program evaluation, most notably that of the Job Corps program and of the Supported Work program, as well as the CLMS CPS youth group, might serve in combination as sensible "reference points" for estimating net effects of YEDPA on its participants.
PATHWAYS INTO THE WORLD OF WORK: EXPERIENCES OF YOUTH
THE NATIONAL LONGITUDINAL SURVEY OF YOUTH
The Ohio State University
Principal Investigators - Michael E. Borus and Herbert S. Parnes

Overall Purpose

The Office of Youth Programs, ETA, United States Department of Labor, has funded an extension of the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Behavior to cover a new sample of youth. Annual interviews will be conducted between 1979 and 1985 with 12,000 young men and women, aged 14 to 21. This longitudinal examination of young people, which will pay particular attention to those groups with above average labor market difficulties, seeks to provide the data to answer many of the urgent policy questions dealing with the movement of youth from the classroom into the work place. Among the issues to be studied are the effectiveness of Department of Labor employment and training programs, the factors affecting a youth's educational experience and educational attainment, the determinants of the job or jobs into which the youth will move, and the factors influencing marital, child-bearing, and familial decision-making.

This new study is an extension of the National Longitudinal Surveys which have been conducted since 1966 by The Ohio State University Center for Human Resource Research under U.S. Department of Labor contracts and which have resulted in the publication of 11 research monographs by the Employment and Training Administration and over 200 articles, theses, monographs and special reports. For the past decade the National Longitudinal Surveys have been one of the basic data sources for social scientists - economists, sociologists, psychologists and educators - who have sought to tackle employment and training issues. NLS data tapes and documentation are available at over 150 institutions in the U.S. It is expected that data generated by the new study will allow researchers throughout the nation to develop solutions to many of the problems which face youth in bridging the gap between formal education and training and the establishment of relatively stable attachments to given types of work.

Basic Research Questions to be Examined

The vast amount of data that will ultimately be provided by the new National Longitudinal Survey of Youth will allow virtually hundreds of questions to be answered. Below are 12 examples of some research topics that we propose to study.

Evaluation of Department of Labor Employment and Training Programs. The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 added several new programs to those designed to upgrade the skills of unemployed, underemployed, and economically disadvantaged youth. It also expanded funding for youth programs provided by ETA prime sponsors. In all, approximately 2 million youth are likely to be enrolled, annually. In the overall sample we estimate that 1,500 youth will participate in one or more employment and training programs, while almost 2,500 young persons will be eligible but will not participate. We propose to use these groups to conduct two types of evaluations of these programs.
(1) The first type of evaluation will study the process of the programs. Participants will be asked their reactions to the program in which they participated, how it helped them in the labor market, and what facets of the program could be improved. Responses will be related to the individuals' characteristics and backgrounds and to the specific services they received in an effort to discover why people choose to participate in employment and training programs, what services are being provided, how well they are received, who drops out of programs, and what might be done to improve the programs.

(2) The second type of evaluation will study the impact of the programs by comparing the post-program labor market experiences of participants with those of a comparable group of youth who were eligible to participate but who did not. While the time period since completion of the program may be very brief at the time of the initial survey in 1979, the longitudinal nature of the study will permit estimates of the gains from participation over time. A wide variety of dependent variables will be examined, including earnings, welfare and other transfer payment receipts, weeks of employment and unemployment, aspirations, job satisfaction, quality of working conditions, length of schooling, on-the-job training received, and job-search activities.

Factors in Educational Programs. The proposed study will yield detailed information on the progress of youth in high school and college which can be used to provide answers to a number of policy-related questions concerning both the causes and consequences of dropping out of school:

(1) Why do some high school students complete their education while others withdraw without obtaining a diploma? What is the relative importance of such factors as differences in ability, differences in motivation, and differences in the economic status of the youth and their families?

(2) Are high school dropouts at a disadvantage compared with high school graduates in terms of earnings and occupational status in their first jobs? If so, do these differences narrow and/or disappear over time, or do they persist?

(3) Is there any evidence that private and public employers use the high school diploma as a screening measure to classify applicants' potential productivity on the job?

Transition from School to Work. From a policy perspective, the high unemployment rates among youth during and in the several years following the termination of schooling and the high rates of mobility during the early post-school years suggest the need for a better understanding of the factors associated with relatively smooth and rapid entry into satisfactory and satisfying employment situations. For example, among the questions that may be addressed are the following:

(1) What relationship is there, if any, between the high school experience, including work activity, and the post-school labor market activity of non-college bound youth? Do youngsters with work experience do better, other things equal, after they leave school? Does the answer to this question depend on the extent and/or type of work experience?
Is there evidence of a "dual labor market" for noncollege bound youth, such that individuals with certain socioeconomic characteristics are likely to enter and to be trapped in low paying and demeaning jobs in which traditional human capital variables appear to be irrelevant; or does the labor market operate so as to sort individuals out among jobs pretty equitably in terms of their productive capabilities?

In the early post-school years, what are the processes of mobility, post-school training, work experience, and modification of goals that result in youth settling into career jobs?

Does unsatisfactory experience (e.g., extensive unemployment) in the immediate post-school years leave "scars" that affect later market behavior and experience, or are these problems essentially transitory, with no lasting effects?

Are there various avenues of advancement for youth during their early exposure to the labor market?

What is the character of the extensive job changes made by youth? Does "job hopping" result in progressively better jobs along all of the dimensions described above, or does it simply represent a string of equally poor employment opportunities? How does the answer to this question vary depending on sex, race, ethnicity, and the socioeconomic and psychological characteristics of the youth? What is the effect of variation in the economic environment?

What kinds of jobs do youth consider desirable, and at what wage rates? What differences are there in this regard between those still in school and those who have ended their formal education? What is the extent of variation in this regard by sex, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status?

Racial, Sex, and Ethnic Differences in Employment and Earnings. One of the principal purposes of the NLS study of youth will be to examine racial, sex and ethnic differences in employment and earnings. At a descriptive level, gross differences in employment and earnings among various race, sex, and ethnic groups will be identified. In addition, multivariate analysis will be used to ascertain the underlying factors responsible for these gross differences. Differences among various race, sex, and ethnic groups in terms of their human capital attributes are one source of the gross differences in earnings. A second source of gross earnings differences is labor market discrimination. Using the technique of wage-gap analysis, it is possible to decompose the gross difference in earnings between two groups (e.g., white males and black males) into a portion attributable to differential endowments of those characteristics presumed to determine earnings and a portion which reflects labor market discrimination.

Causes and Consequences of Marriage, Divorce and Fertility Among Youth. In recent years nearly 20 percent of all births were to teenage mothers. Nearly 40 percent of these births were illegitimate and nearly two-thirds of the mothers had not completed high school. Past research suggests that these women have much poorer prospects than do those who have children later—teenage mothers receive less education, have more children, and have both a higher risk of divorce and of becoming dependent on public assistance. For young men as
well as young women, early parenthood may curtail the amount of education they receive and reduce their earnings potential. The proposed extension of the NLS will make it possible to study a variety of related issues including:

(1) What are the cultural, familial, attitudinal, and economic factors that increase the chances of early childbearing, early marriage, and separation or divorce? How have these causal relationships changed over time?

(2) What are the social and economic consequences of early childbearing, marriage and divorce? How do these effects vary according to sex, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status?

(3) For youth who assume the responsibilities of marriage and childbearing at early ages, and for young mothers whose marriages dissolve, what kinds of public interventions are most likely to be effective in promoting economic independence? What are the potential roles of (a) provision of child care, (b) counseling, (c) access to continuing education, and (d) job training?

The Mobility of Youth. The NLS provides a unique opportunity to examine in detail the associations between geographic mobility, local and national levels of economic activity, and social, economic, and demographic characteristics of youth and their families. The longitudinal survey design, in conjunction with the plan to follow respondents regardless where they move (within the United States), will enable researchers to model the determinants and consequences of geographic movement. The proposed study will also permit quantification of many other gross changes in aspects of the labor force status of youth, including movement into and out of the labor force and between employment and unemployment, movements between jobs, and between full- and part-time employment. Moreover, the relationship between these changes and changes in school enrollment status, demographic events, and work attitudes can be analyzed. Examination of changes in labor force and employment status in relationship to changing levels of national and local unemployment will permit the testing of the "discouraged worker" and the "additional worker" hypotheses and an analysis of a variety of dimensions of frictional and "disguised" unemployment.

Project Design

The sample will include 6,000 young men and 6,000 young women between the ages of 14 and 21 as of January 1, 1979. There will be 2,000 Hispanics, 3,000 blacks, 2,000 non-Hispanic, nonblack youth from poor families, and 5,000 non-Hispanic, nonblack youth from a cross-section of families. Thus, there will be heavy over-representation of youth who experience labor market difficulties and who participate in the Department of Labor's employment and training programs. These youth will be interviewed annually beginning in January 1979 and continuing through the beginning of 1984, for a total of six interviews. Each interview will include approximately one hour of questioning and will usually occur in the youth's home. Overall responsibility for designing the surveys, analyzing the results, and making the data available to the research community rests with the Center for Human Resource Research at The Ohio State University. The National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago has been subcontracted to design the sample, conduct the field work, and prepare the initial data tapes and documentation.

Interviewing will occur in 200 primary sampling units throughout the country selected so that the entire sample and each of its four subgroups will yield nationally representative statistics. In all, interviewing will occur
in 39 states and the District of Columbia. Screening interviews in a representative sample of approximately 90,000 households are currently being conducted in order to locate the individuals who meet the age, race, ethnic background, and income standards which have been prescribed for inclusion in the sample.

Time Table

The proposed time table for the 1979 interview and analysis follows. Approximately the same schedule will occur annually for each of the succeeding years, with the submission of the sixth final report being due on approximately September 1, 1985.

First Year Activity

Sampling design complete
Screening pretest
Screening data collection
Respondents selected for full survey

Date
April 1, 1978
June 1 - June 30, 1978
September 5 - December 5, 1978
January 2, 1979

Annual Activities

Interview pretest
Interviews
Data reduction
Data analysis begins
Initial report on survey (tabular analysis)
Final report on survey (multivariate analysis)

Date
August 5 - September 7, 1978
January 31 - May 15, 1979
February 1 - August 31, 1979
September 1, 1979
December 31, 1979
September 1, 1980

Potential Limitations

Any large scale data collection effort faces a number of problems. Perhaps the most difficult of these is imposed by the limitation of funds and time, given the large number of hypotheses that would be desirable to test and the large amount of information that one would ideally like to collect. When the budget permits only an hour interview, the researcher is faced with the problem of whether to touch a number of issues briefly or to concentrate on a few main topics and gather intensive information. The longitudinal nature of the five-year study will definitely provide the opportunity to ask more questions than can be used in the usual government study. At the same time, the longitudinal nature of the study requires that some information be collected year after year in order to make intertemporal comparisons, and this reduces the potential for introducing new topics each year. We are hopeful that approximately half of each interview will contain new information. However, as we have learned from our recent efforts to reduce our preliminary questionnaire by one-half, much important data must be foregone.

Another limitation is that our sample will grow older over the period of study and by the end of the six-year period will be 20-27 years old; they will no longer be "youth." Such an aging of the sample is obviously useful if one is to attempt to measure the longer-run consequences of employment and training program participation, education, training, etc. However, it does have the limitation that what is true for 16 year-olds in 1979 may not be true in 1984.
This limitation may be very important because recent estimates by the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that the proportion of youth in the labor force will fall substantially during the early 1980's and this drop in absolute numbers of youth may reduce the labor market problems faced by this group. The present study design will not shed any light on this issue however. This shortcoming in the study could be met by adding younger persons to the sample on a regular basis. For instance, a new group of 14 and 15 year-olds might be added in 1981 and 1983, and their experience compared with the 14 and 15 year-olds in the 1975 group. The regular addition of youth to the survey should be given consideration by the Department of Labor.
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON EMPLOYMENT POLICY YOUTH EVALUATION PROJECT

An evaluation of prime sponsor formula funded activities
under the Youth Community-Conservation and Improvement Projects
and the Youth Employment and Training Program

The National Council on Employment Policy's Youth Evaluation Project
is being done to provide the Office of Youth Programs with (1) a running
account of the first year experience that prime sponsors are having in
planning for, designing, implementing and operating YCCIP and YETP, (2) an
analysis of the factors impeding local implementation of the new youth policy,
and (3) recommendations for improving future operations.

Questions for Examination

The evaluation is geared to assess prime sponsor experience with
respect to certain issues embodied in the ten principles that are outlined
in the Office of Youth Programs' August 1977 Planning Charter.

YEDPA was established largely as an extensive learning -- "knowledge
development" -- experience. The Council's study is attempting to determine
what "knowledge development" translates into at the local level: How do
prime sponsors interpret the mandate, and what are they doing under the
rubric of knowledge development? Has the mandate encouraged them to under-
take innovative approaches they might not have taken otherwise? How are the
lessons gained from knowledge development experience used?

An issue that historically has been at the heart of all youth programs
is the quality of work experience. We are trying to determine whether local
sponsors are taking special steps to adapt newly created jobs to the special
needs of youths, to provide effective supervision, and to produce tangible
output.

The law and regulations require youth participation in the planning
process; the Office of Youth Programs vigorously encourages youth participation
in the implementation and management process. The evaluation is examining
the role that youths are actually taking under the new policy, and assessing
the consequences of that role. The evaluation is also identifying promising
alternative roles of involvement.

Although each program of YEDPA has its own target group and eligibility
requirements, there is considerable leeway for local operators. They can
either "cream" those youths most responsive and likely to succeed or they can
attempt to serve those youths less likely to be aided by more traditional
manpower and education programs. The evaluation is assessing who in particular
is selected for YCCIP and YETP and how local targeting policies are implemented.
The evaluation is also examining the practical implications and apparent
effects of the variations in eligibility and targeting requirements and
practices among the different youth programs.
As with any new program that overlaps existing programs, the apparent effects of YEDPA may be diminished if local decisionmakers substitute new resources for resources that would otherwise have been committed for programs helping youths. Prime sponsors may do this by using YETP money in lieu of CETA Title I money to provide services to youth. Local education agencies may do it by substituting YETP money for school resources that would otherwise be available to provide services to which youths, by law, may be entitled. The evaluation is assessing in qualitative terms whether the more obvious kinds of substitution are occurring. We are also identifying some of the less obvious kinds of substitution that are occurring and diminishing the effects of YEDPA.

Besides presenting some opportunities for programmatic change, YEDPA is presenting opportunities for institutional change, both in administrative structures for service delivery and in the relationship between the education establishment and employment programs. The evaluation is gauging the impact of YETP and YCCIP in stimulating institutional change at the local level, and analyzing the implications of those changes.

For prime sponsors implementing new programmatic approaches, there are conflicting pressures to try entirely new program organizations on one hand, or to stick with proven performers on the other. The choice can have implications for how well narrow program objectives are achieved, and for how well broad institutional objectives are achieved. The evaluation is studying how prime sponsors choose their delivery agents, and how the performance of different agents can be differentiated.

Finally, although YEDPA is part of a decentralized-decategorized approach to formulating and implementing employment and training policy, it reflects certain federal priorities. As such, there is an interest in how faithfully the federal emphases are transmitted to local decisionmakers and how well they are implemented. Responding to this interest, the Council's evaluation is also examining certain systemic features of YETP and YCCIP implementation, and is identifying the barriers that prevent or impede the realization of national policies. In the same vein, we are assessing local experience with respect to reasonable expectations about what YEDPA could accomplish (based on unique local conditions), as well as with respect to broad national objectives of YEDPA.

Project Design

A case study approach has been adopted for the evaluation because it was felt that such an approach is best adapted to analyzing a new program that is both decategorized in its prescriptions and decentralized in its decisionmaking patterns. The case study approach is sensitive enough to detect important variations in local strategies and tactics, and because it provides the flexibility to document and analyze issues that emerge over time.

Ten case studies are being prepared by field associates, each covering 3-5 prime sponsors. A total of 37 prime sponsors are covered by the case studies.
The case studies actually consist of three interim studies and a final study. A summary analysis accompanies each set of 10 interim studies. Two interim reports have been completed; one in February and one in August. A third will be submitted around the first of the year, and a final report will be submitted in June of 1979.

The evaluation, so far, is essentially exploratory in nature. We are emphasizing hypothesis formulation more than hypothesis testing. Because of that emphasis -- and the qualitative nature associated with it -- little systematic data has been developed so far. Patterns in local programs and management styles make certain kinds of tabulations impossible or impractical. Some of the similarities are so self-evident as to not warrant much analysis. The variations defy systematic quantitative analysis. Given these circumstances, it would be pointless to attempt any elaborate quantitative analysis.

Aside from the limitations inherent in our research design, there is a developing problem with respect to gaining access to knowledgeable program personnel. In some places, evaluators are encountering increasingly stiff resistance to their questions, and are being increasingly shunted to rigid bureaucratic channels for information. Some evaluators are finding the welcome mat pulled in despite painstaking efforts to corroborate findings with different sources and despite the practice of soliciting the views of local administrators on case study drafts.

Findings to Date and Policy Recommendations

Based on those Findings

The experience of prime sponsors so far suggests, on balance a significant record of success in implementing YEDPA and achieving its goals. Local experiences also suggest some measures that might be pursued at the federal and local levels in order to improve performance even more.

(1) Planning for the fiscal year 1978 YETP and YCCIP activities lagged behind schedule; it was rushed, confused, and marked by a disturbing dualism.

Given the newness and complexity of the youth programs, the requirements for review of local plans and the enormity of the implementation task, it is not surprising that the local efforts fell behind the Office of Youth Programs' ambitious timetable. With experience, the difficulties encountered in the first year can be eliminated for most prime sponsors. Very large prime sponsors, with many bureaucratic layers for review, are certain to encounter chronic difficulties, however, in meeting even the loosest timetables.

The planning process itself consisted, almost invariably, of two independent procedures. There was a pro forma process required by the Department of Labor's grant application package, and an ad hoc process that was centered in the real local decisionmaking arenas, and was based on data and other factors distinct from those required by DOL. The DOL-mandated data were the kind of data associated with popular planning paradigms, but were not used as a basis for local decisionmaking. They were deemed unreliable and too restrictive; other variables entered into the process. The grant application package also required data to be standardized in a format that was frequently not useful to local decisionmakers.
The YCCIP/YETP grant application process should be simplified to provide only information DOL needs to support an up or down decision on funding. If the Department of Labor wants to know more about local plans, it might ask for it on a selective basis, or require sponsors to document whatever planning process they use.

(2) Knowledge Development. YEDPA marks a new emphasis on prime sponsor involvement in evaluation, research, and demonstration activities. The stress on creating a new prime sponsor role in these areas naturally brought with it a need for a great deal of guidance. It also brought with it the realization that in the first year accomplishments would be limited. On the positive side, it appears that many prime sponsors did increase evaluation activities. A minority tried out new approaches, directly in response to the call for knowledge development. A handful attempted structured local experiments. It is almost certain that these types of activities were far more prevalent than they would have been in the absence of the emphasis on local knowledge development. These developments may help prepare a base for absorbing the lessons of nationally directed discretionary knowledge development activities. They may also lead to improvements locally.

It is doubtful, however, that local knowledge development activities will substantially improve overall understanding of youth problems and programs. There is uneven capacity among prime sponsors to undertake this function. There continues to be a good deal of confusion about the substance and form that knowledge development should take. The Department of Labor provided too little guidance about how prime sponsors might approach knowledge development. In the face of the ambiguous, open-ended knowledge development requirements, many prime sponsors did very little, or tried only to respond to what local officials thought that DOL officials wanted. Others attempted to set up excessively sophisticated research projects that, by attempting to do too much, probably will accomplish very little.

The Department could remedy this situation by providing more technical assistance, directly to prime sponsors, or indirectly, by facilitating communication among prime sponsors. The Department should also assure that there is some minimum degree of agreement among the regional offices, with respect to what knowledge development is, and what is allowable in the name of knowledge development. Further guidance on knowledge development should encourage a link between what is being labeled as "knowledge development," and other evaluation/monitoring activities.

(3) The site reports suggest that supervision and job enrichment have been given heavy emphasis by CETA prime sponsors; to the extent that these factors affect the impact of work experience, the new youth programs have produced major improvements. YCCEP, which was designed as a well-supervised work experience with limited enrichment has been linked with other programs to provide more than work experience alone.

Under YCCEP and YETP, prime sponsors are giving much attention to career exploration for youth through actual work experience and through more structured occupational information channels. The accent on placing youth in career-related jobs is proving to be impractical. Some youths have not
thought about career plans. Others have either, what might be considered unrealistic plans, or plans for jobs that do not fit in with the youth jobs that are available. The emphasis on career-related jobs is also premature for many youths, in the sense that they have only the vaguest notions about the world of work: Before they can appreciate the differentiating details of different kinds of jobs, they need to understand the common requirements of all jobs.

On the other hand, vocational exploration classes and counseling seem to be more effective mechanisms for providing exposure to different career options. To the extent that career exploration is emphasized, prime sponsors should be encouraged to provide it through counseling and classroom experience. The highest priority in any job development campaign should be on work experience that teaches, at a minimum, basic work habits, and the importance of those habits.

While prime sponsors have increased emphasis on private sector linkages, and while their efforts have had positive effects in few cases, continued emphasis is needed. Prime sponsors should be encouraged, more than they are already, to attempt to establish a strong bond with private sector interests. More practically, they should be encouraged to evaluate job slot development plans with reference to how much of what is learned in a certain job is transferrable to private sector employment.

Prime sponsors have followed the regulations requiring youth membership on youth advisory councils. However, the advisory council appears to be a poor vehicle for increasing youth participation in prime sponsor affairs. The councils themselves are often mere figureheads, and youths on the councils are not participating very much. Some sponsors are experimenting with alternative modes of participation, and are enjoying some degree of success.

Although Departmental guidance on increasing youth participation is not limited to youth advisory councils, there should be more emphasis on prime sponsors experimenting with other forms of participation.

The YEDPA legislation provides prime sponsors with a degree of latitude in choosing who to enroll in youth programs. However, the Employment and Training Administration has gone beyond the legislation in emphasizing targeting on youth most in need. Prime sponsors have responded positively, by consistently aiming services for economically disadvantaged youths. There may be some force of habit in effect, but local pressures for serving those most in need are also persuasive. Enrollments should be monitored to see whether prime sponsors continue to concentrate on serving economically disadvantaged youth. If/when there is a shift in targeting, further monitoring should be undertaken to determine whether there is a reasonable basis for such shifts.

Prime sponsors are seriously underenrolling females in YCCIP projects. It is not clear whether this is due to relatively few females in the YCCIP applicant pool or to discrimination in job placements. In either case, prime sponsors should be encouraged to undertake more outreach activity, so that female enrollments in YCCIP can be raised.
Substitution of YEDPA resources for Title I resources is not proving to be a serious problem. In fact, there has been a remarkable degree of utilization of other services and programs to enrich the youth initiatives. However, substitution of YEDPA resources for non-CETA resources could prove to seriously diminish the impact of the new funds. There is little that can be done, legally, to control that kind of substitution. But where legal recourse is limited, moral suasion might be more effective.

One way to increase the interests of local sponsors and non-CETA institutions in minimizing substitution is to give them a stake in the action. This, unfortunately, is easier said than done. Sponsors are already being encouraged to build links with other agencies and private sector interests. But this should be pushed even more, on the grounds that a broader base of participation will better assure a broader constituency interested in stretching YEDPA resources to the maximum. It would be naive to assume that a coherent sense of purpose among many players could be developed, or that this alone will prevent substitution. But since the substitution phenomenon is so nebulous and difficult to control at times, more effective solutions may not be feasible.

Community based organizations are thoroughly involved in the youth program delivery matrix. Although performance differentials are hard to detect, the CBOs do broaden the base of local participation. The current provisions giving them special consideration in the selection of program delivery agents, and including them in the planning process should be retained.

YEDPA shows promise for altering institutional roles and relationships at the local level. The role of local schools is central to this effort. In spite of the rushed implementation, CETA-LEA agreements have been negotiated and programs are in place. Even in areas with little history of CETA-LEA cooperation, the separate CETA and LEA communities are talking with one another, and joint efforts are underway. Nevertheless, there are some obvious limitations on how much change the Department of Labor can leverage in LEAs by using prime sponsors. LEAs are not accustomed to receiving guidance from CETA prime sponsors. Under the best of conditions, prime sponsors can hope to affect local education policy only marginally. In some of the worst cases, LEAs and sponsors do not speak at all.

For these reasons, the Department of Labor should explore alternate channels for affecting education decisionmaking at the local level. Until those other channels for communication are identified and utilized, many schools will fail to meet the needs of youths who could otherwise be served under cooperative arrangements with LEAs and prime sponsors, or even through the LEAs alone.

One of the significant patterns that seems to be emerging is the presence of LEAs where CETA-private sector links exist. It is possible that LEAs may provide the missing piece necessary to complete productive relationships between public sector CETA agencies and private sector employers. The Department of Labor should examine CETA activities that involve private sector ties, to see whether LEAs play an integral role. The Department should also study some of its exemplary CETA-LEA projects to evaluate their private sector links where they exist, and to estimate the feasibility of such links where they do not exist.
Project Overview Statement 1/

Economic Impact of Job Corps

by Seymour Brandwein
Director, Office of Program Evaluation
Employment and Training Administration

Unlike the YEDPA programs focused on by most of this conference, the Job Corps has been in operation for some time. It has survived over 14 years of fluctuating attitudes towards sizable investments to aid disadvantaged youth.

From turbulent start-up years, it has evolved into a relatively stable program with a good notion of what it's doing toward its general statutory purpose (first stated in the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act and since carried forward in CETA) "to assist young persons who, need and can benefit from an unusually intensive program, operated in a group setting, to become more responsive, employable, and productive citizens..."

Because its intensive nature and sizable investment per participant should yield reasonably measurable results, because little was known reliably about the magnitude or timing of economic effects of such investments, and because the evaluation art had advanced somewhat since the Job Corps was the subject of controversial evaluations in the late 1960s, we decided in 1976 to undertake evaluation of the Job Corps as the principal impact evaluation effort in the youth field.

A competitive procurement ended up selecting Mathematica Policy Research to conduct the evaluation. The preliminary findings on the short-term economic effects of the 1977 Job Corps program are now in and being reviewed, with a report scheduled to be issued in November.

1/ Prepared for "Knowledge Development Projects Conference" of Office of Youth Programs, October 5-6, 1978.
Objectives of the Evaluation: The principal purposes of the evaluation are to determine:

1. To what extent do Job Corps participants (as compared to comparable nonparticipants):
   (a) increase their employment and earnings.
   (b) return to school, enter military service, or enter other training or work experience programs.
   (c) rely less on welfare transfer-payment programs.
   (d) reduce antisocial behavior, particularly criminal activities and drug abuse.

2. To what extent do such effects vary by type of participant, duration of participation in the program, and by type of Job Corps center?

3. How do the Job Corps participants rate their satisfaction with the program? What is their assessment of its strengths and weaknesses?

4. Do the program benefits to participants and to society, where measurable in dollar terms, outweigh the program costs?

Design: In brief, the program impact is measured primarily by comparing the experience of Job Corps participants over time to that of a group of similar youth not enrolled in the Job Corps.

The comparison group was drawn from school dropout lists and Employment Service applicant files in geographic areas which had relatively low Job Corps participation rates (in large part because they were not near Job Corps centers), but which in other respects were similar to areas from which most Job Corps enrollees have come.

The baseline interviews of participants were conducted at Job Corps centers in Spring 1977 to obtain information on demographic characteristics, socioeconomic background, employment and earnings, education and training, antisocial behavior, and participants' assessment of the program.
The sample, some 5,100, was a random selection of about one-third of participants. Nine months later, those who had terminated and been out at least 5 months were interviewed again to obtain information on their early postprogram experience; the followup sample was about 2,400, who had been out an average of .7 months.

The comparison group baseline sample was 1,500. The followup interviews were obtained for some 1,300 of them.

A baseline data analysis of the participant and comparison groups' characteristics and prior history indicates that the two groups were quite similar in these respects.

In addition to the interview information, the study drew cost data from Job Corps operational records and developed estimates of the value of output produced by participants as part of their training and work while in the program.

Preliminary Findings: An early report on the baseline interview data, "An Examination of Job Corps Participation," was published in June 1978, and is available on request to the Office of Program Evaluation.

It describes the nature of the Job Corps program in 1977, documents the "disadvantaged" nature of those it is serving (enrollee demographics, family background and income, prior education, health, and work histories, and "antisocial behavior"), reviews why they chose to enroll, and presents their ratings of the program while they were still in it (almost two-thirds were "fairly" or "very" satisfied, over 90 percent thought their training was "good" or "OK," but half were critical of the food and size of their pay allowances).

The followup data has now been developed and analyzed in a preliminary report which is being given technical review by an outside expert advisory group and by Labor Department staff.

Its tentative findings on short-term impacts on labor market experience are:

1. Program completers (about 30 percent of all enrollees) did very well on employment and earnings,
as compared to the comparison group, for both men and women, but "partial completers" (30 percent) and early dropouts (40 percent) did only about as well as the comparison group.

2. In the initial months out of the Job Corps, its participants lagged behind the comparison group, many of who were employed at the start of the period while it took time for the Corpsmembers to resettle and get jobs.

3. After the first two months, the positive economic impacts began to predominate for the completers. By the week before the followup survey, the completers (both male and female) had gained about $23 more in weekly earnings than the comparison group. The partial completers were slightly ahead and the early dropouts were behind, although the differences were generally statistically insignificant.

On other measures of impact too, the completers had positive, large, and statistically significant benefits: more were in the labor force, more were employed, they averaged more hours at work, more of the men were in military service (a goal of some Job Corps participants more had gone on to a high school degree, college or more training, and they had less welfare dependence and reduced arrests and abuse of drugs. For those who partially completed the program, such net impacts were small, and dropouts did not do as well as the comparison group.

As to enrolled ratings of the program, 7 months after leaving it, 77 percent expressed satisfaction (versus 67 percent giving such ratings while they were still in the program).

Some 90 percent or more gave good or OK ratings to the training and education services they received. In retrospect, they rated the food and pay better than they did while in the program (but with a third to nearly half still critical of those two aspects).

They felt they did not get enough placement assistance. Nearly 60 percent said that they did not get placement aid from the Job Corps or agencies the Job Corps sent them to -- and three-quarters of those said they could have used more help in finding a job.
On the relation of benefits to costs, the study draft report develops some comprehensive estimates of the dollar value of various measurable benefits to participants and to society as a whole.

These tentative estimates depend very substantially on various assumptions, most notably about continuation rates of gains in subsequent years, about appropriate rates of discounting future dollars to present values, and about the reliability and relevance of data on societal savings from reductions in criminal activity.

The initial estimate is that economic "benefits" to society in dollar terms for each Job Corps enrollee are larger than the economic "costs" of the program; societal benefits per Corpsmember are estimated at $5,270, almost $200 more than the costs.

There patently are considerable issues on the conceptual and technical judgments underlying these estimates (as well as issues of their significance for policy on scale or mix of youth program approaches), but these are beyond the scope of this brief paper.

Plans: Issuance of a report is planned for November 1978, after the technical review now being made of analytic assumptions and methods. No doubt it will generate further technical comments which would be taken into account in planned continuation of this evaluation.

The key limitation of the study is that its findings are based on just the first 7 months of postprogram experience. It is by no means clear whether the participants' positive gains in this early period are maintained, deteriorate (as the benefit-cost calculations assume), or increase further.

The evaluation is therefore to be carried forward (as was originally planned) to follow up on the participant and comparison groups in similar interviews a year after the first followup, by which time the first followup sample will have been out of the program for an average of some 19 months.

We plan, for budgetary reasons and because of indications that it may be as efficient for repeated interviewing, to conduct the second followup on a telephone
rather than face-to-face basis, although personal interviews will be sought where the individual is not locatable or responsive by phone.

(Data will also be collected on the baseline interviewees who had not yet left the program or had been out less than 5 months at the time of the first followup. This will enlarge the sample of terminees and enable some check on whether the findings hold up for participants who left the program at a later point in time).

Findings from this second followup should be ready by late 1979. Still another followup at a later point is a possibility, but that is contingent in major part on likely adequacy of the sample in light of response rate experience in the second followup.)
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1978

9:00-10:00 AM  INTRODUCTIONS:  John Drew and Andrew Hahn  
Brandeis University,  
Center for Public Service

10:00-12:00 Noon  PANEL:  YOUTH INCENTIVE ENTITLEMENT  
PILOT PROJECTS (YIEPP) --  
DEMONSTRATION AND RESEARCH

FACILITATOR:  Robert Evans, Brandeis University

PRESENTERS:  Overview of National YIEPP  
Effort -- Judy Gueron, Manpower Demonstration Research 
Corporation (MDRC)

YIEPP Impact Analysis --  
Ernst Stromsdorfer and  
Robert Jarrett, Abt Associates

YIEPP Implementation Analysis -- Joseph Ball and  
William Diaz, MDRC

DISCUSSANT:  Robert Lerman, NQL/ASPER
Knowledge Development Projects Conference
Program Agenda

1:00-2:30 PM  PANEL: — YOUTH COMMUNITY CONSERVATION AND
                     IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS (YCCIP) —
                     DEMONSTRATION AND RESEARCH
                     
                     FACILITATOR: Martin Levin, Brandeis University

                     PRESENTERS:
                     Ventures in Community Improvement Demonstration Project — John
                     Kelly, Corporation for Public/Private Ventures (CPPV)

                     Community Conversation and Improvement Demonstration Project —
                     Bill Schechter, HUD; Jay Ostrower and Roy Feldman, Boston University

                     DISCUSSANTS:
                     Robert Shrank, Ford Foundation
                     Burt Barnow, DOL/ASPER

2:45-5:00 PM  PANEL: — YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS (YETP) —
                     DEMONSTRATION AND RESEARCH
                     
                     FACILITATOR: Wyatt Jones; Brandeis University

                     PRESENTERS:
                     Exemplary In-School Youth Program Demonstration Project, Harvey
                     Pressman, Youthwork, Inc.

                        Career Intern Program Demonstration Project, Howard Leznick,
                        HEW/NIE; G.K. Talmadge, RMC Research Corp.

                        Private Sectors Initiatives Demonstration Project, Richard
                        DeLohe and David Leury, CPPV

                        Youth Community Service Demonstration Project, David Muchnick, ACTION

                        Service Mix Alternatives Demonstration Project, Joseph Seiler, DOL/OYP

                     DISCUSSANTS:
                     John Palmer, Brookings Institute
                     Donald Nichols, DOL/ASPER

6:30-7:30 PM  SPEAKER: — Arnold H. Packer, Assistant Secretary
                     for Policy, Evaluation and Research, Department of Labor
Knowledge Development Projects Conference
Program Agenda

7:30-9:00 PM  PANEL: BASIC RESEARCH

FACILITATOR: Barry Friedman, Brandeis University

PRESENTERS: Introduction to Research on Youth Unemployment, Robert Lerman, DOL/ASPER
Trends in Youth Employment, Richard Freeman and David Wise, National Bureau of Economic Research
Measurement of Work Output of Youth Programs, David Zimmerman, Mathematica Policy Research

Howard Rosen, Director, Office of Research and Development, DOL

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1978

9:30-11:30 AM  PANEL: DATA COLLECTION AND EVALUATION

FACILITATOR: Randall Filer, Brandeis University

PRESENTERS: Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey of YEDPA Programs, Seymour Brandwein, DOL/OPER
National Longitudinal Survey, Mike Borus, Ohio State University Research Foundation
Process Evaluation of Implementation of YEDPA Programs: Greg Wurzburg, National Council on Employment Policy; Gary Lacey, MDC, Inc.; Joseph Seiler, DOL/OYP
Economic Impact of Job Corps, Seymour Brandwein, DOL/OPER

DISCUSSANT: Andrew Sum, Northeastern University
1:00-3:00 PM   PANEL:  CONFERENCE SUMMARY AND A LOOK FORWARD

FACILITATOR:  Leonard Rausman, Brandeis University

CONFERENCE PANELISTS:

Robert Taggart  . DOL/OYP
Donald Nichols  . DOL/ASPER
Patrick O'Keefe  . National Commission for Manpower Policy
Vernon Briggs  . Cornell University
Joan Wills  . National Governors Conference
Othello Pouliard  . Center for Community Change
Alfred P. Love  . AFL/CIO Human Resources Development Institute
CONFERENCES PARTICIPANTS

Avril Adams
National Commission for Unemployment & Employment Statistics
Room 550
2000 K Street
Washington, DC 20006

Joseph Ball
Manpower-Demonstration Research Corp.
3 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Burt Barnow
USDOL/ASPER
Room S 2231
200 Constitution Avenue
Washington, DC 20210

Dr. Michael Borus
Ohio State University
Research Foundation
Columbus, OH 43210

Seymour Brandwein, Director
Office of Program Evaluation Research
601 D Street
Washington, DC 20213

Vernon Briggs
New York State School of Labor & Industrial Relations
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY 14853

Pam Clark
Office of Youth Programs
601 D Street
Washington, DC 20213

Richard Delone
Corporation for Public/Private Ventures
1726 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19103

Dennis Derryck
ACTION
806 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, DC 20525

William Diaz
Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation
28th Floor
3 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Robert Donaldson
Secretary's Office
Department of Labor
200 Constitution Avenue
Washington, DC 20210

George Farkas
Abt Associates
55 Wheeler Street
Cambridge, MA 02139

Roy Feldman
Regional Institute on Employment Policy
Boston University
270 Bay State Road
Boston, MA 02115

Thomas P. Glynn, Director
Planning
ACTION - Room 606
806 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, DC 20525

Judy Gueron
Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation
28th Floor
3 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Kitty Higgins
Room 220
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC
Conference Participants

Robert Jarrett  
Abt Associates  
55 Wheeler St.  
Cambridge, MA 02139

John Kelly  
Corp. for Public/Private Ventures  
1726 Cherry Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19103

Gary Lacey  
MDC Inc.  
137 East Rosemary St.  
Chapel Hill, NC 27514

Robert Lerman  
USDOL/ASPER  
200 Constitution Ave.  
Washington, DC 20210

David Leury  
Corp. for Public/Private Ventures  
1726 Cherry St.  
Philadelphia, PA 19103

Howard Leznick  
Senior Associate  
National Institute of Education  
Room 816  
1200 19th St., N.W.  
Washington, DC 20008

Harry Lieberman  
OPER/DOL  
601 D Street  
Washington, DC 20213

Alfred P. Love, Assistant Director  
AFL-CIO  
Human Resources Development Institute  
Room 405  
815 16th Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20006

Charles Mallar  
Mathematica Policy Research  
Princeton, NJ 08540

Ernest Martin  
Office of Youth Programs  
ETA/DOL  
601 D Street  
Washington, DC 20213

David Muchnick  
ACTION  
Evaluation Department  
Room M 207  
806 Connecticut Ave., N.W.  
Washington, DC 20525

Donald Nichols  
USDOL/ASPER  
Room S 2233  
200 Constitution Ave., N.W.  
Washington, DC 20210

Patrick O'Keefe  
National Commission for Manpower Policy  
1522 K Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20005

Jay Ostrower  
Regional Institute on Employment Policy  
Boston University  
270 Bay State Road  
Boston, MA 02115

Arnold Packer, Assistant Secretary  
Policy Evaluation Research  
U.S. Department of Labor  
Room S 2524  
200 Constitution Ave., N.W.  
Washington, DC 20210

John Palmer  
Brookings Institute  
1775 Massachusetts Ave.  
Washington, DC 20036
Conference Participants

Cheryl Perry
HEW/NIE
Room 816,
1200 19th St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20208

Mr. Othello Poulard, Director
CETA Resource Center
1000 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20007

Harvey Pressman
183 Lake Avenue
Newton, MA 02159

Tom Rhodenbaugh
National Economic Development Law Project
1523 0 Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

Tom Roscoe
USGPO
441 G Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20548

Howard Roser, Director
Office of Research and Development
U.S. Department of Labor
Room 9100
601 D Street
Washington, DC 20213

Janet Rosenberg
Office of Youth Programs
ETA/DOL
601 D Street
Washington, DC 20213

Bill Ruttenberg
AFL-CIO - Human Resources Development Institute
Room 405
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

William Schecter, Deputy Director
Youth Employment Demonstration Project
Office of Neighborhood & Consumer Affairs, Room 4230
451 7th St., S.W.
Washington, DC 20024

Herman Scott III
Office of Youth Programs
ETA/DOL
601 D Street
Washington, DC 20213

Joseph Seiler
USDOL/Office of Youth Programs
601 D Street
Washington, DC 20213

Robert Shrank
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd St.
New York, NY 10017

William Spring
The White House
1700 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

Ernst Stromsdorfer
Abt Associates
55 Wheeler St.
Cambridge, MA 02139

Wilbert Soloman
Office of Youth Programs
ETA/DOL
601 D Street
Washington, DC 20213

Andrew Sum
Department of Economics
Northeastern University
Boston, MA 02115

Robert Taggart, Administrator
Office of Youth Programs
601 D Street
Washington, DC 20213
Conference Participants

G. Kasten Talmadge
RMC Research Corp.
2570 West El Camino Real
Mountain View, CA 94040

Richard Toikka
The Urban Institute
2100 M Street
Washington, DC 20037

Joan Wills
National Governors' Conference
Suite 202
444 N. Capitol St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

David Wise
J.F. Kennedy School
79 Boylston St.
Cambridge, MA 02138

Maryanne Wolfe, Director
Women's Bureau
Room 3313-S
200 Constitution Avenue
Washington, DC 20210

Gregory Wurzburg
National Council on Employment
Policy
2000 K Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

David Zimmerman
Mathematica Policy Research
905 University Avenue
Madison, WI 53715
CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS
FROM THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC SERVICE
BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY

PRINCIPLE INVESTIGATORS:
John Drew
Andrew Hahn
Leonard Hausman

Research Review Panel:
Robert Evans
Randal Filer
Barry Friedman
Wyatt Jones
Martiq Levin

Center for Public Service
Brandeis University
Sachar International Building
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

Telephone: 617-647-2108
John Drew, Director