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Profile of Oakland's Publicly-Supported Job Training Programs

David W. Campt



The University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum is a partnership of the University of California at Berkeley; California State University, Hayward; Mills College; Holy Names College; the Peralta Community College District; and the Oakland community.

University of California at Berkeley Institute of Urban and Regional Development

Introduction

This report summarizes a research project carried out concerning employment and training programs in the city of Oakland. The study was conducted during the summer of 1989, and included interviews with over 15 training programs well as members of the city agencies that administer the funding of the programs.

This report was commissioned as part of the University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum's Panel on Economic Development, as well as the Education and Youth Panel. It follows a Forum report by John Landis and Carmen Concepcion which described the population of Oakland's unemployed. The Forum's intent was to discover what it could about the programs the city supports that are designed to train and place the chronically unemployed. In accord with the Forum's intentions, the report highlights three aspects of the Oakland's publicly supported employment and training programs (ETPs). Specifically:

- o Who are in these programs?
- What types of training are they being provided?
- Are the ETP graduates getting jobs, and if so, what types of jobs?

The Forum anticipated that the information gathered in this study could be used to direct future Forum work aimed ultimately at improving the prospects for Oakland citizens as well as the city's overall economy.

The format for gathering data about the programs was straightforward. Managers at over 15 publicly supported ETPs participated in 45 to 90 minute interviews which took place at the ETP

site. In addition to the broad questions previously mentioned, managers were encouraged to describe what changes in the environment outside their programs--whether in government, business, or the non-profit sector--would help them carry out their mission more effectively.

Most of the programs interviewed were agencies operating under the Private Industry Council's grant for funds under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). The study focused on mainstream programs. JTPA contractors that served more narrowly targeted populations, such as the physically disabled, the emotionally disabled, and youth looking for a summer employment experience, were not surveyed. Due to logistical difficulties, four mainstream contractors were not interviewed. In addition, four publicly subsidized agencies that are not Oakland JTPA contractors were interviewed, because a substantial portion of these agencies' clients were Oakland residents.

In addition to the interviews of ETP managers, the Private Industry Council, and the Office of Economic Development and Employment were contacted. OEDE provided statistics that are included here about program participants and subcontractors; PIC representatives provided an explanation of the city's administrative structure. These statistics, which will be discussed in this paper, include only the Oakland-based JTPA contractors.

Organizational Background

The majority of ETP programs in the city of Oakland are under the auspices of the federal JTPA programs. Responsibility for effectively spending state and federal JTPA monies is shared by the Private Industry Council and the City's Office of Economic Development and Employment.

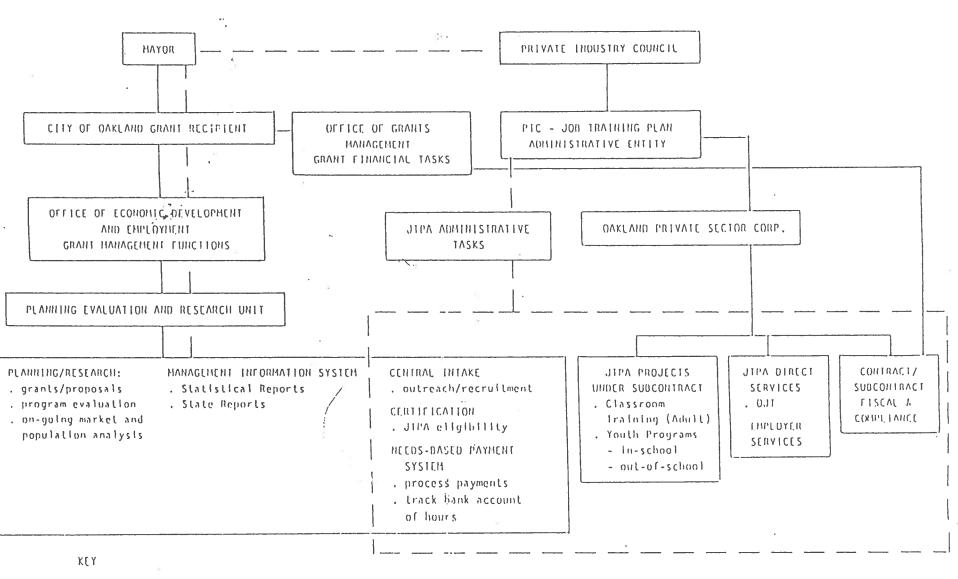
OEDE has the charge of handling most of the client-related paperwork (such as the verification of client eligibility for JTPA training), and maintaining the city's management information system for employment programs. The office also handles the planning and research functions, which includes ongoing market and population analysis, and reviewing proposals for training from contractors. After reviewing these proposals, OEDE makes recommendations to the PIC Board of Directors about which ones should be awarded JTPA contracts.

In addition to making these decisions, the PIC staff has the task of monitoring the contractors to ensure that the provisions of the contracts are fulfilled. When its requirements for contract compliance are met, the PIC reimburses the contractor for proper training expenses. According to the PIC, this reimbursement typically happens within thirty days. (See Figures 1 and 2 for further explanation). After payment is made, the PIC is itself reimubursed by the city.

Most JTPA clients are provided training under Title II of the JTPA act, which includes two broad types of programs. The city enrolled approximately 1,000 people over age 21 in the fiscal year ending July 1989, with 731 of that number achieving some type of program termination during the fiscal year.

If an adult leaves a program to find a job, the termination is considered positive regardless of whether the program has been completed or not. A youth has a positive termination if he or she leaves a program to get a job or to get more education, or if the client completes the program after attaining a demonstrable improvement in skills relating to finding or holding a job. All other terminations are classified as negative.

ORGANIZATIONAL AND FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE OAKLAND JIPA SYSTEM



Coordinating Relationship and Advisory Lines

Direct Line of Authority and Task Supervision

ORGANIZATIONAL FUNCTIONS

OAKLAND PRIVATE SECTOR CORPORATION (OPSC)

Administers the day-to-day operations of the Fiscal, Monitoring and Direct Services Programs under the PIC.

FISCAL

- * Formulates and presents budgets
- * Prepares financial reports.
- * Ensures compliance with applicable federal and state regulations.
- * Monitors fiscal systems of contracting agencies.
- * Contract development and review.
- * General business office
- * Contractor reimbursement.

OPERATIONS

- * Monitors and negotiates JTPA and specially funded PIC contracts.
- * Evaluates classroom training
- * Monitors and evaluates OJT and
- * Provides technical assistance to contractors.
- * Reviews corrective action plans.
- functions (i.e., procurement). * Interprets SDA, federal and state policies and regulations.

- curricula.
- Work Experience Programs.

DIRECT SERVICES

Title II-A 78%, 6% (Homeless Program), 3%, Title III

- * Develops classroom training.
- * Direct placement.
- * O.IT.
- * Job search workshops.
- * Customized training.
- * Training services for the disabled.
- * Monitors Homeless Program 6%.

CITY OF OAKLAND OFFICE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT (OEDE)

Day-to-day operations of Planning/Evaluation and Research Unit and Central Intake Unit.

PLANNING EVALUATION AND RESEARCH UNIT (PERU)

- * Grants/proposals.
- * Program evaluation.
- * Research in conjunction with OPSC staff and Economic Development.
- * On-going analysis of population to be served.
- * Labor market analysis/gather data in response to commissions, sub-committees, City Council, etc.
- * Payroll/MIS Supervisor.

CENTRAL INTAKE UNIT (CIU)

- * Refer, receive, and screen applicants.
- * Certification of clients.
- * Referral to training.

NEEDS-BASED PAYMENTS

- * Process needs-based payments/prepare payroll.
- * Maintain bank account of hours.

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SYSTEM

* Statistical reporting.

During the same time period, 725 Oaklanders 21 years old or younger were served by non-summer ETPs, with 593 of those achieving some type of termination in the fiscal year. In addition to these programs, the City provides summer employment training for about 1,300 school-age youth per year.

JTPA also provides funds for training dislocated workers under Title III of the grant. Because this program is designed to retrain workers who are victims of large layoffs, the size of the dislocated worker programs varies each year. Oakland trains about 200 and 450 people per year through this grant; the clients have the opportunity to receive training either on the job or in a classroom setting, but most of them forego completion of training as soon as they can find another job. The summer and dislocated worker programs were not the focus of this report.

As mentioned, one of the PIC's most important functions is to award contracts to ETPs to provide training to Oakland residents. However, it also directly provides training to over 500 clients per year. According to the PIC staff, the in-house PIC programs are often used to experiment with new types of programs. The statistics included in this report include those in-house PIC programs as well as the subcontracted programs.

The Participants

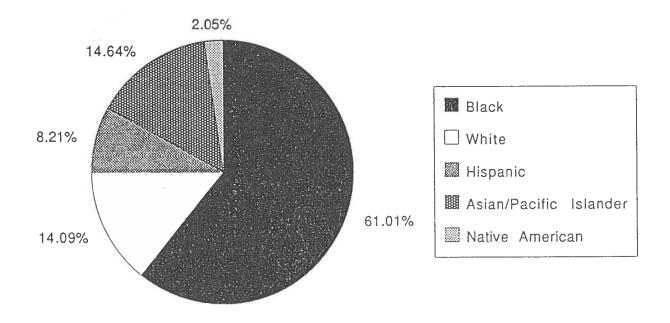
Because the city is required to verify that clients are eligible for JTPA benefits, a great deal is known about the demographics of the participants in Oakland's JTPA programs. Of the 731 adults terminated from the programs in fiscal year 1989, 14% were white, 61% were black, 8%

were Hispanic, and 15% were Asian or Pacific Islanders, and 2% were Native Americans. (See Figure 3). For clients 21 years old and younger, 70% were black, 2% were white, 6% were Hispanic, 21% were Asian or Pacific Islander, and one percent were of Native American background. (See Figure 4).

Of the adult population, about a third (245) of the participants enrolled in programs in 1989 were between 22 and 29, and 96 (13%) were over 55 (See Figure 5). The remaining 390 (53%) were between 30 and 54. Of the 593 youths terminated from the program in FY 1989, 12 (2%) were 14 to 15, 295 (44%) were 16 to 17, and the remaining 418 (54%) were 18 to 21 years of age. (See Figure 6).

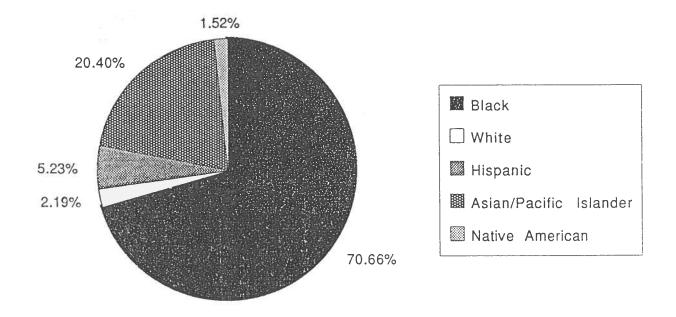
City statistics indicate that a substantial portion of the adult clients terminated in 1989 (48%) had their high school diploma or equivalency degree, while 34% of the clients had participated in some educational activities after high school. The other 18% of the participants were high school dropouts. These statistics are in noticeable contrast to ETP managers' estimates who, perhaps because of the widespread lack of basic skills among their clients, tended to guess that about a third of their clients were high school dropouts. Among the youth clients, the majority (57%) were in high school. Twenty-seven percent had high school diplomas or equivalent degrees, nine percent had attended some post-high school classes, and nine percent had dropped out of high school. (Table 1 summarizes the statistics about the clients' level of education).

Ethnic distribution in adult client population



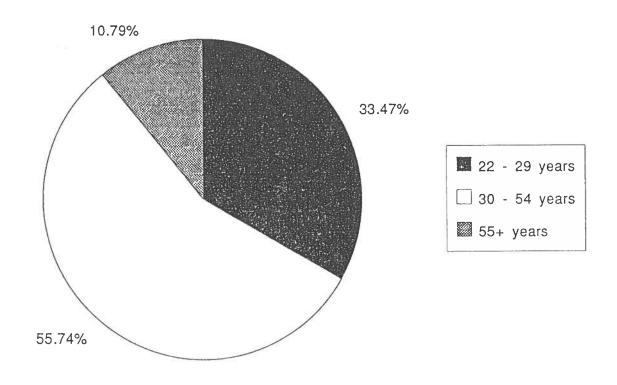
Source: OEDE Quarterly Status Report, Participation and Termination Summary, 9/29/89

Ethnic distribution in youth client population

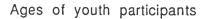


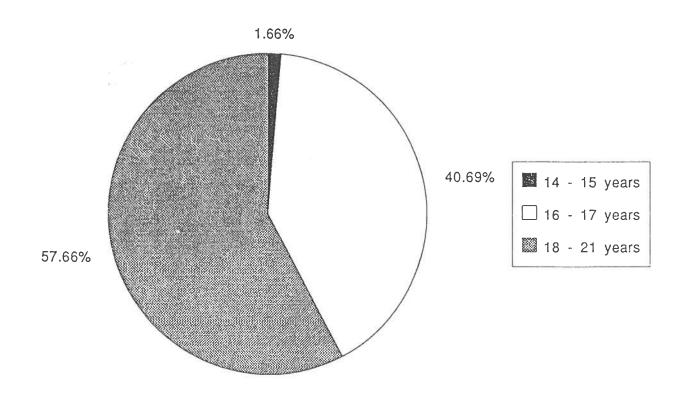
Source: OEDE Quartely Status Report Parrticipation and Temination Summary, 9/29/89

Ages of adult participants



Source: OEDE Quarterly Status Report Participation and Termination Summary, 9/29/89





Source: OEDE Quarterly Status Report, Participation and Termination Summary, 9/29/89

Table 1: Level of client education

Adult

High school dropouts	18%
High school diploma or equivalent	48%
Some post-high school education	34%
Youth	
Currently enrolled in high school	57%
High school dropouts	8%
High school diploma or equivalent	27%
Some post-high school education	8%

Source: OEDE Quarterly Status Report, Participation and Termination Summary, 9/29/89

Thirty-seven percent of the adults terminated in 1989 are described as not in the labor force, 35% have been unemployed more than 15 weeks, and 18% have been unemployed between one and fourteen weeks of the previous 6 months. Only 12% were employed when they entered the program. Eighteen percent of the adult clients were described as having limited English speaking ability. Of the youth, 77% were not in the labor force, 11% had been unemployed for more than 15 weeks, and 6% were in both the categories of employed and unemployed for less than half of the preceding six months. (Table 2 summarizes the employment history of JTPA participants).

Table 2: Employment History in 6 months before program

Adults

Employed	12%
1 - 14 weeks unemployment	18%
15 or more weeks unemployment	35%
Not in labor force	37%

Youth

Employed	6%
1 - 14 weeks unemployment	6%
15 or more weeks unemployment	11%
Not in labor force	77%

Source: OEDE Quarterly Status Report, Participation and Termination Summary, 9/29/89

About seventeen percent of both the youth and adult population are described as having limited English speaking ability. Also, thirty percent of the adult participants are listed as being on some type of public assistance when they entered the program.

Recruitment

Oakland's ETPs use a variety of measures to recruit people into the programs. The ethnically-targeted programs, which are primarily Asian, use foreign language newspapers with reportedly great success. Although a few programs use television or billboard advertising, these forms of media are not heavily relied upon. When asked how most of their clients hear about their programs, the ETP managers most commonly responded "word of mouth."

According to OEDE, Oakland's population of JTPA clients approximates the city's goals for proportional representation from each ethnic group. Much of this diversity is achieved through the city's use of ethnically-targeted contractors, such as Asians for Job Opportunities,

the Korean Community Council, and the Oakland Chinese Community Council. These ETPs, which address Asian populations, typically serve a population diverse in age, with a plurality of clients between 25 and 35. These participants are recent immigrants, often heads of families, and thus are under a great deal of pressure to find employment. However, most of the participants have very limited proficiency in English. While some of these clients have an extensive work history in another country, most of them have had either no previous employment in the United States or a history of negative experiences.

There are some data that suggest that Asians are overrepresented in the programs, and that whites are underrepresented. According to OEDE documents, 27 and 6 percent of Oakland's economically disadvantaged adults are white and Asian respectively, but these groups comprise 8 and 14 percent of the JTPA client population. Moreover, two of the four contractors with the lowest rates of disadvantaged clients (lower than 85%) were targeted towards Asians. OEDE is aware that there may be a maldistribution of the non-economically disadvantaged clients through the programs. That is, some programs have a disproportionate share of the clients who need the training, but who do not qualify on solely economic criteria. To redress this, the employment programs manager has recently proposed that "no programs be allowed to enroll more than one noneconomically disadvantaged for every ten enrollments." There are no current plans to change the proportion of whites and Asians in the program. According to one OEDE staff person, it is likely that the latest census data lag behind the actual Asian population, and that the numbers of people requesting training reflect the degree to which various ethnicities need it.

As Table 3 indicates, ETP clients reside in all parts of Oakland.

The participants were from a variety of areas in Oakland, and the table shows that a large pluraily of them were from areas that are know to have substantial amounts of labor force non-participation.

Table 3: Number of participants by zip code

Zip code	Neighborhood Name	Number of Participants
94606	San Antonio	138
94607	West Oakland/Chinatown	95
94601	Fruitvale	94
94605	Eastmont	84
94621	Airport/Coliseum	76
94603	East Oakland	71
94612	Downtown (above 12th Street)	70
94608	Emeryville/North Oakland	53
94609	Telegraph Corridor	49
94610	Grand Lake	48
94602	Dimond - J. Miller	44
94619	Laurel	38
94611	Piedmont/Montclair	21
94618	Rockridge	18
94604	Downtown (P.O. Box)	4
94613	Mills College	1
94615	General Delivery	1
94620	Crestmont (Piedmont Avenue)	1
Total		896

Source: OEDE generated statistical summary, 12/8/89

The Programs

At the outset of a discussion of the actual goals and content of the ETP programs, it is important to acknowledge the difficult task that they face. Although a large portion of the clients have high school diplomas, many of these persons have deficient math and English skills, often as low as third grade level. Despite the fact that many participants have held jobs in the past, the vast majority do not have positive work histories (according to the ETP managers) and are either unemployed or out of the workforce altogether. Many of the managers

talked about the low self-esteem of the clients and the need for the programs to deal with this issue explicitly. An additional task of the ETPs is to persuade the clients that they deserve and can hold down a full-time job.

In other words, most clients come to the ETPs lacking either job skills or job readiness, or both, but the ETPs are expected to turn out productive employees at a reasonable cost. A substantial portion of the ETPs respond to this challenge not by transmitting to students skills for particular jobs, but instead by attempting to simply prepare the students for the essential requirements of working. Furthermore, even the programs that try to teach specific job skills spend a good deal of time on job readiness and job search skills.

About half of the Oakland JTPA contractors attempt to provide training for specific types of jobs. Of these, four of the programs gave instruction in the clerical/word processing field, two focused on computer instruction (word processing, accounting, database management), and there were additional schools with an emphasis on the hospitality, automotive, warehousing, and janitorial industries.

It did appear that the ETPs make a concerted effort to ensure that the training they provide stays current. A few of the programs only employ trainers who are certified and approved by the Oakland Public Schools. Most of the program training staff have both worked in the particular industry and have experience in providing training, even if they lack school system credentials.. In addition, all of the skill-specific trainers said they ask employers whether or their former clients are continuing to learn the skills most necessary for current entry-level jobs in the industry.

As mentioned, increasing the clients' job readiness is a major responsibility for all of the ETPs. Even for the skill-specific programs, students often spent half of their in-class instruction discussing issues such as punctuality, appropriate clothing, attitude, and how to fill out an employment application.

All of the programs tested the participants before enrolling them to determine whether they would need basic skills training; in only two of the surveyed programs did the results ever eliminate someone from program participation. One of those programs referred clients with serious deficiencies in their basic skills to appropriate adult education classes run by the Oakland Public Schools. The other program tends to make informal arrangements with the student to strengthen basic skills when the student shows severe deficits.

The Jobs

Because their continued existence is dependent on placing participants in jobs, the placement function is a high priority within the ETPs. In each of the programs, there was at least one staff person whose full responsibility was to serve as both job counselor (providing group instruction and individual counseling to participants about how to look for jobs) as well as job developers (canvassing employers for openings their clients could fill.) Some ETPs even divided these duties and employed separate job counselors and job developers.

Placement

As mentioned, almost all training contracts are performance-based, so it is not surprising that the majority of the ETP programs had placement rates of over 70 percent. According to JTPA contract rules, a placement is successful if the participant finds a job within 30 days of program completion and holds that job for at least 30 days. To ensure this, most ETP job developers are willing to play an intermediary role of smoothing out any problems between the employer and the new hire.

Slightly more than half of the employers who hire clients trained in Oakland's JPTA programs are located in Oakland. Table 4 indicates the location of the jobs secured JTPA clients after their training.

Table 4: Placements by city

City	Placements	Percentage of Total Placements
Oakland	271	55
San Francisco	43	9
Alameda	39	8 8
Berkeley	38	8
San Leandro	40	8
Hayward	22	4
Richmond	10	2
Dallas, Tx.	5	
Pleasanton	4	
Castro Valley	2	
Redwood City	2	
San Jose	2 2 2 2 2	
Union City	2	
San Pablo	2	
Dublin	1	
El Cerrito	1	
Emeryville	1	
Foster City	1	
Fremont	1	
Martinez	1	
Modesto	1	
Moraga	1	
Orinda	1	
Tracy	1	

Source: OEDE generated statistical summary, 12/8/89

<u>Wages</u>

ETP managers could only guess at the average starting salary of their placements. Typical responses included, "above minimum wage," or "we have had them as high as fourteen dollars per hour." When pressed for a more precise estimate of the average, the most specific response was "between five and seven dollars." One can surmise that the managers have only an imprecise sense of the salaries of their placements because it is not their duty to analyze such information. They are mandated only to collect this information on each client, and pass it on to OEDE so that office can compute overall statistics.

One ETP manager expressed this view quite succinctly, "My job is to help them get a job. After they discover the benefits of a regular paycheck, they will realize that they can probably do better, and will seek to improve themselves." So while it appears that the programs are successful in helping participants find entry-level jobs, the managers appear to have few incentives to make wage levels a top priority. However, OEDE staff maintain that the managers know that the average wage of their clients is taken into account as OEDE makes recommendations to the PIC about which contractors should be funded.

The city does keep records about the placement rates and salaries of ETP graduates 30 days after program termination, although the city does not have information about clients' progress in jobs beyond this period. Overall, the efforts of Oakland's publicly supported ETPs result in 67% of clients having jobs 30 days after they terminate the programs. Generally, this rate varies little across the various demographic characteristics of the participants, such as their age, ethnicity, labor force participation, and education.

According to OEDE figures, the average client hourly wage 30 days after program termination was about \$6.80. There was some surprising variation in this figure, which may or may not be simple statistical anomalies. For example, adults with no previous wage average \$6.83 cents per hour, while those with a previous wage average \$6.73 per hour. Welfare recipients who had previously earned a wage averaged \$7.73 per hour, while assistance recipients with no previous wage average \$7.03 per hour (See Table 5a).

Table 5a: Average starting wage by client history	
Adults with previous wages in 6 months before program	\$6.73
Adults with no previous wages in 6 months before program	\$6.83
Public aid recipients receiving wages in 6 months before program	\$7.73
Public aid recipients without wages in 6 months before program	\$7.03
Overall average	\$6.80

Based on this evidence, the salary level depends very little upon the type of program the clients receive. Table 5b indicates the average salary for adults with and without a previous wage who were in three types of programs offered under JTPA contracts. (The On The Job programs are run by the PIC itself).

Table 5b: Average starting wage by type of training

	Direct Placement	Classroom <u>Training</u>	OJT
AdultNo Wages in Previous 6 months	\$6.86	\$6.94	\$6.24
AdultWith Wage in previous 6 months	\$7.03	\$6.51	\$6.29

Source: OEDE Quarterly Status Report, Participation and Termination Summary, 9/29/89

The wage difference between skill-specific classroom training and direct placement/job search programs is relatively minor: the OJT programs produce clients who earn about fifty cents per hour less, which translates to about \$1,000 per year. One possible explanation for this lower wage is that employers are accounting for what they perceive as the loss of productivity inherent in running an OJT program.

Although the different modes of training appear to provide clients with essentially the same earning power, it is not necessarily true that the type of training is irrelevant. OEDE staff suggests the clients are tracked into the type of training appropriate to their skill level. In the opinion of the staff, there is essentially a wage floor for jobs with even minimal skills. When clients enter the JTPA systems, they are allocated to job readiness programs if they have any skills, and job training programs if they have no skills. As they enter the market, they received essentially the same wage. According to this view, if clients were assigned randomly between the types of programs, the unskilled clients who receive no job training would have lower rages than current averages, if they could find jobs at all.

Because the contractors' performance is evaluated based on the percentage of clients who are employed 30 days after program completion,

this benchmark is one for which the city keeps detailed information. In addition, federal regulations require that some agency in each JTPA service delivery area check on clients 90 days after placement. This information is sent to the state, and a sample of it is maintained by the Survey Research Center at the University of California at Berkeley. According to Donald Jen at the OEDE, these studies have indicated that more than 60 percent of the clients were still employed after 90 days, though not necessarily in their original jobs.

Although this data source is valuable, it is equally important to note what is not measured. Although the forms on which contractors report the clients' job status after 30 days includes a place for occupation code, such information is only known for about two-thirds of the JTPA clients. It is not clear whether this portion represents the entire pool of clients, so OEDE is reluctant to draw conclusions from the data that is available. (Although they do not know why contractors omit this information, OEDE staff members are increasing their efforts to get contractors to comply with this requirement).

Also somewhat uncertain is question of the clients' chance of advancement in the jobs the receive. To assure that the clients had significant growth opportunities, a long-term follow-up of placements would be necessary. Oakland has participated in such a study done by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, but the results will not be released for over a year. In lieu of such information, the OEDE and the PIC base their confidence in client job mobility in their procedure for managing the city's JTPA programs. That is, the PIC and OEDE planning process integrates the best available information about the industries and occupations that are expected to expand in Oakland in the next one to

two years. This process is the best assurance that clients are not tied into dead-end jobs, since no long-term data is currently available.

Ideas for Improvements

The ETP managers surveyed were asked if there were any changes that any other groups could do that would make their jobs easier. The comments varied widely, but two suggestions were stated repeatedly. One was that more of their clients would be successful if they could be provided with a greater level of support services, such as child care and transportation. Most ETP clients receive some small stipend to cover their transportation and lunch expenses, but according to the ETP managers, these funds often do not even cover transportation expenses.

Many of the managers said that the clients have a number of personal and economic obstacles to successfully completing the program, and that the lack of inexpensive, reliable child care can be simply too great an obstacle for some clients to overcome. The managers also mentioned that clients' need for child care extends beyond program completion, and is important in helping them make the transition from the training to employment.

Besides support services, the most common item on the ETP manager's wish list was a change in the manner in which they must relate to the PIC and the city's Office of Economic Development and Employment. In the view of many of the contractors, the dual structure increases paperwork and often delays the remuneration of funds the ETPs need to maintain operation.

Representatives of the PIC and of the OEDE acknowledged that the dual structure sometimes had the effect of delaying subcontractor

reimbursement. They also stated that the PIC and OEDE were in the process of re-evaluating this arrangement, and consequently were hesitant to express an official position about the dual structure at this time.

Finally, OEDE staff mentioned their awareness of improving the initial assessment of clients. Such improvements in measuring clients' skill levels and interests would likely produce a better routing of the client to the best contractor for his/her needs, and help that ETP better tailor the training to the individual client's needs.

Future Research

The continued success of the skill-specific contractors in meeting their performance requirement implies that they are indeed fulfilling their charge of placing clients in jobs. Because the city's information about the clients' occupations is not reliable, it is not clear whether these jobs are in industries that will grow in Oakland in the near future. The interviews conducted with the ETP managers suggests that on a whole, Oakland's publicly subsidized ETPs are not linked to any strategic vision of Oakland's overall economic growth, partly because such a vision does not seem to exist.

Certainly, one important area of future research is to discern what the growth industries in Oakland are, and if they are likely to have jobs for which the economically disadvantaged could be trained in an ETP setting. It may be that the skill levels of the clients are too low for training them for Oakland's growing job categories. Another area of future research is to assess the other programs for job training available to Oakland residents, such as those provided by private sector programs, community colleges, and so on. One overarching objective of

this research could be a comparison of Oakland's training institutions to the unemployed population. Such a comparison would make it possible to make the adjustments in Oakland's portfolio of training programs to ensure that all segments of the unemployment population get served.

Apparently, the forthcoming MDRC study is the only long-term assessment of whether Oakland ETP graduates are better off because they received training. It may be that receiving training has a short-term effect on the clients' employment status, but not long-term impact on his or her workforce participation. Or, the training may put the person in a position to get a job, but not one with a future. And it may very well be that participating in Oakland's JTPA programs gives clients their first push into the job market in a way that helps them move on to subsequent jobs with reasonable wages and security. A first step towards a long-term study might be to examine the Survey Research Center's data on the status of the participants 90 days after the training. The previously mentioned MDRC report should prove very useful as well.

Sources of Information

Figures 1 and 2 were provided by the Private Industry Council.

The tables in the document were created from information provided by the Oakland Office of Economic Development and Employment.

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