DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 053 296 VT 013 191

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TITLE	A Two Year Experience With New Careers: Summary, Recommendations, and Follow-Up Study.
INSTITUTION	Minnesota Univ., Minneapolis. Center for Urban and Regional Affairs.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.
NOTE	32p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Office of Career Development, Room 207, Riverside Church, 2000 S. 5th Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404 (no charge)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Career Change, *Career Ladders, *Employment Problems, Followup Studies, *Human Services, *Low Income Groups, Occupational Mobility, Retraining, School Community Programs, Service Occupations, Student Placement, *Work Study Programs
IDENTIFIERS	*New Careers Programs

ABSTRACT

The issues and outcomes uncovered in the Minneapolis New Careers project had three stated goals: (1) to help low-income people enter the job market in the human service occupations, (2) to allow the low income aide to help the middle class professional relate to a variety of minority groups, and (3) to create new careers of socially useful jobs at entry-level with allowances for advancement within or between agencies. After 2 years the followup study findings show the following results: (1) About half the participants whose financial situation permits it are continuing the education they began, (2) Over a third of the enrollees were still employed at their original New Career agencies, (3) Where permanent career ladders are an important goal, it can best be realized by placing enrollees in large agencies with complex tasks, and (4) New Careerists who remained in the program a full 2 years enjoyed higher wages, more built-in job advancement possibilities, and more permanent positions. (RR)

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA • CENTER FOR URBAN AND REGIONAL AFFAIRS

A TWO YEAR EXPERIENCE WITH NEW CAREERS: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

BY

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The two-year experience with New Careers, funded by the Department of Labor, has come to a close in Minneapolis. A careful evaluation of this experience leads us to some observations and conclusions. In the experience of the staff of the Minneapolis New Careers Program, there were four major areas that presented particular challenges to the administration of the program: the work/study model, the response of the University of Minnesota, the administrative arrangements for the operation of the program, and the relationships of the agencies to the program and its students. In each of these areas, there were experiments, with successes and failures. Many of the successes have been documented elsewhere, and are reflected in the results of a follow-up study recently released. * The failures, and the issues that were freshly uncovered because of the New Careers experience, are the subject of this report. **

The Work/Study Model

The intent of the work/study model is to break down the somewhat arbitrary barriers that define where education takes place. In contrast to the more traditional view that education takes place in the classroom prior to the practice that takes place on the job, the work/study model assumes that both the University and the job setting are sources of learning in the human services, and that the learning that takes place on the job deserves accreditation at the University.

Further, the work/study model is intended to offer a way of pursuing an educational objective while at the same time providing an income with which to support the student and his family.

From the New Careers experience, it can be said that the work/study model is one of the most realistic ways to enable members of this group (low-income and minority persons) to gain credentials that will give them access to upward mobility. It might also be seen as a valuable model for use in retraining groups of people whose jobs have become technologically obsolete. For example, what might be called the "professional blue-collar worker" -- the man who has done a highly skilled job for a long period of time -- might be able to use the work/study model to be trained to do another job when his original trade was automated or outdated. By the same token, very highly skilled white collar workers whose jobs have disappeared because of changes in national priorities or government subsidies -- such as certain classes of aerospace workers -- might be able to use the same training model.

However, the work/study model, to be effective either in training or in retraining, must have certain flexibilities built into it. Otherwise, the student does not benefit any more from the study-related job than he would from any other job he might hold on a part-time basis.

* Margaret A. Thompson, The Minneapolis New Careers Program: A Follow-up Study. Available in mimeo from the Office of Career Development, University of Minnesota.

** For those who need background information on the program, see Appendix A.

Released Time and Scheduling of Courses

One of the essential elements for a work/study program is a firm commitment by the employing agency to provide released time for the enrollee to attend school. This includes time for study and for transportation to and from school, and can rarely be less than half time (20 hours per week). Insofar as possible, this time should be given in such a way that it can be used by the enrollee to take the courses he finds most useful to him.

Often, however, the nature of the task on the job or of the agency structure does not permit this. In planning coursework for this constituency, two serious issues must be taken into account. First, coursework relating directly to the competencies the individual needs on the job must be designed and made available. These courses may not have general appeal to the student body at large, and may be offered in "sheltered" sessions for program enrollees only. Second, there is the problem of scheduling coursework in such a way that persons with jobs and families can still avail themselves of the courses that are particularly important and appropriate for them.

These two issues cause a dilemma for the program planner in a work/study program. On the one hand, he wants to bring the low-income student to the main campus, where he can genuinely participate in the University community and take regular coursework along with a variety of other students. This involves much more than just a new environment: such resources as the library and supportive services, as well as the benefits to conventional students of sharing experiences with the low-income student, have undisputed value. On the other hand, the requirements of job and family make it useful and practical to schedule classes in the community itself (rather than on the main campus), at hours more convenient to the students involved. However, this has the drawback that it often forces the students into what might be called "segregated education." Although they may at first feel more comfortable in familiar settings and surrounded by familiar people, ultimately it seems valuable that they have access to all the resources, both human and material, that the University has to offer. The job of the administrator of these programs must be to try to balance these two demands -- for a full educational experience and a flexible curriculum and schedule --in such a way that the students benefit from the best combination.

In the area of flexible coursework and scheduling, some particular strategies can be suggested. First, appropriate coursework should be developed in extension divisions or night school departments, so that enrollees can work during the day without detriment to their education. In some cases, higher educational institutions must consider rescheduling classes so that a range of coursework is available in late afternoons (from 4 to 6, for example) to permit easier access for working persons who are working on degrees at various levels. In addition, some day and night school classes can be decentralized to neighborhoods in such a way as to make them more accessible to the enrollees. The additional benefit of this to people in the neighborhood other than program enrollees is obvious; many cannot take the time and expense of commuting to the University campus for a class, but when it is offered close to home, they find it valuable.

In every program, these issues must be adjusted to the particular needs of the students involved, and to the offerings of the University. The major task of the program staff is to be sensitive to these needs and resources, and to develop flexible alternatives that give as many students as possible the education they seek.

Continuing Financial Support for Education

One of the main goals of a work/study program is to enable the individual who completes the program to have free movement in terms of his profession and to free him from the insecurity of dead-end and/or obsolete kinds of work. This goals can only be reached if the person is enabled to gain the requisite credentials in his chosen area. Several levels of credentialling can be seen as possible goals for the student: the 45-credit certificate; the Associate in Arts degree (A.A.); the Bachelor of Arts degree (B.A.); and graduate degrees. The provess of defining the goal, from our experience, ought to involve both the student and his employer (or his prospective employer). The goal should be planned in the light of both the student's career goals and the agency's personnel needs.

In a work/study program that enables a person to begin his education but not to complete it, the success of the program over the long run depends on the availability of scholarship monies to students to continue their education. The length of time these funds should be made available can only be determined in the context of the individual's goals and the agency's needs.

Although various sources of this support could be suggested, at the present time, it appears that the main responsibility for initiating demonstration programs falls on the federal government. But a continuation of education support beyond the life of these programs falls largely on the state legislatures in states where these programs are underway, since the programs are usually statewide in scope and often use educational institutions largely funded from state funds.

Coordination of Work and Study Portions

Another element necessary to make the work/study model work successfully and be a real contribution to the individual's is some form of coordination of the work and study portions of the programs. Several models have been tried to solve this problem. First, seminars were held, in which it was hoped that enrollees and supervisors would be able to discuss their problems and work toward solutions of them. These were only marginally successful, largely because neither supervisors nor enrollees could afford the time away from work to participate fully in them. In a later experiment, participants were reimbursed for their participation, and the result was considerably more satisfactory. From our experience, the success of the seminars is also greater when there is a fairly well-structured agenda and a clearly outlined set of issues for discussion. The program staff must take the responsibility in this area.

Another strategy that was tried in New Careers was holding seminars for enrollees, organized around the particular skills their jobs required. This model also was a very limited success, since the enrollees needed a wide diversity of skills and had a wide variety of levels of competence, both of which made it very difficult to teach everyone what he wanted to know in the context of a single class.

The most successful model to integrate the work and study portions of the program was one involving a three-way quasi-contract between the educational institution, the agency, and the enrollee. This agreement sets up a project which the enrollee can carry out at the agency and for which he can receive academic credit. Several criteria are taken into account in setting up the projects: there must be specific skills the enrollee can be expected to learn by doing the project; the responsibility for supervision must be clearly outlined and divided between the university staff member and the agency supervisor; the project must be clearly related to the course of study in which the enrollee is engaged; there must be a clear timetable which can be followed in carrying out the project; and there must be a definite expectation as to the kind of product expected from the project. The projects must be designed in such a way that they have a clear value to the agency; this is important not only from the agency's point of view, but is an important contribution to the enrollee's feeling that he is making a valuable contribution. Specifically, these projects might include data collection, surveying, analysis of case records, student observation, and preparation of teaching units (for teacher aides).

One of the critical problems for these work/study programs is that supervisor and program administration see the job setting in two very different ways: the program staff is likely to see it as a learning experience, while the agency personnel are likely to see it as a way to get a job done. The implication of this is that supervisors must be trained in the use of paraprofessional personnel, with the major emphasis on learning to teach the enrollee the skills he needs on the job. In this process, there must be some tangible rewards for the supervisors -- credits in the merit system or stipends, for example. In a work/study program, supervision forms the vital link between the work experience and the University experience, and should be the focus of a considerable amount of planning.

Consortium of Educational Opportunities

Finally, it is clear that an element of the work/study model should be a consortium of educational opportunities that can be made available to students. In any of these programs, one of the "facts of life" is that there is a wide variety of educational levels, of academic aspirations, and of areas of interest. It is only the most remarkable educational institution that can meet the needs of all the students in the most suitable way. In building a program, it is suggested that various institutions of higher education be involved to meet the diversity of needs and interests of the enrollees: some with a remedial program; some with experimental programs, and some with conventional academic programs. Creating such a consortium, if it is to benefit the students, requires a clear assessment of what the students want and need in terms of

educational experiences, and of which institutions have programs which will meet the variety of needs. In addition, the program planner should recommend the supportive services necessary to meet the needs of the students for such services, which will be elaborated in the next section.

The University's Response to Enrollees

In most work/study programs, enrollees are likely to have some characteristics which distinguish them from the kinds of students the educational institution is used to dealing with. First, the students are likely to be older than the usual university students; their income is likely to be lower; they are more likely to come from minority backgrounds, and they are likely to have more family responsibilities. All of these things affect their ability to use the educational program a university offers. Second, they are likely to have more academic deficiencies, and more serious ones, than the other students. And third, because of inner city backgrounds of most of the participants in these programs, participants may be uncertain -- or even skeptical -- of the value the university can have for them. They may perceive it as a relatively stuffy establishment which does not really understand the problems of people who are like themselves. In light of all of these factors, universities have a responsibility to be as free and creative in their programmatic responses as possible.

The special kinds of needs these students have, and the responses they require from the educational institution, have been gradually perceived by both the staff of the program and the University of Minnesota staff involved. As their needs have become more and more clear, the University has made a series of responses to them in nearly every area: administrative structure, remedial services, supportive services, curriculum offerings and teaching methods.* The recommendations in this section include continuation of many of the most successful of these efforts, and, where experience has shown a need for further change, suggestions for way in which educational institutions might further respond to this constituency. The recommendations fall into two general categories: curriculum development and supportive services.

Curriculum Development

Several areas of curriculum development, from the Minneapolis New Careers experience, seem to require particular attention in a successful work/study program. First, the teaching of academic skills must be woven together with the kinds of skills that are required for the job in which the enrollee has his work experience. Of course, this includes the giving of academic credit for work experience.

* For further discussions of the University of Minnesota's responses to the needs of this special student group, sse Knop and Thompson "New Careerists in Higher Education", in mimeo from the Office of Career Development, University of Minnesota

Second, the University must pay particular attention to the techniques of teaching that can be used most successfully with this somewhat atypical student group.

In particular, the curriculum must deal with the learning style of these students, which demands more active oral participation in the classroom setting and requires the instructor to relate the immediate and extensive personal experiences of these students to the abstract academic concepts he is trying to teach them. The students need to be enabled to see the broader cultural implications of the situations they have lived through, and this requires a special kind of teaching. Their parochial view needs to be "metropolitanized".

The quality of teaching has special significance for work/study programs. Students in these programs come with a richness of life experiences that far outstrips that of the traditional young student. To interrelate their expensive "street knowledge" and "mother wit" with the conceptual world of academe requires sophisticated and secure faculty members.

Much more extensive research and experimentation is needed in such areas as the teaching of remedial reading and writing skills, relating teaching methods to the interests and experiences of low-income students, and adapting course offerings to the schedules and interests of these students. It has been established that conventional methods of teaching leave these students, for the most part, bored and frustrated; but much more documented experimentation is needed as to what alternatives are successful. One of the experiments that has been tried at the University of Minnesota, and one which has had success with some students, is the "packaged courses" that were designed and offered by the General College of the University. In these, a student could take several courses whose subject matter was closely related at the same time gathering a group of skills in one quarter that would otherwise be more diffused by the passage of time and change of instructors. In addition, these courses could be altered somewhat in structure and/or content to fit the particular needs of the students. An example of this was a "package" course created by combining Man and his Work and Contemporary Books and Periodicals. This course was described by the instructor as follows:

> The purpose of the package course was to integrate the concepts of the work situation of New Careerists with the socio-historical context of work in American literature. Thus, there was a conscious attempt to relate the particular orientation of New Careerists with a universalistic perspective...By providing the students with these materials, it was hoped that they could begin to analyze and criticize the predominant concepts behind the work situation and the themes and myths behind contemporary books and periodicals.

Third, enrollees of these programs are likely to need a set of courses that are both career-related and offered in a sequence over several quarters or semesters. Especially in the case of those with reading and/or writing problems, this arrangement of courses in sequence can be used to allow students systematically to improve their basic skills, and instructors to build on the progress they make. When there is no sequence, students often find themselves lost in courses they are not prepared for and baffled by some of the assignments they are asked to prepare.

Supportive Services

Particularly in a university as large as the University of Minnesota, the enrollees of work/study programs may feel lost and ignored in the mass of students who attend the University. In the course of admission, registration, book-buying, and other such routinized University processes, the student comes into contact with a variety of people who may by their actions either make the student feel comfortable in the academic setting or confirm his suspicions that the University is really indifferent to his needs and irrelevant to to his life style, and in his perceptions a "racist institution". Most of the early encounters the student has with the University "system" are encounters with secretaries, clerks, and receptionists; because of this, this level of university personnel has a special responsibility to understand and to direct efforts to the insecurity and bafflement of the student. If he gets a patient and understanding reception from these people, who personify the university to him, other problems he has to confront do not seem so overwhelming. Completely aside from the types of services the university offers, the way they are offered can determine their usefulness to the enrollees.

Aside from this general consideration, several areas can be pinpointed as ones in which enrollees of these programs have needs for unique supportive services.

a. Financial Counseling

Many work/study students in programs similar to New Careers come from a background plagued with financial insecurity; many others have never learned how to manage the money they have. Thus, financial crises in enrollees' lives are persistent and recurring events. To some extent, these difficulties can be eased by providing financial counseling for enrollees to enable them to learn how to allot the money they have. To be effective, this counseling must be sensitive to the situation and priorities of the individual involved, and financial plans must be worked out with his and his spouse's participation and approval. Debt counseling, however, has limited uses. Another useful service a university can provide is a short-term emergency loan fund which enrollees can use when emergencies leave them penniless, as they frequently do.

However, the essential problem of many of these students is not that they don't have enough money, but that they have never had enough money. They come to these programs with indebtedness so oppressive and so inescapable that they are often unable to succeed in a work/study program --either because

they must moonlight to supplement their income, or because they endure so much anxiety trying to discover a way out of their problems that they cannot work or study. It is not clear what kind of supportive service could adequately deal with this problem. The daring experiment of simply paying off a person's bills to give him a "fresh start" has yet to be tried. But perhaps in the long run, this may be the only effective solution; and in the long run, a cost-benefit analysis may reveal that it is also the most productive approach.

b. Family-Oriented Services

One of the ways in which program enrollees are different from other students is that they have families with a wide age range of dependents. Students with families have needs for supportive services -- particularly in the mental health and health areas -- that are organized around the needs of all members of the family, not just those of the program enrollee. In many cases, failure to deal with the family as a whole actually results in a waste of resources, since it only deals with one part of a very complex problem and hence cannot solve it.

The fact that these students have families, and thus that their problems call for treatment for non-students, is compounded by other problems which commonly occur in the lives of low-income people. These include: the interrelatedness of a number of problems the enrollee may have; the tendency for low-income persons to have more crises -- emotional, financial,and personal -- than other university students because of the intensity of their academic experience; the special problems enrollees encounter because of their minority group status; the problems that arise with adolescent children; the effects of program participation on marital relationships; and the changes that occur in families which are experiencing fairly rapid upward mobility. Whatever supportive services are offered by a university need to be organized around the needs of the family unit of which the enrollee is a part, as well as around the other factors which make him different from most other students.

c. Transportation

Being involved in a work/study program involves substantial expenditures for transportation and parking at the educational institution and at the work site. Program planners should include funds for transportation in their budget. This need not, however, be a responsibility of the educational institution.

d. Day Care

Many low-income students, and particularly women, can participate in work/study programs only if there is day care for their children. Again, money for this service to enrollees should be seen as a vital part of a program budget.

e. Academic Counseling and Research

As has already been mentioned, the special constituency of these programs presents special needs in the areas of remedial studies and academic counseling. However, little information is available about documented successes in providing these services for low-income people. Two areas in particular need extensive and careful research. First, there are few, if any, relevant ways to assess the skills of incoming enrollees in this constituency. Conventional predictive instruments, such as scores on standardized tests, do not reflect the life experience of these people. Often, their high school experience was some time ago, long before standardized tests became a standard fixture in getting an education. They are often frightened and intimidated by the form of the test itself,which only compounds the effects of their unfamiliarity with the multiple-choice questions, the machine-scored answer sheet, and the timed examination. High school records, another conventional way of measuring students' ability to succeed in college work, are also irrelevant in this constituency. Many of these students never finished high school, and their records are erratic. Some achieved their diploma through GED programs and their records are not easily compared to those of other students . And for many, the high school experience took place so long ago that it cannot be used as an accurate assessment of the individual's capabilities at a much more mature stage of his life.

From our experiences, success for these students is related to a number of motivational factors for which there are no reliable measure -- determination, "coping skills" and support from members of the family, for example. At present, these can only be measured in a somewhat intuitive and non-empirical way.

There is a need, in sum, for the development of measures which predict success in college for students who do not fit the pattern of the conventional student group. Particularly as more students fromthe low-income community are joined by larger groups of returning G.I.'s and by an increasing number of students who do not go directly from high school to college, it seems imperative that research in this area begin to take place.

The second area in which more research is needed is in the evaluation of methods of dealing with the academic problems of low-income students on the college campus. In many cases, it is obvious that some enrollees need a transitional period in which they can improve their study, reading, and writing skills before they enter the competitive situation of the regular University coursework. Basic elements of such a program, from our experience, should be: communication skills; coursework stressing abstract thinking and organizational ability; and basic math skills. But beyond these specific skill areas, attention should be given to the building of the student's confidence in himself, as well as the diagnosis of his academic problems.

The problem for researchers and creative educators in this area is to discover ways in which this process of diagnosis and remediation can take place with some success. At this time, it is difficult to decide exactly which individuals need which kinds of help, and even more difficult to know how to give them the kind of help which will be of use to them in University coursework.

Summary

In short, most of the responses the University can make to the special "disadvantaged" constituency enrolled in a work/study program involve the very characteristics that make them unlike other University students. In addition, special responses are needed because of the nature of a work/study program and the stresses it involves. The University of Minnesota has been quick to respond in many of these areas, and has in many ways been flexible even in altering its own response when it became obvious it was not working as well as had been expected. This is perhaps the most important response an educational institution can make to the advent of low-income students: that it be flexible and willing to change in response to student needs, even when it involves self-evaluation and self-criticism.

Administration of the Program

Another area in which recommendations can be made on the basis of the Minneapolis New Careers experience is the area of program administration. As anyone involved in a New Careers program can attest, the very design of the program involves an almost overwhelming complexity. The guidelines and administrative rules of the Federal funding sources must constantly be observed; the local agencies which provide job sites must be coordinated and communicated with; the institution of higher education must be taken into account in planning; and the student group brings a range of problems which are largely unknown to those who have dealt with more traditional students.

The problem of coordinating all these variables, while at the same time responding creatively to unpredictable circumstances and the need for long-range planning, requires a skilled and flexible staff. To complicate their jobs by adding unnecessary layers of administrative structure can make it impossible for them to function effectively. For every subcontract that is made to administer a New Careers program, there is an unnecessary duplication of administrative effort. This leads to areas of conflict and misunderstanding which can seriously damage a program. From the Minneapolis New Careers experience, a simplified, unified staff which is located in one place seems by far the best model for administration of a work/study program for low-income students.

Agency Commitments

The Minneapolis New Careers program demanded and received an extraordinary commitment on the part of its enrollees and the University of Minnesota to make the program successful in achieving its goals. However, the failure on the part of the agencies to provide permanent jobs with built-in career ladders for the enrollees was disappointing. With the exception of the Minneapolis Public Schools, and a few small agencies such as Family and Children's Service, most agencies failed to provide career ladders for advancement.

There were several apparent reasons for this failure of commitment. First, many agencies failed to develop a line item in their budgets for the New Careers

portion of their staffing on a permanent basis. It was the intent of the timing plan which was part of the program to distribute the burden of salary payments so that agencies could make provisions for future funding. Very few agencies, however, used this device.

Second, many agencies did not perceive the paraprofessional as having much usefulness to their functions, and were reluctant to take on the job of restructuring that would have been necessary for enrollees to be most valuable in their roles as "bridge" personnel. And, since the paraprofessionals were not seen as uniquely valuable to the operation of the agency, their jobs were not seen as worth funding on a permanent basis.

Third, the use of paraprofessionals requires a pool of very skilled supervisors at the agency. These people, to be successful at utilizing the enrollees, had to envision the roles they would fill and then respond creatively in training the enrollee to play those roles. This supervisory talent, for various reasons, was very sparse in the agencies to which New Careerists were assigned. This problem only made the usefulness of enrollees seem even less deserving of permanent funding; but in fact, it was lack of response in the agencies that was at fault in many cases.

In light of these contributing factors, some recommendations can be made in regard to agency commitments. First, if public service agencies are to be asked for a long-term commitment to employ paraprofessionals, then their slim financial resources must be bolstered to enable them to meet their added financial obligations. Two possible sources of funding seem most likely to fulfill this need. First, there is a need for continuing Federal subsidies to public service agencies which provide jobs of this type. In this light, a Public Service Careers Program seems a welcome innovation, if it can provide a subsidy for job creation. Its upgrading emphasis, which permits regular staff to take training for upward mobility, reducing the resentment felt for the New Careerist because of his special opportunity, is certainly on the right track.

Second, it can be suggested that one of the priorities of United Fund or Community Chest organizations could be giving financial support to the development of paraprofessional positions in the agencies that are funded by these organizations.

Third, experiments are needed in the area of supervision. At this point, there is little evidence as to what makes an effective supervisor or how supervisors themselves can be trained to work with paraprofessionals in the human services. Documented research studies in this area are necessary. One such experiment has been suggested above; many others can be devised and evaluated. Particular attention can be focused on the effects on supervision of 1) professionalization; 2) the nature of the enrollee's tasks; 3) the type and structure of the agency; 4) the approach of the supervisor toward supervision; and 5) the role of persons outside the agency in providing partial or total supervision.

Finally, professional schools in education, health, law and social work must develop coursework that enabled their graduate students, who will be the new professionals to work within a team which will include the paraprofessional.

Summary

In sum, many recommendations for future programs can be made on the basis of the Minneapolis New Careers program. First, the nature of the work/study model which New Careers employs dictates flexibility on the part of employing agencies, the educational institution, and the staff of the program. Second, the unique needs of a low-income population such as the one New Careers involved require somewhat different curriculum development and supportive services than those offered for the conventional University student. Third, administrative complexities of a program such as New Careers must be kept at a minimum if the creative, responsive staff it needs is to be able to function. And finally, several remedial steps -- and other experimental ones-- need to be taken to enable agencies to make the fulfill a long-term commitment to employing paraprofessionals.

APPENDIX A:

INTRODUCTION TO THE MINNEAPOLIS NEW CAREERS PROGRAM

Beginning in the summer of 1967, the Minneapolis New Careers Program was funded by the Department of Labor, drawing its legislative authority and financial muscle from the 1966 "Scheuer Amendment" to the Economic Opportunity Act. The program has been administered by the Community Action Program of Hennepin County Mobilization of Economic Resources (MOER) Board.

The New Careers concept involves three somewhat independent goals or purposes. First, there is the goal of helping low income people enter the job market in an area of high demand and great social need, namely human service occupations. Secondly, the New Careers concept aims at improving services themselves by allowing the low income aide or worker to help the middle class professional relate to a variety of "minority" groups: e.g., the poor, the non-white, the alienated. Third, the concept implies the development of new careers - the creation of socially useful jobs at entry-level with appropriate education and training allowing for advancement on the career ladder within the agency, or between agencies.

While these three major goals may appear somewhat unrelated, they are actually fused together by a pervasive goal: the restructuring of staffing patterns in human service agencies and institutions with accompanying changes in higher educational institutions, in order to achieve a relevant response to the unique education needs of those advancing in New Careers.

Frank Riessman and Arthur Pearl in their 1965 publication, New Careers for the Poor, provided the theoretcial framework for the New Careers movement. Within this framework wide latitude was permitted in the design of experimental programs which implement the Riessman and Pearl objectives. In Minneapolis, the experimental model had two features that clearly distinguished it from other developing programs throughout the country: one is that from the first, the Minneapolis program was firmly anchored in an institution of higher learning, the University of Minnesota, where an experimental education component is being tested with the cooperation of the General College and the General Extension Division. The second distinguishing feature arises from the fact that the Minneapolis Public Schools had 115 of the 207 allotted job slots. This gave the program a strong slant on education as the new career field of emphasis. Diverse career opportunities in recreation, employment, corrections, care of the mentally retarded and mentally ill, however, were also significant in the Minneapolis program.

For the enrollee, the purpose of the program was to provide jobs with built-in career ladders, and academic credentials that would enable them to utilize these advancement possibilities. At the beginning of the program, enrollees were placed in human service agencies in entry-level positions. They were also enrolled in an educational component - for most, the University of Minnesota.

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THE MINNEAPOLIS NEW CAREERS PROGRAM: A FOLLOW-UP STUDY.

BY

MARGARET A. THOMPSON

CHPATER I: INTRODUCTION

A. The New Careers Concept

Beginning in the summer of 1967, the Minneapolis New Careers Program was funded by the Department of Labor, drawing its legislative authority and financial muscle from the 1966 "Scheuer Amendment" to the Economic Opportunity Act. The program has been administered by the Community Action Program of Hennepin County's Mobilization of Economic Resources (MOER) Board.

The New Careers concept involves three somewhat independent goals or purposes. First, there is the goal of helping low income people enter the job market in an area of high demand and great social need, namely human service occupations. Secondly, the New Careers concept aims at improving services themselves by allowing the low income aide or worker to help the middle class professional relate to a variety of "minority" groups: e.g., the poor, the non-white, the alienated. Third, the concept implies the development of new careers - the creation of socially useful jobs at entry level with appropriate education and training allowing for advancement on the career ladder within the agency, or between agencies.

While these three major goals may appear somewhat unrelated, they are actually fused together by a pervasive goal: the restructuring of staffing patterns in human service agencies and institutions with accompanying changes in higher educational institutions, in order to achieve a relevant response to the unique education needs of those advancing in New Careers.

Frank Riessman and Arthur Pearl in their 1965 publication, New Careers for the Poor, provided the theoretical framework for the New Careers movement. Within this framework wide latitude was permitted in the design of experimental programs which implement the Riessman and Pearl objectives. In Minneapolis, the experimental model had two features that clearly distinguished it from other developing programs throughout the country: one is that from the first, the Minneapolis program was firmly anchored in an institution of higher learning, the University of Minnesota, where an experimental education component is being tested with the cooperation of the General College and the General Extension Division. The second distinguishing feature arises from the fact that the Minneapolis Public Schools had 115 of the 207 allotted job slots. This gave the program a strong slant on education as the new career field of emphasis. Diverse career opportunities in recreation, employment, corrections, care of the mentally retarded and mentally ill, however, were also significant in the Minneapolis program.

For the enrollee, the purpose of the program was to provide jobs with built-in career ladders, and academic credentials that would enable them to utilize these advancement possibilities. At the beginning of the program, enrollees were placed in human service agencies in entry-level positions. They were also enrolled in an educational component - for most, the University of Minnesota.

B. The Follow-Up Study

The program lasted a little over two years. After all had finished their period of enrollment, it seemed important to know what effect the program had had on them, if any. In an attempt to assess the outcome of New Careers, all enrollees who had been on the payroll for two full years as of December 31, 1969, were contacted and interviewed. In cases where no personal contact could be made with an individual, agency and University records were used to provide at least a minimal amount of information. The questions they were asked concerned the two major program components: the job and the education process. In addition, agencies were contacted to determine the kinds of commitments they had made.

The study group - those who completed two years - does not comprise the whole New Careers enrollee group by any means. Many people dropped out before they had completed their two years, for various reasons: to work full-time; to go to school full-time; for better jobs; because of legal problems; to join other Federal programs.1 But it was felt that those who were in the program for two full years could be assumed to have received approximately equal amounts of opportunity. Further, the study was limited to this group because they are the only people who participated in all aspects of the program.

Four aspects of New Careers seem most important in terms of evaluation in a follow-up study. First, it is of value to know what kinds of educational experiences New Careerists had access to, the extent to which they were able to take advantage of them, and whether or not they continued their education after their two years with the program.

Second, it is important to look at the changes in kinds and stability of the jobs New Careerists held. One of the requirements of admission to the program was that the prospective enrollee had to be unemployed or underemployed. One of the main thrusts of New Careers was to provide employment in the human services for its enrollees. In looking at their jobs after they are no longer in the program, several aspects are significant whether the jobs are in the human service field, whether they offer a living wage, and whether they provide some employment security.

Third, New Careers involved a commitment on the part of user agencies to employ enrollees on a permanent basis after their two years in the program. In a follow-up study, it is important to investigate the extent to which agencies fulfilled their obligations in this area.

Finally, it gave agencies responsibility for developing career ladders, so that enrollees would have access to higher positions in the agency as they gained experience and education. The extent to which agencies did this is another area of concern in this study.

CHAPTER II: THE EDUCATIONAL PICTURE

A. Enrollment in School

Of the ninety-two former enrollees contacted, slightly more than half (51%) were still in school. In general, these people were those who were able to support themselves and to continue their education at the same time. They did this in one of two ways, with a few exceptions: some were able to arrange to be paid for full-time jobs with release time to attend school; others worked full-time and had their school expenses paid by scholarship or grant. A few were at school full-time, supporting themselves by loans and scholarships or part-time work.

Of those students who were not in school, many expressed a wish to return. However, they said they were unable to do so because they had to work full-time to support their families, and could not afford the time and/or money required. In most of these cases, if release time could have been arranged and school expenses paid, the enrollee would have been delighted to continue his education. As it was, financial responsibilities were prohibitive.

B. Accumulated Credits

These 47 former New Careerists had accumulated an average of 102.2 credits in a system which requires 180 credits for the bachelor's degree. The distribution of the students as to the credits they have earned is shown below:

Number of Credits	Number of Students	%
0-49	1	2.1
50-59	0	0.0
60-69	6	12.8
70-79	7	14.9
80-89	4	8.5
90-99	5	10.6
100-109	5	10.6
110-119	2	4.3
120-129	5	10.6
130-139	4	8.5
140-149	4	8.5
150-159	3	6.4
Graduated	1	2.1
TOTAL	47	99.9

Over 60% of the students still in school have earned more than half the credits they need for a bachelor's degree.

C. College

Most New Careerists began their college career in the General College of the University - a two year college in the University system. Upon completion of 90 credits, an individual may terminate his education with an A.A. degree or transfer to another college to continue his education. The process of transferring takes several weeks, however, and many students with more than 90 credits are still technically in General College because their transfers have not been completed. At the present time, the students are distributed through the colleges in this way:

College	Number of Students	%
General College - U. of M.	27	57.6
College of Liberal Arts - U. of M.	5	10.6
College of Education - U. of M.	9	19.1
University College - U. of M.	4	8.5
Law School - U. of M.	1	2.1
Augsburg College	1	2.1
TOTAL	47	99.9

D. Major

Many of the students have not made a firm decision about a major, but those who have are concentrated heavily in the human services area, as the following table shows:

Major	Number of Students	%
Social Welfare	10	28.6
Education	13	37.1
Sociology	9	25.7
Public Administration	1	2.9
Law	1	2.9
Park Administration	1	2.9
		100.1

Most of them have chosen to major in a subject which is directly related to the jobs they were placed in during their New Careers placement - Teacher Aides in Education, Counselor Aides in social welfare, and Park Aides in Park Administration, for example.

E. Degrees Received

Of the students who remained in New Careers their full two years, at least 28 earned college degrees - 23 earned the A.A. degree, 2 the A.L.A degree, 2 the B.A. degree, and 1 the B.S. degree in education. As can be seen from the accumulated credits listed above, about 10 more students can be expected to attain degrees at the bachelor's level within the next year or so. In addition, about 20 will be receiving the A.A. degree in that time.

Some students may have transferred out of General College before receiving the A.A. degree, and proceeded directly toward a bachelor's degree. Each of these degrees can be seen as a credential which can be used to gain access to jobs on career ladders or to further education. As such, they are concrete evidence of the ability of low-income students to complete academic coursework and advance through systems of upward mobility which are based on conventional credentialling.

In sum, former new Careerists whose financial situation permitted it - about half - are continuing the education they began on the program. Almost without exception, they are involved in the various fields of the human services - teaching, counseling, social work, administration. Those who are not in school generally wish they were, and attribute their non-attendance largely to financial problems.

CHPATER III: THE JOB SITUATION

A. Employment Prior to New Careers

To get an accurate picture of the kinds of jobs former New Careerists hold now, it is necessary to know their employment situation before they joined the program. Of 92 persons contacted, nearly one-third received their main financial support from AFDC; another one-third were self-employed at a level so low that they qualified for a poverty program. A total of 50 persons - over half- were receiving some support from public assistance sources before they joined New Careers. The following table shows New Careerist's means of support prior to joining the program.

Main Source of Support	Number of Persons	%
Self	29	31.5
Persons other than self (spouse, parents)	4	4.3
Combination: Self and other (AFDC, Soc. Sec., etc.)	12	13.0
Combination: Spouse and other (V.A., Soc. Sec., etc)	2	2.2
AFDC	30	32.6
Social Security, pension, V.A.	7	7.6
No response, other	8	8.7
	92	99.9

Excluding the former enrollees who were unemployed and/or on AFDC before they joined New Careers. The average hourly wage of the group was $1.98. Many in the group were paid $2.00 an hour for part-time work as teacher aides in the public schools. For these persons, annual earnings were very low- usually, low enough to enable the person to receive AFDC as well. But even for those who worked full-time, the average wage produced an annual income of less than $4,000. Added to these minimal earnings was the problem of unstable and irregular employment due to lack of education, poor access to jobs with any mobility built into them, a fluctuating job market, and other contingencies. In general, these people were among the most vulnerable in the job market.

Most New Careerists were not in jobs concerned with the human services before they joined New Careers. Rather, they were employed wherever they could get work. Their lack of educational credentials and marketable skills forced them into jobs that could be learned quickly by almost anyone - and this included very few human service jobs.

It was the design of the New Careers Program to place these individuals in human service jobs that would be permanent and provide some security and opportunities for upward mobility based on increments of experience and education.

B. Present Employment

The present employment of former New Careerists is a complex situation. Most are employed in one of four arrangements:

1. working full-time
2. working half-time and attending school half-time with school expenses paid by the Career Opportunities Program (COP)
3. working half-time and attending school, with expenses paid in some other way
4. working half-time but not in school

The former enrollees who are employed, are distributed through these four categories in this way:

Extent of Employment	Number of Students	%
Full-time	50	63.8
Half-time (COP)	21	26.2
Half-time, in school (other)	7	8.75
Half-time, not in school	1	1.25
TOTAL	79	100.00

Of ninety-two persons contacted, only 13 (14.1%) were not working. Of these 13, five were in school at the University full-time; the other eight were neither employed nor in school. As far as could be determined, only two enrollees were receiving AFDC, and one of these was enrolled in the WIN (Work Incentives) program to enable her to finish her educational program on a full-time basis.

The kinds of jobs held for former New Careerists are shown in the table below:

Type of Job	Number of Students	&
Minneapolis Public Schools		
Teacher Aide I- ½ time/COP	2	
Teacher Aide I -full-time	7	
Teacher Aide II-½ time/COP	17	
Teacher Aide II-full-time	21	
Teacher Aide II-½time	1	
Counselor Aide II-½time/COP	1	
Counselor Aide II-full-time	1	
Social Work Aide I-½time/COP	1	
Social Work Aide I-full-time	1	
Social Work Aide II-full-time	7	
Consultant - full-time	1	
Teacher - full-time	1	
	61	66.3

Type of Job		Number of Students	%
Counselors, other than Public Schools			
half-time		3	
full-time		4	
	TOTAL	7	7.6
Other Human Service Work			
half-time		3	
full-time		5	
	TOTAL	8	8.7
Law Enforcement			
half-time		1	
full-time		1	
	TOTAL	2	2.2
Non-Human Service (full-time)	TOTAL	1	1.1
Unemployed			
in school		5	
not in school		8	
	TOTAL	13	14.1

The average hourly wage earned by New Careerists at the present time is $3.14, an increase of over $1.00 an hour from the enrollee's pre-program wage. This hourly increase represents a considerable increase of income when the additional factors of job stability and greater amounts of full-time employment are taken into account. In this group, all enrollees who work for the Minneapolis Public Schools have a guarantee of steady and permanent employment. Those who are on the Careers Opportunities Program have a promise of full-time employment when they want it, with promotions for further education. And some enrollees in other agencies are now employed as Civil Service personnel and are therefore assured of continuing work.

In effect, at least 71 persons are self-employed on a full-time basis with a promise of continuing employment. This compares to 29 persons who were self-employed before the program; and the quality and stability of the jobs is much improved.

In sum, the employment picture for New Careersists who remained in the program a full two years has gone through a dramatic change. Wages are higher; jobs have much more built-in advancement possibilities; positions are permanent; and some agencies permit release time for school.

CHAPTER IV: AGENCY COMMITMENTS: JOBS

A large component of the New Careers Program was a commitment on the part of agencies to provide permanent full-time jobs for enrollees upon completion of the program.

In an attempt to evaluate whether this commitment had been fulfilled, a survey of agency placements was conducted. * Two counts were taken: how many slots the agency had originally provided; and how many New Careerists were still employed by the agency as of March 1, 1970. The results are shown in the table below.

Employment Stability

	Column 1 Assigned	Column 2 Still Employed	% Still Employed
Minneapolis Urban League	2	1	50%
Minneapolis Department of Civil Rights	4	1	25%
State Department of Human Rights	6	0	0%
State Department of Employment Security	10	5	5%
U. of M. Agricultural Extension Service	12	1	8%
Family and Children's Service	2	1	50%
Minneapolis Housing Inspection Bureau	6	2	33%
Anoka State Hospital	6	0	0%
Minnesota Department of Corrections	8	2	25%
Minneapolis Park Board	2	1	50%
Minneapolis City Workhouse	4	1	25%
Minneapolis Police Department	5	1	20%
Westminster Day Care Center	6	2	33%
SUBTOTAL	73	18	
TCOIC	54	2	4%
SUBTOTAL	127	20	
Minneapolis Public Schools	171	91	53%
TOTAL	298	112	38%

* These data were collected by Fred Amram and the staff of Project HELP at the University of Minnesota.

The table shows that, were it not for the Minneapolis Public Schools, the percentage of New Careerists still employed in the agencies to which they were assigned would be very low. While it is true that in some instances New Careerists voluntarily left their agencies, for the most part permanent job opportunities simply were not provided by contracted agencies.

TCOIC (Twin Cities Opportunities Industrialization Center) was listed separately because it was initially a major employer of New Careerists. Serious financial and contractual complications caused the termination of almost all TCOIC New Careers employees.

The Minneapolis Public Schools have also been listed separately from the other agencies because they were the largest New Careers employer and because they retained a very large proportion of New Careerists. It should be noted that the Minneapolis Public Schools offered even more contracts than indicated in Column 2 of the table. However, a number of New Careerists chose full-time attendance at the University of Minnesota instead.

In sum, a little over one-third of the enrollees were still employed at their original New Careers agencies as of March 1, 1970. It can be noted, however, that many enrollees were able to locate satisfactory jobs in other agencies (see Chapter III: The Job Situation). Others are attending school full-time to get credentials that will enable them to get jobs on the open market.

CHAPTER V: AGENCY COMMITMENTS: CAREER LADDERS

The idea of "career ladders" in the New Careers program had several parts. It was suggested that jobs being done by professionals could often be done, at least in part, by paraprofessionals who could relate to the clients or patients in a more fruitful way than the professionals themselves. Further, the New Careers concept was aimed at providing new careers - careers which were not in existence prior to the program but could be created to fill gaps in the pattern of services that were being rendered, or to respond to human needs in more creative ways than the present ones. And finally, New Careers was to provide ladders on which enrollees could advance as they gained experience and education. In other words, the new careers should be connected with those that had already existed and enrollees should be able to make a steady climb through paraprofessional to professional positions as they gained academic credits and years of experience.

In the area of career ladders, one agency - the Minneaplis Public Schools - provided a notable example of a workable career ladder system for paraprofessionals. The system included steps which were of progressively more difficulty, and had pay increments for each step. The ladder has consistently been used for New Careerists who are still employed by the Minneapolis Public Schools, and some are on the highest rung. They will become teachers upon completion of their teaching cretificates.

Some other agencies had career ladders in theory, but failed to implement them in practice when the opportunity arose. This was because of various situations in agencies and in the program. Perhaps one of the most important reasons for it was that New Careerists were never seen by some agencies as permanent, full-time employees. Further, some agencies did not find the New Careers concept practical or useful for their particular kinds of operation on a long-term basis, so they felt no commitment to the development of career ladders except for some or all of the New Careerists at the agency. The Minneapolis Public Schools, on the other hand, saw the likelihood of an on-going program of the New Careers type; so it seemed profitable to develop a workable career ladder for the enrollees of that program.

In some other agencies, an enrollee could advance in the agency through the structure that existed before he came, but no new career ladders were provided. In some cases, this was because the tasks in the agency were perceived as being capable of no further segmentation. In others, it was because some career ladders had already been created for people without the usual credentials, and no new ones were seen as necessary. Enrollees in these agencies did have job mobility, but the long-term benefits of changes in the credentialling system were notably absent.

There was a great deal of variation in the numbers and kinds of career ladders that were created, and in their durability over time. In some respects, this variation is a function of the size of the agency and the number of different kinds of personnel it is able to employ. In turn, this revolves around the complexity of the tasks the agency performs, and the ease with which those tasks can be segmented. In larger agencies and those with tasks which can be broken down into a large number of segments, it could be predicted that career ladders

would be more likely to be implemented, since larger numbers of paraprofessional personnel would have to be classified, paid, and given job responsibilitis. The sheer problem of bookkeeping in an agency like this could be expected to lead to some sort of job classification and advancement program.

In a smaller agency, and/or one with a less complex set of tasks to perform, it could be predicted that more informal and less permanent arrangements for classification, pay, and job assignmetn would be found. In this type of agency, relationships between persons and tasks are likely to change more frequently and more readily, and be more responsive to the personalities and preferences of individuals. Often, the job description is virtually non-existent in these agencies, and may bear little relationship to what the individual actually does.

The size of the agency and the complexity of its role have important effects on the creation and implementation of career ladders for paraprofessionals. It appears that if permanent career ladders are seen as an important goal of a New Careers program, it can be best reached by placing enrollees in large agencies with complex tasks which can easily be broken down into components. If, on the other hand, a flexible, short-term job experience for individual enrollees are sought, it seems likely that they could be created most easily in smaller agencies with less complex tasks. At the same time, agencies with more bureaucratic structures should not be assumed to be rigid and unresponsive simply on that account. It is often the case that the small working units of large bureaucratic organizations have as free-wheeling and flexible an organizational structure as do smalller organizations themselves. In fact, according to the Minneapolis experience, some large, bureaucratic organizations can provide both a permanent system of career ladders and a set of flexible work situations which can be tailored to fit the needs of individual enrollees.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSIONS

A. The Evaluation of New Careers

It is clear that New Careers can be thought of and evaluated in two different ways: as a training program, its function is to help enrollees gain the education they need to get jobs, and to provide the jobs. The effect of the education and jobs, ideally, would be to enable enrollees to hold steady, permanent jobs after their support from the program had ended.

In evaluating New Careers as a training program, the researcher looks at how much education enrollees actually received and what type it was, whether they are able to continue in their education, what kinds of jobs they have after the program and what their earnings are.

In these terms, the Minneapolis New Careers Program can be seen as a successful one. Enrollees finished about half the credits for a bachelor's degree on the average; they are generally in the fields of human service; and about one-half are still in school even though the program has ended. There was a substantial improvement in the average wages the enrollees earned, as well as a more steady form of employment for most. Viewed as a route by which low-income people's lives can be bettered, one by one, New Careers is successful. The question of whether the "system has been changed, however, is still not answered. Is it any easier for more low-income people to have steady, profitable work because of New Careers, or would they have the same arduous path to follow if they started today?

In answering this question, the view of New Careers is that it is intended to be an agent of social change. In this function, it should act upon institutions of higher education and agencies to change them in such a way that they would be more responsive and accessible to low-income people. The criteria for evaluation here are much more abstract, but it is more likely that the extent to which New Careerists are still on their jobs and career ladders are present in agencies are at least indicators of the changes that have taken place in the larger social system. In both cases, the accomplishments are discouraging: very few agencies retained many of their New Careerists, and all but one failed to develop and implement career ladders. It appears then, that New Careers acted to provide access for low-income people as they presently exist, but was not as successful in changing the paths of access to those systems.

More responsive to change as a result of the experience with New Careerists has been an institution of higher education, the University of Minnesota. For detailed discussion of changes in response to low-income students as represented by the New Careerists, see the study "New Careerists In Higher Education" by Edward C. Knop and Margaret A. Thompson. *

* Available in mimeo form from the Office of Career Development, University of Minnesota.

B. Recommendations for Future Programs

On the basis of the Minneapolis New Careers Program, several recommendations can be made as to ways in which other programs might be designed to better reach the goals they set:

1. Arrangements should be made with agencies to provide permanent jobs for enrollees after the program's end. (More details on this can be found in Part I).
2. Agencies and/or universities should permit enrollees release time and/or scholarships for education after the program's end. This enables the enrollees to become an independent agent in the job market, able to get jobs on the basis of credentials.
3. If one of the goals of the program is to change the credentialling system, agencies should be required to provide career ladders and to implement them.
4. Agencies with large bureaucratic structures are more likely to establish career ladders and implement them than smaller agencies. They are also able to provide innovative placements on some occasions.
5. Agencies will be more responsive to providing career ladder and permanent jobs for enrollees if they have financial incentives, particularly when the economy is strained. These could come from the Federal government, or from other levels of government.

APPENDIX: FOUR CASE STUDIES*

I. Mr. R., age 50. Employed: Minneapolis Department of Civil Rights.

Mr. R. enrolled in the New Careers Program in November 1967. His educational training varied: receiving 10 years at Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, and Dunwoody Institute in Minneapolis.

His work experience before New Careers was constant but varied in nature. He worked 13 years as a laborer on construction and played in a small band in the evening to supplement his income.

He remained in the New Careers Program mainly to achieve an AA degree and to retrain. A serious back injury in February 1966 had led him to believe he would not be able to work again. But the program met most of his needs, restoring him to activity. He is presently working for the Department of Civil Rights as an Assistant Investigator of Complaints for persons being discriminated against in the areas of employment, housing, and social involvements.

II. Mr. P., age 35. Employed: Minneapolis Boy Scouts.

Mr. P. enrolled in the New Careers Program in October 1967. His previous occupation was his own business, and his main reason for remaining in the program was to complete his education. He feels he could not have completed his education without New Careers.

He is now working as an Executive Director of the Minneapolis Boy Scouts, which serves 700 youth on the Northside and several thousand throughout the state.

III. Mr. B., age 46. Employed: Minneapolis Education Association.

Mr. B. is a high school graduate. He worked as a retail salesman at a hotel and in the evenings as a waiter for 10 years. He worked for 12 years at Northern Pacific Railway as a waiter. His main reason for staying in the New Careers Program was to get a long-sought education. He received his AA degree in 1969 and is still continuing at the University of Minnesota. He had tried for many years to get further education, but couldn't do this until New Careers came along. His reasons were 10 children and holding a full-time job. He is presently attending the University full-time and working full-time in order to meet the needs of his family. He has 130 credits in a social welfare curriculum. His job is the Executive Director of para-professionals of the Minneapolis Education Association.

IV. Mr. M., age 36. Employed: Federal Narcotics Rehabilitation Program, Catholic Welfare Association.

Mr. M. enrolled in the program in 1968. Prior to the program, he had received an eighth grade education. His main reason for remaining on the program was that he was taking courses at the University of Minnesota in relation to his work. The job he now holds is an assistant for the Federal Narcotics Rehabilitation Program administered by the N.A.R. act of 1966. He is very satisfied with this job, as he feels he is working in a very worthwhile area.

* Excerpted from Hennepin County Office of Economic Opportunity News Letter, November, 1970.