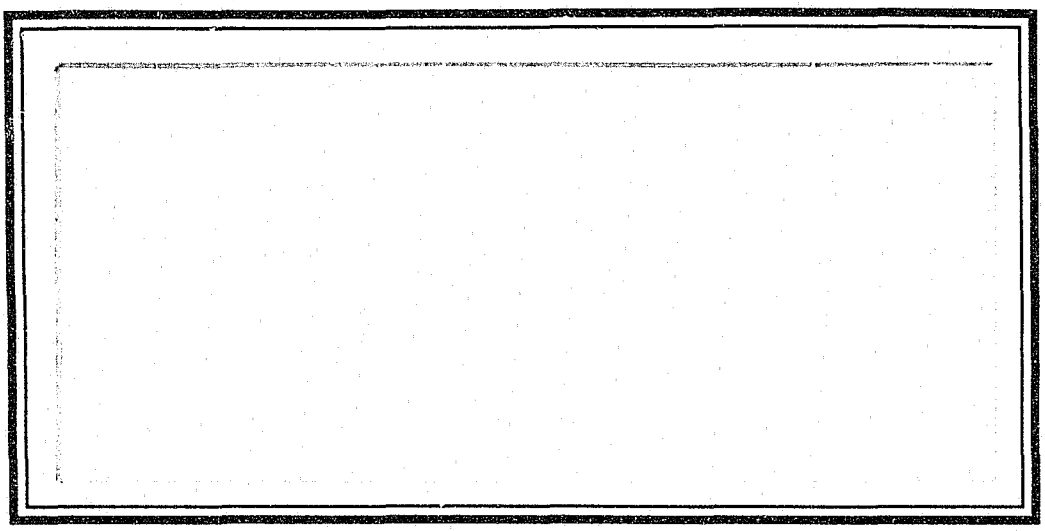

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YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT:

A Literature Review

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CONTENTS

Introduction

Teenagers have historically worked less than adults, generally because they are enrolled in school. It has become apparent, though, that there is another group of youths who are not in school and not working, and it is this group that has caused concern about how our labor market functions with respect to youth.

Because some groups of youths have difficulty getting and keeping jobs while others do not, it is important to be clear about what we mean when we talk of "the youth unemployment problem." We must look carefully at the question: "How much of a problem is it, and for whom?" This paper attempts to answer that question (as well as what can be done about the problem) through a review of recent literature. The major studies published since 1980 are included in this review.

The paper is divided into three sections. In the first, research describing the nature of the problem is reviewed. Data on the incidence of youth joblessness and trends over time are presented to show where the problem really lies. Research on the consequences of youth unemployment is also summarized.

The second section identifies the major causes of youth unemployment -- both those factors that cause the aggregate youth unemployment picture to deteriorate as well as those that explain differences among individual youth. The material in both Sections I and II is drawn largely from two major reviews of the youth employment literature: one written in 1982 by Richard Freeman and David Wise entitled The Youth Labor Market Problem:

Its Nature, Causes, And Consequences, and the second written in 1985 by Charles Betsey, Rob Hollister, and Mary Papageorgiou for the National Research Council entitled Youth Employment and Training Programs: The YEDPA Years. Both of these sources conducted comprehensive reviews of the literature and summarized available research knowledge. We supplemented their findings with other studies where relevant.

The third section of the paper explores some of the major programmatic initiatives targeted at the problem of youth unemployment. Wherever possible, evaluation data showing the effectiveness of the approach are presented.

I. The Nature of the Problem

A. Incidence and Trends

Unemployment rates for teenagers have always been greater than those for adults. Yet in the last 35 years, youth unemployment has increased in both absolute and relative terms. Between 1950 and 1980, for example, the unemployment rate for 16-19 year olds increased from 12.2% to 17.8% while the unemployment rate for adults increased very little from 4.4% to 5.1% (Rumberger, 1985). By 1982, during the worst of the recession, the teenage unemployment rate of 24.5% was more than twice the unemployment rate for all people (10.8%) and the unemployment rate for black teenagers was 49.5%. Even in 1984 when the national economy had improved, the figures were 7.5% for all persons, 18.9% for teenagers, and 42.7% for black teenagers (Betsey, Hollister and Papageorgiou, 1985).

A closer look at the unemployment figures shown in Table 1 reveals a growing gap between white and non-white youth. The unemployment rate for white male teenagers increased only slightly from approximately 14% to 18%, and the rate for white females has stayed virtually the same since 1964. In contrast, the unemployment rate for black teen males has skyrocketed from around 24% in 1964 to nearly 40% in 1984. The rate for black females increased somewhat, although not nearly as much as for black males. (Because data for Hispanics are not available before 1978, it is impossible to detect any long-term trends.)

TABLE 1
Youth Unemployment Rates

Group	Year 1957	1964	1978	1984
Adult white males				
35-44 years old	2.5	2.5	2.5	4.6
All youths				
16-17 years old	12.5	17.8	19.3	21.2
18-19 years old	10.9	14.9	14.2	17.4
White males				
16-17 years old	11.9	16.1	16.9	19.7
18-19 years old	11.2	13.4	10.8	15.0
Black males				
16-17 years old	16.3	25.9	39.8	39.8
18-19 years old	20.0	23.1	30.7	38.5
Hispanic males				
16-17 years old	Data not		27.5	30.5
18-19 years old	available		13.9	21.6
White females				
16-17 years old	11.9	17.1	17.1	17.8
18-19 years old	7.9	13.2	12.4	13.6
Black females				
16-17 years old	18.3	36.5	41.5	42.2
18-19 years old	21.3	29.2	36.3	36.6
Hispanic females				
16-17 years old	Data not		29.9	25.2
18-19 years old	available		16.6	21.4

Source: Betsey, Hollister, and Papageorgiou, 1985.

This gap between blacks and whites is especially troublesome because it is a fairly recent one. In 1954, approximately equal percentages of black and white youths were unemployed. Since then, unemployment among black teenagers has far outdistanced that among whites. Thus, the deterioration in the employment status of youth as shown in these numbers is concentrated among black teenagers. In absolute numbers of unemployed youth,

however, the vast majority are white because of their greater proportion of the population (Freeman and Wise, 1982).

Research shows that unemployment is concentrated among those with the lowest levels of education. Unemployment rates are much higher among high school dropouts than among high school graduates. Moreover, unemployment is concentrated among relatively few persons: those unemployed for very long periods. For example, 54% of all periods of unemployment for male teenagers is composed of teens who are unemployed for more than six months (Freeman and Wise, 1982). Only 10% of all teenagers account for more than half of total teenage unemployment (Feldstein and Ellwood, 1982). One study concludes:

> In short, the data suggest that most teenagers do not have substantial employment difficulties, but that for a minority of youths, there are long periods without work that constitute severe problems. This group is composed in large part of high school dropouts and contains black youths in numbers disproportionate to their representation in the population.*

There are problems with using unemployment data to describe the youth jobless problem. One is that the unemployment rate is misleading because it ignores those not actively looking for work. The unemployment rate counts only those people who report that they are looking for work but cannot find a job. Since there are many more individuals who are not working and are not looking for work, the number that are jobless may be even greater.

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*Richard B. Freeman and David A. Wise, eds., The Youth Labor Market Problem: Its Nature, Causes and Consequences, The University of Chicago Press, 1982, page 6.

Table 2 shows a better measure of joblessness for youth than simple unemployment rates: the employment-to-population ratio. This is the number of employed youth divided by the total number of youth in the country. While the employment rate as a proportion of the youth cohort was the same 43% in 1984 that it was in 1957, the rates changed for different groups within the youth population. For instance, the employment rate for white females grew from 38% in 1957 to 47% in 1984. The rates for white males and black females declined slightly, but not a great deal. However, the employment rate for black male teenagers was cut in half between 1957 and 1984, dropping from 48% to 25%. These numbers show that the problem for black male youths is even greater than that depicted by unemployment data alone.

Table 2

Youth Employment-to-Population Rates for 16-19 Year Olds

	Year			
Group	1957	1964	1978	1984
All Youths	43.9	37.3	48.5	43.7
White Males	52.4	45.0	56.3	49.0
Black Males	48.0	37.8	29.8	25.2
White Females	38.3	32.2	48.7	47.0
Black Females	26.5	21.8	23.5	21.8

Source: Betsey, Hollister, and Papageorgiou, 1985.

The second and perhaps most important flaw in the use of unemployment or even employment-to-population data is that neither set of data accounts for the fact that many youths are jobless because they are in school full time. It is generally argued that full-time students already have a full-time though unpaid occupation -- attending school -- and thus should not be counted as unemployed. One study found that almost half of the teenage unemployment rates shown in Table 1 for 1978 was due to youths who were enrolled in school full-time (Betsey, Hollister and Papageorgiou, 1985).

To get around this problem, several researchers have calculated what they call an "inactivity rate;" i.e., the number of youths who are neither in school nor in the military nor employed relative to their population. Table 3 shows these inactivity rates by race and sex. The inactivity rates for all groups of 16-17 year olds are relatively low: between 4.5% and 5.8%. Thus, most 16-17 year olds are either in school, in the military or working. But the inactivity rates for 18-19 year-olds vary dramatically. They are lowest for white males (13%) and white females (18.5%). The rate for black males age 18-19 is much higher at 29.3% and for black females it is as high as 42.2%. Thus the inactivity rate for black females is four times as high as that for white females. Some of these females who are not working and are not in school are either pregnant or parenting teens, although the data do not tell us how much of the female inactivity is due to childbearing.

Table 3
Inactivity Rates by Race and Sex

Group	Year 1964	1978	1983
White males			
16-17 years old	3.3	3.6	4.5
18-19 years old	8.0	4.7	13.1
Black males			
16-17 years old	8.4	3.7	4.7
18-19 years old	14.6	13.2	29.3
White females			
16-17 years old	9.6	4.6	5.7
18-19 years old	31.9	13.2	18.5
Black females			
16-17 years old	11.5	6.4	5.8
18-19 years old	36.2	28.0	42.2

Source: Betsey, Hollister, and Papageorgiou, 1985.

B. Consequences.

The research literature has shown that unemployment for teenagers does not by itself foster unemployment later in life, but it does lead to lower future wages. There is little evidence to support the hypothesis that time spent out-of-work as a teenager leads to recurring unemployment later in life (Meyer and Wise, 1985; Ellwood, 1985). However, there is evidence that shows unemployment as a teenager leads to reduced wages later on because the individual failed to accumulate the necessary work experience that is required for advanced earnings. Put another way, individuals who are unemployed in their youth obtain lower wages in subsequent years because they have accrued fewer years of experience (Freeman and Wise, 1985). One study found the difference in wages between employed youth and unemployed youth

eight years later to be 6.9% for black youth and 15.9% for white youth (Becker and Hills, 1980).

It has also been suggested that unemployment among youths might be associated with other problems, including high rates of crime, drug addiction, suicide, and teenage pregnancy (Rumberger 1985). However, the data are unable to distinguish what is cause and what is effect.

One author comments that one of the consequences of youth unemployment is the creation of a new underclass that is restricted in its social mobility. Youth are only able to access secondary jobs characterized by low wages, monotonous work, few or no fringe benefits, high turnover, and little chance of advancement (Lowenstein 1985).

In summary, research tells us that the majority of young people make the transition from school to work with ease; that is, they either experience no unemployment at all or they are unemployed for only very short periods of time. However, the concentration of unemployment among a small fraction of youths is cause for concern since unemployment has been shown to lead to lower wages in later life and since it is associated with a number of other social maladies such as crime and drug addiction. In the next section, research on the causes of teenage unemployment is reviewed.

II. Causes of Youth Unemployment

In general, the research literature reveals a high degree of consensus on the causes of teenage unemployment for the group that is having difficulty getting and keeping jobs. Much of the research has attempted to identify the individual characteristics that account for differences in unemployment rates among various youth groups. These factors are described below under the heading "Individual Characteristics". Other explanations of unemployment look at market or demographic factors that affect the aggregate employment situation for youth. These are described first below. It is important to distinguish between these two sets of factors because interventions targeted at one may have no influence on the other.

A. Aggregate Factors

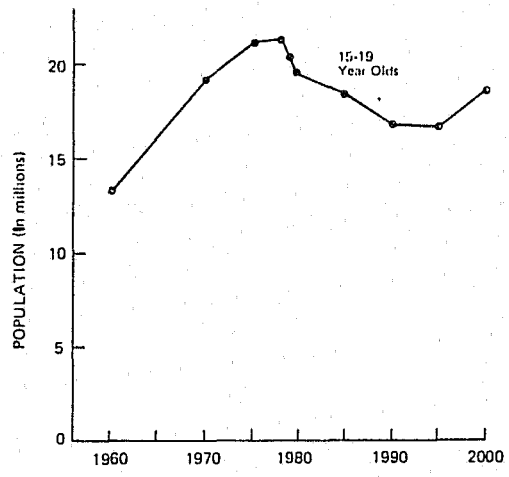
There are six factors most often cited in the literature to explain why youth unemployment in general is so high. These variables do not explain why unemployment is so high for particular youths; rather they affect the aggregate demand and supply of labor that leads to fluctuations in the overall youth unemployment rates.

Demographic Trends. Although some authors suggest that a number of demographic trends are causing high youth unemployment, a close review of the research reveals little or no evidence to support these hypotheses. One explanation put forth, for example, is that youth unemployment has increased because of the rapid expansion of the baby-boom youth population in the 1960's and early 1970's. According to this view, the labor market has been unable

to absorb the entry of the massive baby-boom generation into the labor force. Yet research shows that changes in the number of youth do not correspond with changes in the youth unemployment rate. The most rapid increase in the youth population occurred during the 1960's, yet overall rates of youth unemployment changed very little over that period (Rumberger 1985). Moreover, research has shown that the labor market absorbs large numbers of teenagers during the summer months without any change in the unemployment rate. Although teenage labor force participation has been almost 40% higher in July than the annual average, the teenage unemployment rate has been somewhat lower in July than the annual average (Clark and Summers, 1982). Several authors conclude that because there is no relation between the size of the youth population and the unemployment rates, the projected decrease in the youth population during the 1990's should not be construed to mean the problem of youth unemployment will automatically lessen. (See Figure 1.)

Figure 1

Actual and Projected Number of Youths Aged 15-19, 1960 - 2000



Source: Betsey, Charles, et. al., 1985.

Another demographic hypothesis that has not been entirely borne out in the literature is that the sharp and continuing rise in the labor force participation of adult women and the influx of immigrants -- both legal and illegal -- have reduced the number of jobs available to youth. While one study concluded that it is possible the increased numbers of women in the labor force may have worsened the employment prospects of youths (Betsey Hollister, and Papageorgiou, 1985), other research contends that there is no evidence of a similar impact by immigrants. One study for example found that increases in the Hispanic population (which accounts for a substantial number of immigrants) have not hurt job opportunities for black youths since youth unemployment rates are similar in cities with large and small Hispanic populations (Freeman and Holzer, 1985).

Poor Macroeconomic Conditions. The youth unemployment rates are more sensitive to macroeconomic conditions than are those of adults. Since young workers generally have less experience and fewer skills than older workers, they are more likely to lose their jobs during economic downturns and have more difficulty finding new jobs. Research has shown that a one-point increase in the adult unemployment rate decreases teenage employment by 5% and minority teenage employment by 6% (Clark and Summers 1982).

In addition, the extent of poverty in an area affects the employment chances of youth. Several researchers have found, not surprisingly, that those areas with greater proportions of families living in poverty and those youths living below the poverty standard tend to have lower rates of youth employment

(Rees and Gray 1982; Freeman 1982). Together, these findings suggest that a relatively high level of economic activity is essential for any long-term improvement in the youth employment situation.

Occupational and Geographic Shifts. A number of shifts in the occupational and geographic structure of the labor market that have occurred in recent years may have had an adverse effect on youth employment. The types of less-skilled jobs for which youths (who generally have little experience and few marketable skills) would normally be hired represent a shrinking proportion of private-sector employment in the U.S. (Congressional Budget Office, 1982). Furthermore, the shifting role of the military from selective service to a volunteer army has caused the military to recruit the best qualified candidates, leaving persons with inadequate skills to compete in the labor market (Hahn 1986).

One hypothesis put forth by several researchers is that the decline of agriculture and the movement of black families from southern rural areas to northern cities explains the high unemployment for black youths in the 1950's and early 1960's (Betsey, Hollister and Papageorgiou 1985; Rumberger 1985). As young black men from the rural south where unemployment was only 3% moved to northern urban areas where unemployment was 20%, the overall unemployment rates for black youth increased. However, since 1970, migratory patterns have changed and yet black youth unemployment continues to escalate. This suggests that migration alone cannot explain this phenomenon.

Another possible explanation, although it is sometimes disputed in the literature, is that the movement of jobs from the inner cities to the suburbs has increased unemployment among central city youth who are primarily black. Although there is some evidence for this theory (Leonard 1984), other research has shown that the movement of jobs away from the inner city cannot explain the black/white employment differential that persists within inner cities. One study found, for instance, that for black and white youths living in adjacent neighborhoods within the central city, black youth employment could be as much as 20% lower than white youth employment; similarly, blacks in neighborhoods near jobs were no more likely to be employed than blacks in neighborhoods far away from jobs (Ellwood 1983).

A final hypothesis, although one that has yet to be tested, is that youth unemployment has climbed since the 1970's because the jobs that youth could find were increasingly low-paying and otherwise unrewarding (Rumberger 1985). Two facts tend to corroborate this view. First, jobs were more likely to be found in clerical and service occupations. And second, youth have been found to change jobs much more frequently than adults: about one-fourth of young men age 18-24 change jobs yearly, compared to less than one in ten among 35-54 year olds (Freeman and Wise, 1982).

Minimum Wage. Although it has generally been thought that the existence of a minimum wage increases youth unemployment since some employers will not hire youth whose productivity is lower than the minimum wage, recent research shows that minimum

wages have had only a small impact on youth employment (Freeman 1980; Wachter and Kim 1982). One study estimated that a 10% increase in the minimum wage would reduce youth employment by only 1% (Brown, Gilroy, and Kohen, 1983). These studies indicate that minimum wages have had little effect on youth unemployment.

Matching Mechanisms. The research literature notes that one of the causes of aggregate youth unemployment may be the lack of effective mechanisms that match youth with jobs (Malvenaux 1983). More specifically, some authors argue that the unemployment that normally accompanies the transition from school to work may have increased during the 1960's in part because state Employment Service agencies reduced their emphasis on job placement activities for high school seniors (Congressional Budget Office, 1982). During the 1960's, as part of the War on Poverty, Employment Service resources were shifted toward disadvantaged adults and out-of-school youths and away from students making the transition from school to work. This may have had an impact on teenagers' ability to find jobs, especially for students from low-income families who have less access to good labor market information and job contacts through family and friends.

However, in response to the argument that youth unemployment is really a problem of matching job seekers to job vacancies, a recent study found that the number of unemployed has increased, not decreased relative to the number of job vacancies. There were an estimated 2.5 unemployed persons for every job vacancy in the middle 1960's and an average of 5 unemployed persons for every job vacancy in the late 1970's (Abraham 1983). This study sug-

gests that rising unemployment rates are not due simply to greater difficulty in placing youth in jobs, but rather to an insufficient number of jobs.

B. Individual Characteristics

The literature contains a number of studies that seek to determine why certain individuals are less likely to be employed than others. This body of research is less concerned with why the aggregate youth unemployment figures change than it is with questions about particular individuals.

Family Background. It has been shown that family background has a positive relationship to the probability that a young person will be employed. One study, for example, found that an increase of $5,000 in parental income is associated with an increase of more than three weeks in the number of weeks worked by teenagers (Meyer and Wise, 1982). In addition to income, family structure is associated with the employment status of youth. Teens from female-headed families have lower probabilities of being employed. One study found that youths whose siblings are employed are more likely to be employed (Rees and Gray, 1982). This could merely reflect local labor market conditions or characteristics common to all members of one family, or it could mean that employed siblings are an important role model and even help other youths in the family find jobs (Freeman and Wise 1982).

Geographic Location. Research has shown that youth in central cities face the greatest difficulty in findings jobs. According to a research study comparing the characteristics of

youth employment among central cities, suburbs and rural areas, black and white youth in central cities have the most difficulty obtaining jobs and experience the longest periods of joblessness (Westcott, 1979).

Education. As has been noted earlier, youths with less education are more likely to experience unemployment. High school dropouts are employed fewer weeks per year than high school graduates. More generally, out-of-school youths of any age with education below the average for their age group are employed noticeably less than other out-of-school youths in that age group (Rees and Gray, 1982). Academic performance has been found to be positively related to the employment rates of youth as well as to their wage rates after entering the labor force full time (Meyer and Wise, 1982).

Many youth are educationally unprepared to participate fully in today's labor market,according to several authors. The lack of education can make the school-to-work transition difficult or become a barrier to entering the labor market, especially for disadvantaged youth (Hahn, McCarthy, 1985). The lack of basic reading, writing and computational skills is most often cited as an educational deficiency among youth. One author suggests that the junior high or middle school years are pivotal for learning basic skills, but are rarely emphasized as major contributors to skills education (Berlin, 1985).

The lack of preparation for the world of work actually stems from three separate but related problems: a lack of education required to carry out the tasks of a job, no knowledge of how to

begin or complete a successful job search, and a lack of work experience that would impart a sense of proper work expectations and behaviors to youth. Whether this lack of preparation is caused by inadequate education/training, volitional factors among youth, or other factors remains at issue.

Sex. Young women are hit harder by unemployment than young men. For out of school youth, women are less likely than men to be in the labor force at every level of completed education, with the demographic gap narrowing as the level of education increases (Young, 1984). Diane Westcott asserts that sex is a greater determinant of the first job than race (Westcott, 1979). This is supported by the results of a research study that found adolescents' first jobs are significantly segregated by sex. Girls work fewer hours, for lower wages, than boys in their first jobs. In fact, jobs dominated by males offer wages that average 17% higher than all jobs for youth (Grenbeyer and Steinberg 1983).

Race. As shown in Section I, black teenagers have noticeably lower chances of working than white youths. (The unemployment rate for Hispanic youth falls somewhere between that for whites and blacks.) Part of the worse employment situation for black youth is due to their increased schooling over the past 15 years, yet the "inactivity rate" for black males is still far higher than that for whites. While none of the research has been able to explain why black youths suffer so much greater unemployment and inactivity than white youths, several authors suggest that discrimination in the labor market plays a part.

One researcher could account for 50% of the disparity in unemployment rates between white and black youth; he attributed the remaining 50% to discrimination (Osterman, 1980). Another study reports findings suggesting that treatment of job applicants with the same backgrounds and qualifications may depend on the race of the applicant (Culp and Dunson, 1983). This study matched young black and white "auditors" who applied for jobs at firms in Newark, New Jersey. The auditors were recent high school graduates who were trained to make systematic observations of how they were treated. The results suggested that black youths may be treated with less courtesy and may be less likely to be informed of job prospects. Another researcher concluded that there is a racial or caste-like stratification between blacks and whites that has found expression in such things as job ceilings for black workers (Ogbu, 1985).

According to one set of authors,

> The residue of past and current discrimination finds its expression on the demand side in diminished opportunities for minority youths in the labor market (because of the attitudes of employers); and to the extent that the social context affects the perceptions, attitudes, and responses of youths, it can have a quite fundamental impact on the supply of labor.*

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*Betsey, Charles L., Robinson Hollister, and Mary Papageorgiou, editors, Youth Unemployment and Training Programs: The YEDPA Years, National Academy Press, 1985, page 64.

Moreover, the historic exclusion of minorities from some occupations deprives them of the chance to learn the requirements of such employment and to undertake the necessary preparation. Minority youth are not exposed to role models pursuing some occupations, so they know very little about how to prepare for these jobs. In support of this hypothesis, one study found that black high school students desiring to become doctors, engineers, and teachers were as likely to take shop courses as those desiring office work. Similarly, minority youths who aspired to be engineers took no more math courses in high school than youths wishing to become physical education teachers. (Ogbu, 1985).

Summary

The research literature suggests that the most influential factor affecting the aggregate youth unemployment rates is the condition of the labor market. When the overall economy is strong, youth unemployment subsides. Demographic trends within the youth cohort, occupational and geographic shifts, the minimum wage, and the lack of matching mechanisms all prove to be weak predictors of the youth unemployment rate. This suggests that lack of jobs may be the single most important cause of youth unemployment.

Unfortunately, the literature tells us very little about why some youths -- notably, minority youths -- are more likely to be unemployed than others. Most of the variation in employment and wages among individuals cannot be explained by differences among them that are observable and measurable, such as family income or education.

III. Interventions

Very few programs are operating to reduce the overall youth unemployment rate. Virtually all of the programs aimed at youth unemployment seek to enhance the employability of specific groups of youth -- usually disadvantaged youth. There is considerable debate over whether these programs targeted on certain individuals do anything to decrease overall youth unemployment or unemployment in general. Some researchers argue that the displacement effect of these programs is as high as 50%: for every ten youths employed as a result of some targeted intervention, five other people may lose their jobs. Other researchers argue that the substitution effect is minimal: for every 10 youths who get a job, perhaps one other person is laid off. Most researchers agree, however, that if employment and training programs are targeted to low-income disadvantaged areas, then the displacement effect is minimal.

These two types of interventions -- one aimed at reducing overall youth unemployment and the other aimed at enhancing the employability of specific youths -- are explored in turn below.

A. Proposals to Reduce Aggregate Youth Unemployment

Although there are no specific programs in operation to reduce the overall youth unemployment rate, four proposals are discussed most often in the literature. These are: (1) establishing a separate subminimum wage for youth, (2) instituting a National Youth Service, (3) developing public job creation programs, and (4) establishing school-business partner-

ships. Each of these proposals would affect the aggregate youth unemployment rate while not necessarily affecting a particular individual's chances of becoming employed.

Subminimum Wage for Youth. Several authors have suggested that a two-tiered minimum wage be instituted that allows youth to earn less than the full amount for adults. The argument here is that the current minimum wage may prevent employers from hiring as many youths as they would if teenagers were covered by a lower minimum than adults. Critics respond that a subminimum wage for youth may be exploitative. In any case, the proposal to lower the minimum wage for youth is one potential intervention that is intended to affect the overall youth unemployment rate.

National Youth Service. Some type of national youth service corps has emerged as a new proposal during the past few years. Such a program seeks to accomplish productive work that benefits the community while fostering development of values and skills that will prepare youth for the adult world. Several prototypes exist: the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's, the G.I. Bill, the Peace Corps, and Vista. The two premises on which such a plan is based include (1) there is plenty of productive work for youth to do; and (2) a transition period is essential for youth to move into adulthood.

A national youth service would serve all youth, but it would particularly benefit disadvantaged youth. According to one author,

> Many young people today are constructively engaged in jobs, in formal education, in raising families and in military service. However, neither young people nor the society at large is well served by the millions of young people who are unemployed, who are working at dead-end jobs, who have little idea of why they are in college, who have babies more to establish their identities than to raise families, or who enter the underworld of crime.*

Related to the idea of a national youth service are youth conservation corps and community service programs which exist in numerous localities. These programs generally enroll youth age 18 and older regardless of their educational and economic status; i.e., they are not targeted only on disadvantaged youth. The programs provide a structured environment and an initiation into the responsibilities of work and citizenship. Youths become involved in community programs such as conservation of natural resources, maintenance of public property and the performance of social services.

Approximately 20 states and/or localities have established locally-financed community service and conservation corps programs to help bridge the school-to-work gap for young people. Youth work in crews, under close supervision, on jobs selected because they will leave a visible social or physical impact, offer an opportunity to learn and do not compete with other workers.

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*Eberly, Donald, "National Youth Service: What Do We Know?" Prepared for the Business Advisory Committee, Education Commission of the States, March, 1985.

Participants can be fired and promoted. Most of the programs build esprit de corps, teach about community needs, provide training in fire and water safety, and provide staff for local flood, fire and other emergencies when they occur. All of the programs require participants to enroll in an educational program that will help them obtain a GED or move into college. In California, for example, participants are building parks for neighborhood children; while in New York, participants are staffing a shelter for the homeless and taking oral histories from residents of a nursing home (Berlin, 1985). The appendix lists 15 past and present youth conservation corps programs and describes each briefly.

Public Sector Job Creation. The third proposal most often discussed to reduce aggregate unemployment is public sector job creation. According to proponents of this proposal, federal, state, and local governments should create new jobs for disadvantaged youth and others who have difficulty getting and keeping jobs in the private sector. Advocates contend that public job creation policies add to the nation's production, increase worker income, enhance skills, and even increase social stability. The idea is to target new jobs on groups of workers -- like youth -- who face particularly high unemployment rates as a way of reducing unemployment without raising the inflation rate. Opponents argue that such policies often provide only make-work jobs that do not help the unemployed individual in the long run.

Research on youth job creation programs has shown that they can succeed in employing the most disadvantaged workers and thus achieve higher employment rates with minimal risk of inflation. Several programs appear to yield increased public services that are as high in value as program outlays. However, the one criticism with these programs has been that some tend to shift youth from private to public sector jobs so that the costs of adding one net job for a disadvantaged youth can exceed the youth's salary. Similarly, wage subsidies to private employers are said to support the hiring of some youth who would have been hired in the absence of the subsidy and so end up costing more in public funds than the salaries paid in the net jobs created (Hahn and Lerman, 1985).

School-Business Partnerships. Collaborative efforts between schools and local businesses to increase youths' chances for employment have become popular. These programs seek to strengthen the link between education and work for students while improving relations between school and businesses. More and more businesses are recognizing the fact that they -- and indeed our entire economy -- depend upon the successful education of youth and their preparation for the world of work.

Hundreds of school-business partnerships have been formed across the country. For example, in New York City's Join-A-School effort, companies provide class materials, lecturers, part-time jobs and scholarships to individual schools. Forty-two businesses are assisting the same number of schools. The Academy of Finance, also in New York, has 30 financial establishments

assisting in drawing up curricula, developing teacher training, and providing summer internships to 352 students at five city high schools. Mentor programs in the city are intended to encourage student interest in careers and promote the development of academic skills. Students are matched with a company in their field of interest that provides speakers, seminars and field trips to their offices (Reid, 1986).

Another example of a school-business collaborative is the Private Industry Council of Prince George's County, Maryland which has teamed up with the county's school system to develop two programs designed to help students gain the competencies needed in the work world. In an after-school program targeted to high school juniors who are not college-bound, pre-employment training is provided, including job search skills, interviewing and resume preparation. Over 60% of those students completing the program find full-time or part-time work within 90 days. The school system also offers, with the assistance of the Private Industry Council, short-term vocational courses for students not enrolled in a vocational high school. Students spend six hours daily for eight weeks receiving entry level instruction and training in child care, clerical skills or data processing. Placement assistance and on-going job search support are also available.

B. Improving the Employability of Individual Youths.

Most employment and training programs seek to improve the prospects for employment among a target group of disadvantaged youth. There are hundreds of such programs around the country;

however, very few have been reliably evaluated. We confine our description of these programs to 26 that have reliable evaluation data and are well-documented in the literature. These 26 programs can be classified according to the following five categories:

(1) Compensatory Education Programs

(2) Labor Market Preparation Programs

(3) Occupational Skills Training

(4) Job Placement Programs and

(5) Work Experience Programs

Although in reality many of the programs have more than one of these components, they are described here under their primary service strategy.

Compensatory Education Programs. Remedial education programs operate under the assumption that youth first need to master basic skills before they can be expected to hold a job. Some authors contend that job readiness and work maturity programs may prove ineffective if youth have marked basic skill deficiencies to start with. According to Bailin,

> Remedial instruction in reading and math probably stands as primus inter pares among all services for youth. Few disadvantaged or hard-to-serve youth have adequate basic skills; for most, academic deficiencies are closely related to their other problems when they are not prime needs in and of themselves. Hence a generalization such as "Every youth program should have an academic

component," while glib, contains an important germ of truth that should not be overlooked.*

Four programs attempt to provide basic educational skills to disadvantaged youth as a precursor or complementary strategy to employment and training services. These are shown in Table 4. Three of the four combine instruction in basic skills with work experience; only one -- Project STAR in New York City -- provides only remedial instruction. The Philadelphia High School Academies combine instruction in an alternative school with job skills training and work experience. Success on the Move in Oakland, California, offers basic skills training with paid work experience and emphasizes the linkage between school and work. The most direct connection is the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects which operated in 17 sites and guaranteed a full-time job during the summer and a part-time job during the school year to economically disadvantaged youth who stayed in school.

Evaluations of these four programs reveal mixed success. For students still enrolled in school, the programs reduced the dropout rate and increased the average daily attendance. Project STAR improved student reading ability at a rate of 2-4 grades per year. The Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects increased the employment rates and earnings of program participants but had no effect on getting students to stay in school in return for a job. The program had no effect on either school retention of youths already in school or school completion by dropouts who had

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*Bailin, Michael, "Youth Employment: An Overview of the Field," unpublished paper, March 1986.

TABLE 4
COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS

PROGRAM	SERVICES OFFERED	TARGET GROUP	SITES	PROGRAM EFFECTS
a) Youth Incentive Entitlement	Part-time work during school year, full-time during summer for students who stay in school.	In-school and out-of-school youths. • 16-19 year olds • economically disadvantaged	17 (4 in impact study)	In-program • earnings (school year) +46% to 161% • earnings (summer) +48% to 65% • decreased unemployment • increased employment-to-population ratios • no effect on school enrollment Postprogram • earnings (annual +$545
b) Project STAR	Individual, flexible instruction in reading.	In-school and out-of-school youths. • 16-21 year olds • reading below 7th grade level • 30% are learning disabled	1 (NYC)	• students progress in their reading ability at a rate of 2-4 garde levels per year. • retention rate is 70% higher than overall NYC rate. • attendance rate exceeds NYC average.
c) Philadelphia High School Academics	Alternative schools offering assistance in selecting acadmic courses; individual counseling and follow-up by teachers; job skills training in such areas as electrical services, food services business and automotive services; and work experience.	Potential dropouts in 9th-12th grades with specific vocational interests.	4 academics operating in 7 public high schools (in Philadlephia area)	• average daily attendance is about 90%, compared to 60% for the schools within which the academies are located. • dropout rate i near zero, compared to system-wide rate of almost 50%. • 72% of academy graduates find jobs, pursue higher education or enter the military.
d) Success on the Move	Offers training in problem-solving skills, basic reading, science, math and social studies, pre-employment training, paid work experience and teacher retraining. (Linkage between school and work is emphasized.	Economically disadvantaged and minority youth; mixture of high, medium and low achievers.	1 (Oakland, CA)	• dropout rate is negligible • attendance, attitudes and employment ability skills have increased greatly. • Reading scores have jumped as many as 6 grade levels for some.

returned to school. Although the project did attract a significant number of dropouts back to school, they did not stay long enough to graduate.

In summarizing what we have learned from research on compensatory education programs, one researcher notes that quality and effectiveness have been elusive. Although some programs have demonstrated their effectiveness, this author concludes that "the development of sound instructional curricula, that will be motivating and relevant to hard-to-serve, at-risk youth while also producing useful academic gains, is a challenge that, over the past 20 years, has only seldom been met" (Bailin, 1986).

Labor Market Preparation/Job Readiness Programs. A number of programs have been designed to help disadvantaged youth make the transition from school to work. Low income and minority youth have been found to have less general knowledge about the world of work, show less awareness of what constitutes good work habits, and have unrealistically high career expectations. Moreover, disadvantaged youth often get exposure only to low status occupations experienced by their family and friends. This limited knowledge of the labor market may be why so many disadvantaged youth seem to be indifferent to long-term career possibilities and why many do not have good work habits (Hahn and Lerman, 1985).

Labor market preparation programs designed to correct these deficiencies include career development and vocational exposure programs that teach youth about a variety of realistic career options, attempt to raise their motivation level, and help them

understand employer expectations. In addition, job readiness programs teach techniques for finding a job, participating in an interview, filling out a job application, and communicating one's capabilities to a potential employer.

Eight programs that seek to prepare disadvantaged youths for entrance into the labor market have been carefully evaluated. (See Table 5.) All attempt to provide information on the world of work to disadvantaged youth; some stress good work habits and positive attitudes as a way of preparing youth for a job.

Six of these eight programs serve out-of-school youth. These programs provide occupational information, job search information, aptitude testing, and pre-employment training. The two in-school programs provide some type of classroom instruction in pre-employment skills and job exploration.

Six of these eight programs increased employment of participants some. Project Redirection increased paid employment among participants at the end of 12 months but this effect decayed by the end of 24 months. Two programs reported positive cost-benefit analyses. In 70001 LTD, male participants made short-term earnings gains that paid back the costs of the program, and youth enrolled in the Jobs for Youth program increased their earnings enough to equal or exceed the costs of the program.

Several researchers have summarized the lessons that can be drawn from labor market preparation programs. Hahn and Lerman note that since the goal of labor market preparation and career awareness programs is to change attitudes, it is inappropriate to judge the performance of these programs on immediate employment

TABLE 5 LABOR MARKET PREPARATION/JOB READINESS PROGRAMS

PROGRAM	SERVICES OFFERED	TARGET GROUP	SITES	PROGRAM EFFECTS
a) Alternative Youth Employment Strategies (AYES)	Alternatives: 1) Full-time work 2) Full-time classroom training (prevocational and basic education) 3) mixture of 1 and 2	Out-of-School unemployed youths (characteristics varied by site)	New York, NY; Miami, FL; and Albuquerque, NM	Increased full-time employment • at 8 months + 10% • no differences by alternative treatments
b) Recruitment Training Program (RTP), Career Exploration Program	Occupational information, basic skills instruction, and job search information	Out-of-school unemployed youths • 82% black • 12% Hispanic • 47% male	Bridgeport, CT; Pittsburgh, PA; Rochester, NY; and Youngstown, OH	Immediate employment 89% versus 53% (control group) • 3 months: employment + 7.5% • 8 months: employment + 8.2%
c) Project STEADY (Special Training and Employment Assistance for Disadvantaged Youth)	Labor market information, job search training, aptitude testing, and job placement	Out-of-school unemployed youths (graduates and dropouts)	Ten	• gains in job-holding and job-seeking skills • increased full-time employment at 3 months 29% versus 17%
d) OIC	Classroom instruction, on-site career exposure, and follow-up counseling	In-school and out-of-school youths • 24% ex-offenders • 19% dropouts • 78% black	Seven	School retention 73% 62% Significant reduction in crime
e) National Puerto Rican (NPR) Forum	Workshops in self-awareness, pre-employment skills, job exploration	In-school youths • largely Puerto Rican high school seniors	Two schools each in Chicago, Il; Jersey City/ Hoboken, NJ, South Bronx, NY; Hartford, CT and San Juan, Puerto Rico	• 1979 Study: results not reliable for 1979 program • 1980 Study: Positive effect on employment; Negative effect on school retention; Positive effect on all SAS battery items
f) Project Redirection	Educational, health, family planning, and employment-related services	Non-high school graduates, pregnant and/or parenting • less than 17 years old • 48% black • 38% Hispanic • economically disadvantaged	Boston, MA; Harlem, NY; Phoenix, AZ; and Riverside, CA	Twelve Months • decreased pregnancies • increased school enrollment • increased paid employment Twenty-four Months • no significant impacts at 24 months except for selected subgroups
g) 70001, Ltd.	Organized sequence of educational and pre-employment training	Out-of-school, economically disadvantaged youth (primarily dropouts), aged 16-21	Over 50 local programs nationwide	• 6 out of 10 youths are placed in jobs • Compared to control group, male participants evidence short-term earnings gains that pay back the cost of the program. (Females experiences modest short-term gains that do not "pay back" their program costs.)
h) Jobs for Youth (JFY)	Functional skills training (in job and life skills) through individualized instruction; assistance in job placement and continued follow-up by JFY counselor	Out-of-school, economically disadvantaged youth (primarily dropouts) aged 16-21	New York, Boston, Chicago	• 6 out of 10 youths are placed in private sector jobs • The program works equally well for both younger (under 18) and older youth. • Youth "pay back" the cost of the program in terms of increased earnings over a comparison group, in about a year.

and earnings effects alone. They conclude that these programs do improve youths' knowledge about the labor market as well as their attitudes toward work when measured on standardized tests taken before and after the program. And in some cases, as shown with the programs mentioned above, these programs do lead to increased employment. However, the research literature is less certain that program-induced gains in attitudes alone lead to effective functioning in the labor market (Hahn and Lerman, 1985).

Likewise, the National Research Council concluded that most labor market preparation programs for out-of-school youths have at best only marginal effects on employment, and positive effects generally decay fairly rapidly (3-8 months) after participants leave the program. Even the effects of the programs on job attitudes and orientation are marginal according to this study. The authors conclude that even "when a [labor market preparation] program has an effective outcome, we know little about why it works or for whom," because the target populations range from high school dropouts to graduates, in-school to out-of-school youth, and younger to older adolescents (Betsey, Hollister, and Papageorgiou, 1986).

Occupational Skills Training. Programs designed to train unemployed youth in job-specific skills have been a primary method of reducing unemployment among disadvantaged youth. These programs seek to impart skills relevant to obtaining work in specific occupations. Yet critics remain skeptical about the training approach for several reasons, including the following:

- Below a certain age, young people tend to lack the seriousness to make good use of skills training because

they have not committed themselves to a particular occupation.

- During high unemployment periods, training is of little value if jobs remain scarce even for graduates of training programs.

- The training required for most jobs can be learned most effectively on-the-job, yet providing subsidies for on-the-job training may pay firms for activities they would have undertaken without subsidies.

- Participants require a sufficiently high level of academic preparation to be able to participate in training programs, yet many youths lack these basic skills.

Nevertheless, there are five major occupational skills training programs that provide reliable information about their effects. (See Table 6.) Most provide skills training to the most disadvantaged out-of-school youths. The Job Corps is a residential program targeted on the most severely disadvantaged inner-city youths, most of whom are high school dropouts. It combines occupational skills training with remedial education and job placement. Project JUMP, VICI, and the Technical Training Project are more narrow training projects that provide technical education and on-the-job training in engineering, construction, and other fields to youth in several cites. The fifth program, New Youth Initiatives in Apprenticeship, provides on-the-job training in private sector skilled trade positions. However, its clients are not particularly disadvantaged.

Evaluations of these programs show mixed results. The most positive findings are found in the Job Corps where post-program employment and earnings increased 28%. Additionally, participation in the Job Corps was found to reduce criminal

TABLE 6
OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS TRAINING PROGRAMS

PROGRAM	SERVICES OFFERED	TARGET GROUP	SITES	PROGRAM EFFECTS
a) Job Corps	Comprehensive: health care; basic (remedial) education/GED; occupational skills training; and job placement.	Out-of-school severely disadvantaged 14 to 21 year old youths (20% functionally illiterate at entrance; 80-90% dropouts; 70% minority).	61 centers in United States and territories (the sample represents a cross-section of corps members in continental U.S. centers)	Increased postprogram employment and earnings of +3 weeks/year +$567/year, or +28%. Increased educational attainment (GED) probability of .24 versus .05. Cost-benefit raaatio of $2,300 per enrollee. Reduced crime (number of arrests during participation). Reduced seriousness of crime postprogram. Increased military placement.
b) Project JUMP (Joint Urban Manpower Program)	Part-time work while in school in private sector skilled trade positions; placement in apprenticeship position.	In-school youths • 18% minority • 93% male • 96% high school graduates • B- average grade	7	No difference in annual earnings or wage rates.
c) Technical Training Project, Inc.	Technical education and on-the-job-training for guaranteed job slots. Remedial education and assistance with GED preparation is offered to those who need it.	Disadvantaged, inner-city youth and women, who are a minority in the engineering fields.	1 (NYC)	• Over 50% of graduates have remained in the drafting profession. • Several JUMP alumni have attained the level of draftsman.
d) New Youth Initiatives in Apprenticeship	Training in technical laboratory, and world-of-work sklills; on-the-job training and assistance in job placement.	Disadvantaged urban youth and young adults, out-of-school, 18-30 year olds.	1 (Newark, NJ)	• Placement and retention rates are 85-90%. • Close to 500 graduates work in over 80 companies in 20 industries.
e) Ventures in Community Improvement (VICI)	Union journeymen; supervised construction projects, emphasis on construction skills and GED completion	Out-of-school • 74% dropout • 16-19 years old • 79% black	8	• increased employment • increased earnings +$322/quarter

activity and increase educational attainment and military placement. The cost per participant has been high, but the program's benefits have exceeded the costs. VICI participants increased their employment and earnings 8 months after completing the program. TTP also showed some positive effects: placement and retention rates were 85-90%. Project JUMP has successfully trained many youth, over 50% of whom have remained in the engineering profession. The one in-school program did not produce any difference in annual earnings, but this may be due to the nature of its target population that is not disadvantaged.

One study notes that while it would be misleading to attribute the Job Corps' success solely to its occupational skills training component, its effects suggest that, at least when combined with remedial education and job placement services, training can enhance the employability of disadvantaged youth. The intensity of services and the mix of remedial education and skills training combine to produce an effective program. Moreover, the fact that participants reside away from home to receive their employment training allows for the concentration of effort and seriousness of purpose required to make a difference with the most severely disadvantaged youth (Hahn and Lerman, 1985).

It appears that one target group is helped most by occupational skills training programs: high school dropouts. In comparisons between training programs and other types of employment programs, the training approach yielded the highest gains for high school dropouts.

In short, non-residential training programs have raised the chances of finding a job for youths with particularly poor employment backgrounds. However, it is unclear whether such benefits outweigh program costs and which specific training approaches are most beneficial (Hahn and Lerman, 1985).

Job Placement Programs. Because most youth are new entrants to the labor market, and because they change jobs frequently, youth spend more time than adults looking for work. To help teenagers find jobs, a number of programs provide job placement services and job search assistance as a way of helping to match individuals with available jobs. For disadvantaged youth, this assistance is particularly important since many lack the connections to job openings that middle class white youths have.

The U.S. Employment Service is the primary mechanism used to match workers with jobs throughout the country. In 1979, about 4.3 million youths filed applications with the Employment Service during the non-summer months. Of these, about 32% became employed. Critics contend, however, that the Employment Service does not adequately meet the employment needs of low-income and minority youth.

Six programs are shown in Table 7 that offer job search assistance and job placement. These programs are similar to labor market preparation programs except that they focus more intently on making the connection to a job. Three of the programs provide job placement services to out-of-school youth while the other three are targeted on youth still in high school. Jobs for America's Graduates, which started in Delaware and has now

TABLE 7
JOB PLACEMENT PROGRAMS

PROGRAM	SERVICES OFFERED	TARGET GROUP	SITES	PROGRAM EFFECTS
a) Job Factory	Job search assistance.	Out-of-school youths • 55% high school graduates • 32% dropouts • 60% minority	Cambridge	Increased employment • at 6 weeks 64% versus 48% • at 36 week both 80%
b) Job Factory/Voucher Program	Job search preparation and motivation; two treatments: assistance plus wage subsidy, and and subsidy only.	Out-of-school youths • 49% dropouts • 37% graduates • 52% minority • 62% male	Cambridge	Increased employment • voucher only: 70% • voucher and job search: 58% • control: 51%
c) Job Track	Job search assistance	Out-of-school youths • 90% minority • 72% male	San Francisco	Increased employment • at 6 weeks 46% versus 28% • at 12 weeks 66% versus 49%
d) Jobs for Delaware's Graduates	Job preparation workshops, job search assistance, and follow-up.	In-school youths • high school seniors • 20-25 econmically disadvantaged • selected from bottom third of class (academically) • 37% minority	Delaware JDG sites and companion sites	At 3 months: • employed full time At 8 months: • employed FT +9% No differences in tenure, wages, or type of jobs until 8 months when participants earn $3.90/hour (+$.38 over comparisons).
e) Jobs for America's Graduates	Job preparation workshops, job search assistance, and follow-up.	In-school youths • 71% minority • 47% male	JAG participating sites in Arizona, Massachusetts, Missouri and Tennessee	• Employment (summer) 75% versus 48% • Employment (fall) 55% versus 33% • Fall hourly wage $3.82 verus $3.67 • Fall weekly earnings +$15
f) Project BEST (Better Employment Through Skills Training)	1 hour/day of labor market preparation, job counseling and job placement	High school seniors, selected to participate • 100% black • 42% male	Philadlephia inner-city high school	No measurable effect on employment.

expanded to some 20 states, is a school-to-work transition program for high school students who are not going on to college. However, this project generally serves youth who are least in need of assistance; they are high school graduates, 75% of whom come from families who are not economically disadvantaged.

Evaluations of these six programs once again reveal mixed results. All but one had some employment gains although these declined over time. For instance, the Job Factory increased employment after six weeks but there was no difference between participants and controls at 36 weeks. Jobs for Delaware's Graduates increased employment by 19% after 3 months, but this dropped to only 9% after 8 months. One program, Project Best, had no measurable effect on employment.

The Job Factory/Voucher Program tested two approaches: a voucher that could be used as a wage subsidy with employers, and a voucher system plus job search assistance. Data showed that the employment rate for youths who received the voucher alone was 70% while those who received the voucher and job search assistance was only 58%. Researchers conclude that sample attrition and other methodological problems may account for this peculiar effect.

Overall, a summary of the research on job placement programs concludes that intensive job placement programs can speed up the job-finding process for low-income youth. However, the evidence is less persuasive that these initial gains persist over time or move youth into better jobs. Programs that train disadvantaged youth in job search techniques also can raise employment rates,

at least in the short run.

Work-Experience Programs. Another method of helping youth become employed is to give them actual work experience in real jobs. Such programs help both in the short run by providing work to otherwise unemployed youth and in the long run by teaching good work habits that make youth attractive to employers.

Although there are many such programs around the country, three are reviewed here and summarized in Table 8 because they have been extensively evaluated. All three give youths direct work experience of some kind. The supported work program, for school dropouts, offers work experience with peer support and close supervision. The Public Versus Private Sector Jobs Demonstration Project also provides work experience primarily to dropouts. And the Summer Youth Employment Program offers direct work experience during the summer to both in-school and out-of-school youth.

Evaluations of these three programs show slight initial increases in employment and earnings for program participants but many of these increases decay over time. The Summer Youth Employment Program increased part-time employment after participation in the program because it provided paid work experiences during the summer. The supported work demonstration, however, had no effects on participants 18 months after the program. The initial effects were positive in that earnings increased by $92 per month and employment among participants was 19% greater than among non-

TABLE 8
WORK EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

PROGRAM	SERVICES OFFERED	TARGET GROUP	SITES	PROGRAM EFFECTS
a) Supported Work (school dropouts)	Work experience featuring peer support, graduated stress, and close supervision.	High school dropouts • 17-20 years old • 73% black • 19% Hispanic	5	In-program effects • first 9 months -employment +27% -earnings +$146/month -hours worked +52% • 12 months -employment +19% -earnings +$92/month -hours worked +$29/month • 18+ months -no significant effects
b) Public Versus Private Sector Jobs Demonstration Project	Work experience	Out-of-school youths • 18-21 years old • 76% dropouts • 64% black	5	At 3 months • employment of program completer public = 50% private = 64% • enrollment in education/training public = 26% private = 18% At 8 months • employment of program completers public = 52% private = 61%
c) Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP)	Direct work experience; supplemental services, such as job counseling.	In-school and out-of-school youths • 14-21 years old • 47% black	8	In-program effect • increased employment 100% vs. 20% Postprogram effects • increased part-time employment 25% versus 19%.

participants one year after the program. However, by 18 months, these effects disappeared.

The research project designed to test the effects of public versus private sector work experience showed very little difference between the two. Private sector participation was associated with only slightly higher rates of subsequent employment, while public sector jobs led to slightly greater enrollment in education and training programs. In general, the research literature suggests that work experience programs, if structured properly, do improve the early careers of disadvantaged youth. But to be effective, the programs must be enhanced with educational services or linked to jobs that provide real career ladders. Unless the jobs provide entry into union apprenticeship programs or provide substantial training, it appears that they do not help out-of-school youth improve their long-term job chances in the conventional labor market (Hahn and Lerman, 1985).

Summary

Andrew Hahn and Robert Lerman summarize what we have learned from these various types of youth employment and training programs (Hahn and Lerman, 1985):

- Work experience alone does not improve the long-term employment potential of young people; to be effective for disadvantaged youth, work experience must be combined with remedial education and skills training.
- Remedial education and skills training can clearly be effective in improving the skills and the employability of young dropouts if delivered in a residential, intensive, highly structured environment such as offered by the Job Corps. In nonresidential contexts,

results are less consistent but appear to be positive in some instances.

- Providing subsidized jobs to poor youth on the condition that they remain in or return to school has had some positive effects on both school attendance and post program employment of participants, but not on the share graduating from high school -- the dropouts dropped out again.

- Efforts to change the work attitudes, habits and appearance of disadvantaged youth have had some success, but these "successes" have not had much effect on the employment of the young participants.

- Providing subsidized jobs to high school students or dropouts sharply raises their employment levels during (but apparently not after) the programs and does not simply divert youth from unsubsidized to subsidized jobs -- although enough such diversion occurs that the program costs are high per job created. Summer employment programs have been a particularly important job source for black youth.

- Subsidies to private employers hiring low income youth have attracted the participation of many firms although only a small percentage of those eligible; it is unclear to what extent these subsidies (primarily the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit) have actually stimulated new jobs, as opposed to displacing other workers or paying firms for the hiring they would have done in any case.

- Career education programs that teach disadvantaged youth about the job market, alternative careers and appropriate work habits appear to have little impact on the early success of these youth in the job market.

- Job search assistance programs raise the intensity of job search, help youth learn how to look for jobs and increase short-term employment levels; but these approaches may have little or no long-term effect. Job placement programs also help youth find jobs more quickly.

These conclusions are fairly negative because they are based on evaluations of specific programs. However, despite the limitations of existing programs, it is possible to step back and think about what important lessons we have learned from this cumulative experience. In this view, one author notes at least three major points:

- First, service coordination is essential if youth employment initiatives are ultimately to prove successful. A coordination mechanism, whose role is to rationalize local services, identify needs and spur development of programs to meet those needs, is the only effective means of drawing together the fragmented array of youth-serving agencies into a coherent whole. This holds true at the state as well as the local level. Despite the difficulties inherent in achieving such coordination, there is evidence that lasting benefits can be achieved when the effort is made.

- Second, the pool of youth most urgently in need of intervention is, almost unquestionably, school dropouts. No community interested in serving its at-risk population can neglect programs for this core element. Although preventing school dropouts is an issue of concern to both schools and the employment and training system, in fact few joint efforts between the two entities are in operation. Yet so crucial is this area that, despite the many obstacles, it deserves sustained, large-scale attention.

- Finally, the need to establish priorities and make hard choices in this field must be stressed. The "youth employment problem" encompasses a number of small sub-populations, often overlapping in part, each of whom may need somewhat different services. Resource scarcity is a constant, and hence priorities must be carefully set and used to resolve the inevitable competing demands for available funds (Bailin, 1986).

APPENDIX

(The following table is reprinted from Michael A. Bailin, "Youth Conservation and Service Corps Programs: Issues in Design and Implementation," March 1985).

A PROFILE OF PAST AND PRESENT YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS PROGRAMS

Program	Description	# of Slots per Year	Annual Funding	Cost-per-Slot	Special Features	Administering Agency
Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)	Depression-era effort to provide useful employment for young men. Age limits varied over time. In operation between 1933 and 1942.	Varied between 250,000 and 500,000	$313 M. in 1934 dollars; $2.3 B. in current dollars	$1,173 in 1934 dollars; $8,500 to $19,000 in current dollars	- Conservation of public lands was a major thrust. - About 5% of enrollees were local skilled craftsmen, who acted as foremen on work projects. - Program was 100% residential.	The program was coordinated by the Director of CCC. U.S. Dept. of Labor was responsible for recruitment. U.S. Dept. of Interior and U.S. Forest Service ran work projects. U.S. Army was in charge of work camps.
Neighborhood Youth Corps	War-on-poverty program, which included some conservation activities. Targeted on disadvantaged youth, ages 14 to 21. Begun in 1964, NYC was succeeded by CETA youth programs in the 1970's.	105,000 in the in-school program; 50,000 in out-of-school program;	$325 M. in FY '67 $1.0 B. in current dollars	$650 for in-school, $3,000 for out-of-school in FY '67; $2,003 for in-school; $9,277 for out-of-school in current dollars	- Program included in-school, out-of-school, and summer components. Primary objective was to provide work experience and income for youth; service objective was secondary.	Originally administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity; program later moved to Dept. of Labor.
Job Corps	A war-on-poverty program still in existence today. Created in 1964, the Corps is largely residential and provides disadvantaged youth, ages 16-21, with skills training and remedial education. Of the Corps' 107 centers, 30 are engaged in conservation activities.	40,000 in FY '85	$509 M. in FY '85	$14,500	- 15% of Job Corps enrollees are in its conservation centers, which place greater emphasis than the other sites on work projects. An average of 220 youth per conservation center learn construction trades while working on national park and national forest facilities.	Originally administered by Office of Economic Opportunity; later moved to Dep't of Labor. Job Corps Conservation Centers are operated by the U.S. Dept. of Interior and U.S. Dept. of Agriculture (Forest Service), under subcontract to D.O.L.

Program	Description	# of Slots per year	Annual Funding	Cost-per-Slot	Special Features	Administering Agency
Youth Conservation Corps (YCC)	Untargeted summer employment program for youth, ages 15-18. In operation between 1971 and 1982. (Very limited program still funded each summer).	30,375 in FY '80	$60 M. in FY '80	$1,850 in 1980 dollars; $2,312 in current dollars	- Major purpose was to perform conservation work on public lands. - Special effort was made to develop in youth an appreciation for the country's environment and heritage. - the program included residential and non-residential elements.	Funding placed 35% of the responsibility with the Dept. of Interior, 35% with the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture (Forest Service), and 30% with the states to develop their own projects.
Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects (YCCIP)	Carter Administration youth initiative aimed at disadvantaged youth, ages 16-19. Operated from 1978 to 1982.	$11,500 in FY '80	$122 M. in FY '80	$10,608 in 1980 dollars; $13,260 in current dollars	- Youth were involved in work projects with tangible results that met community needs. - projects included housing rehabilitation and weatherization. - 87% of enrollees were economically disadvantaged.	Administered by the U.S. Department of Labor.
Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC)	Untargeted year-round program, enacted as part of Carter youth initiatives. Served youth, ages 16-23. Operated from 1978 to 1982.	Varied between 19,700 and 24,000 in FY '80	$234 M. in FY '80	$11,500 in 1980 dollars; $14,375 in current dollars	- Work program employed young people to improve public lands. - 25% of enrollees were in residential camps. - Although program was untargeted, almost 50% of enrollees were high school dropouts.	U.S. Dept. of Labor was administering agency; like YCC, however, YACC was operated by the U.S. Dept. of Interior, the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture (Forest Service), and the states.
California Conservation Corps	Largest currently operating state youth conservation corps. Untargeted, serving youth, ages 18-23. In operation since 1976.	1,950 in FY '85	$34 M. in FY '85	$17,500	- Corpsmembers are viewed as an emerging workforce for the state. - Includes 18 residential centers, with non-residential satellites. - Enrollees attend 3-week training academy prior to assignment.	Operates as sub-agency of the State Dept. of Natural Resources.

Program	Description	# of Slots per Year	Annual Funding	Cost-per-Slot	Special Features	Administering Agency
Ohio Civilian Conservation Corps	Second oldest currently operating state youth conservation corps program. Serves youth, ages 16-23. In operation since 1978.	Roughly 300	$6.3 M. in FY '85	$10,000 to $20,000	- Projects take place in urban as well as rural settings. - Includes both residential and non-residential components. - Training camp provided for new enrollees.	Operates as a sub-agency of the State Dept. of Natural Resources.
Washington State Conservation Corps	State conservation corps begun in 1983. Untargeted, open to youth, ages 18-25.	Not yet stabilized	$2.5 M. in FY '85	Not yet stabilized	- Youth can apply simultaneously for the Conservation Corps and its sister program, the Washington State Service Corps, which performs community services.	State legislation created independent conservation corps programs in 6 state agencies -- the Depts. of Ecology, Game, Natural Resources, Fisheries, and Agriculture, and the Parks and Recreation Commission.
Wisconsin Conservation Corps	State conservation corps begun in 1983. Untargeted, open to youth, ages 18-26.	Not yet stabilized	$2.5 M. in FY '85	Not yet stabilized	- Most work projects are sub-contracted to state agencies and community groups, which propose projects in competitive bids. - Corpsmembers completing a year of service receive their choice of $500 in cash or $1,000 in educational vouchers.	Administered by the Wisconsin Conservation Board, which is attached to the State Dept. of Natural Resources. The seven members of the Board represent various regions in the state and are appointed by the Governor.
Pennsylvania Conservation Corps	Recently initiated state conservation corps. Targeted. Open to youth, ages 18-21.	Not yet determined	$7.5 M. in FY '85	Not yet determined	- Funded through a state bond issue referendum. - Only 3% of funds permitted to go to administration. - 3/4 of funds go to state agencies, 1/4 go to local agencies.	Administered by State Department of Natural Resources.

Program	Description	# of Slots per Year	Annual Funding	Cost-per-Slot	Special Features	Administering Agency
Marin Conservation Corps	Untargeted local conservation corps program, begun in 1982. Summer program serves youth ages 15-18; year-round program serves youth ages 18-26.	147 youth last year (97 in summer, 50 in year-round program).	$1.3 M. in FY '84	$1903 in summer program; $20,000 in year-round program	- Large portion of costs reimbursed by agencies that contract for work. - Specialty crews perform landscaping, urban forestry, and carpentry. - One day per week set aside for education.	Non-profit agency administers the program. Funds come from San Francisco Foundation (Buck Trust) and cost-reimbursable contracts with local resource agencies. Also receives small amount of JTPA funds.
San Francisco Conservation Corps	Untargeted local conservation corps begun in 1983. Serves youth ages 17-23.	72 in FY '85	$1.4 M. in FY '85	Not yet stabilized	- All non-residential. - Started by judge who saw too many youth coming before him who did not have a chance in life.	Administered by non-profit organization. Funded primarily by grants from city government.
National Service Corporation, New York City	Volunteer youth service corps initiated in 1984. Enrollment limited to 18-year-olds.	Pilot just completed; expansion to 1,000 planned by 1986.	$7 M. in FY '85	Not yet stabilized	- All non-residential. - Work includes both conservation and social service. - Enrollees earn $80 per week and receive choice of $2,500 in cash or $5,000 education voucher after one year of service.	Administered by non-profit corporation funded by city government.
Katimavik	Untargeted Canadian community service program for youth, ages 17-21. In operation since 1977.	4,000 in FY '84	$30 M. in U.S. dollars (FY '84)	$7,000 in U.S. dollars	- Tour of duty consists of three, 3-month projects. - Both conservation and social service work are available to volunteers. - Participants receive room and board, $1 per day, and $1000 at program completion.	Funded by Secretary of State in Canada and operated by an independent, non-profit organization.

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