

AFTER CETA, WHAT NEXT?

by

AMY ELLEN WEISMAN

B.A., University of California, Berkeley
(Institute of International Studies, 1978)

B.A., University of California, Berkeley
(Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 1978)

Submitted to the Department of
Urban Studies and Planning
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of the Degree of

MASTER IN CITY PLANNING

at the

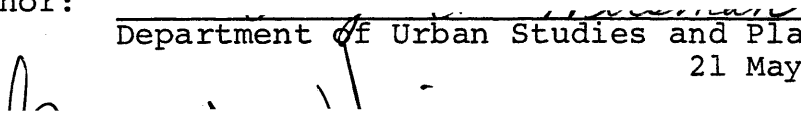
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June 1982


© Amy E. Weisman 1982

The author hereby grants to M.I.T. permission to reproduce and to distribute copies of this thesis document in whole or in part.

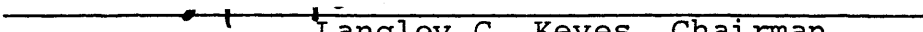
Signature of Author:


Department of Urban Studies and Planning
21 May 1982

Certified by:


Bennett Harrison, Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by:


Langley C. Keyes, Chairman
Departmental Graduate Committee

Archives

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY

AUG 3 1982

LIBRARIES

AFTER CETA, WHAT NEXT?

by

AMY ELLEN WEISMAN

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on May 21, 1982, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master in
City Planning

ABSTRACT

An in-depth study was carried out on the potential of local public-private partnerships to serve employment development needs of Hispanic women in the United States. Several community-based, private sector and intermediary organizations were interviewed; Hispanic working-age women, both unemployed and employed, and bilingual professionals, were also questioned. Target group-specific needs were identified and past mechanisms to serve them were presented. Partnerships were analyzed in light of U.S. Hispanics' socio-economic position and employment related demands, and the current administration's job development policies. Inter-organizational trends and potential roles were discussed among other major relevant issues.

Existing public and private mechanisms and resources, mutual interests, changing demographics and flexible criteria for establishment, make partnerships an increasingly viable employment development option for Latinas.

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Bennett Harrison

Title: Associate Professor of Urban Studies
and Planning

Para Enrique mi mejor amigo y ayudante; y para todos los empleados y desempleados del mundo. Luckily, we are all potential "partners" because we are all human beings.

INTRODUCTION

This paper will explore the concept of using local public-private partnerships as an employment and training strategy for working-age, Spanish origin women in the United States. This population group has disproportionately low labor force participation rates, and currently 15% of U.S. Hispanas are unemployed. (DOL, Adelante, 1981) Forty-two and one-half percent of Spanish origin women who headed households were labor force participants, compared with 57.0% of white female family heads. Forty-eight and eight-tenths percent of wives of Spanish origin wives with children 6 to 17 years were in the formal labor force while this figure was 53.7% for all wives. (DOL, Workers, 1978) In 1978 the annual median earnings for Hispanas was \$8115; it was \$11,841 for Hispanos. Black women earned \$8837. (DOL, Workers, 1978) Factors range from religious and social values, language problems, low education and socio-economic status, discrimination and public perception. As Chicana feminist Patricia Cruz claims:

Both Chicanos and gabachos have been guilty of the merciless stereotyping of females as docile, helpless, emotional, irrational and intellectually inferior creatures who are best suited to be sex objects, domestic servants and typists. . .

The public sector has operated various training and employment programs geared to providing jobs for these and other hard to employ persons. We can no longer rely on these programs to help Latinas gain entrance into the formal labor market due to the following reasons: They have received much criticism, only some of it deserved. While proponents praise the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) as a safety-net for minorities, others damn the program as pointless. Mismanagement of PSE (Public Service Employment) funds and minimal private sector placements are blamed. Popular antipathy has led the CETA program to become "a defenseless target for the Reagan budget-cutters." (Scharfenberg, 1981) In general, the employment and training system has aided the chronically unemployed; however, it has been largely ineffective for Latinas due to an inability to provide supportive services for special needs such as language training and daycare. To make matters worse, "a disproportionate share of the budget reductions are directed at programs in which women have a heavy investment. . .poor, near poor and minority women will be hardest hit," according to a 1981 study by the Congresswomen's Caucus. Thus, budget cuts prohibit further utilization of such programs for Latinas.

Clearly, these cutbacks are part of a larger plan to redirect the nation's economy; they are based on the assumption that an overall reduction in government spending and taxes will

generate increased private sector employment opportunities for the nation's economically disadvantaged. Furthermore, our current administration claims we "need to break the habit of viewing government as employer of last resort" and urges business, civic and community leaders to come together into "partnerships" to remedy "social ills" such as unemployment. Ironically, in difficult times it expects the private sector to take the lead; the administration also refrains from offering strategies for collaboration among disparate sectors or funding sources; voluntarism should be the key motivator.

In the meantime we will be feeling the effects of such policies and must try to make the best of a bad situation: a new federal strategy which ignores the needs of large numbers of chronically unemployed.

By relating public resources and incentives, and private resources and capabilities, a local public-private partnership can be a more effective means of employment development and job training for Latinas. Due to its sensitivity to existing institutions and characteristics of the people they serve, joint ventures provide a viable alternative to past employment development efforts for this group.

Firstly, current economic, political and, particularly, demographic trends, dictate the need for new approaches. Hispanics comprise 52% of the 14.6 million persons of Spanish origin in the United States. (Dept. of Commerce, Census, 1981)

Our changing times also imply that government is no longer there just for regulatory purposes, nor can business retain its purely profit-seeking personality: peer pressure for enhanced corporate social responsibility plays a key role in motivating business to meet with community leaders. Since public and private have been indirectly working with each other over the past twenty years--they have "grown up" together in the field of employment development. Lack of prescriptions for partnerships can allow for flexibility and innovation by local public and private players in meeting mutual needs and serving Hispanas.

Methodology

I conducted an extensive review of two bodies of literature in an effort to identify factors relevant to the 1) participation of Hispanic women in the formal labor force, and 2) potential of public-private ventures to facilitate their entrance into the labor force. Relatively minimal literature on the former theme required the use of general social science studies on Hispanics, supplemented by a short questionnaire derived from this documentation. I interviewed unemployed Hispanic women ranging from early thirties to early fifties, and social services professionals who work with Hispanic women as counselors. The questionnaire was developed in English but administered in Spanish as the need presented itself. (I am bilingual.) Unless a shorter, phone version was used, this interview required

approximately one hour of the respondent's time. A copy of this questionnaire is included in Appendix B. Sections of the format utilized for professionals who counsel Hispanics (Appendix C) were informally administered to employed Hispanic women. The entire survey remained unchanged throughout my study. Respondents' names were referred by Hispanic community leaders interviewed.

The other closely related surveys were designed and administered to other relevant "players": Community based organizations in Boston's Hispanic areas; intermediary groups known for fostering public-private relationships; and private sector groups in currently prominent fields. I originally wanted to interview only companies who had been involved with CETA programs to pinpoint their motives, and changes in participation due to current economic trends. However, I later changed my list of interviewees, upon discovering that most private groups had some forms of job development programs, and that their motivating factors were also important. (A list of groups interviewed is found in Appendix A.)

Important to note is that respondents from community based organizations were those in top management positions (i.e., executive director); those from private groups were second echelon management-type employees (public affairs or personnel officers). This disparity effected survey utilization and

skewed the basis for analysis. In an effort to save time, I did not attempt to reach top level management; I trusted the recommendations of my referral agencies and knew the realities of the situation.

Each of these face-to-face interviews lasted approximately one hour; those necessitating a phone version required less. The private respondents were referred by the Boston Private Industry Council. The community groups I chose to interview are considered "leaders" in Boston's Hispanic areas. I drew their names from personal contacts made from work in these areas.

The three questionnaires cited above underwent changes mid-way through the survey process. Survey Set I was used for three community groups and three private sector ones; Survey Set II was utilized thereafter. After one intermediary group was interviewed, I changed the survey content to match a sense of familiarity with the general issues by all. I also wanted to give the survey a more "natural" order.

Questions were basically amended to clarify concepts previously assumed familiar and follow the instinctive order of responses by interviewees; the second set of questions also reflects more realistic concerns and better taps high priority issues of the groups. In general, Survey Set II provided an easier mechanism by which to keep respondents "on track".

I wanted to allow as much free thinking and expression of ideas to take place, to provide an outlet for underlying, significant thoughts. This still resulted in unguided responses and just required a bit more spontaneous decision-making on my part.

The paper will consist of seven sections. Parts I, II and III will be brief and serve as context material. The first section is an overview of the socio-economic position of Hispanic working-age women as it relates to other sectors of the U.S. population. National and city-wide Hispanic population trends are cited in order to acquaint the reader with the community in which my research was undertaken. Findings from social science and political-economic literature, and surveys, indicate that Hispanas are disproportionately under-employed and unemployed due to a variety of labor market barriers. Cultural values and institutional forces contribute to their isolated, low income status.

Part II is a general needs analysis of Hispanas emerging into the formal labor force. This section is based on existing literature and interviews with randomly selected Hispanas in Boston, as well as Hispanic-oriented agencies. Hispanas require an array of supportive services to facilitate their active participation in any job development effort.

Part III briefly describes the "traditional" approach to employment and training of Hispanic females in the context of

all disadvantaged persons in this country. Interviews and literature serve as bases for findings. Deficiencies of such efforts, particularly with regard to Hispanic females, stem from an emphasis on other groups, their relatively short program duration, and ignorance of Hispanas' distinct job-related needs.

Part IV furnishes the background on public-private partnerships and cites a few trends. Changing economic and political forces inspire transitions from government-induced programs to locality-specific approaches. Varied notions of private sector involvement in social problems stem from the ambiguity of the currently used term. Limited manual-form literature results. Job development partnerships manifest themselves in unusual forms compared to recently prevalent economic development joint ventures.

Part V is a general discussion of the potential of local public-private collaboratives as an improved, more realistic, redefined version of an old employment development strategy. Within the context of cutback effects on social service programming, and subsequent pressure on increased private sector involvement, major issues for Hispanas are highlighted.

Part VI highlights the study's salient concluding points; Part VII offers suggestions for future research.

PART I: PROBLEM DEFINITION: UNEMPLOYMENT OF HISPANIC WOMEN
IN THE U.S.

Hispanic women comprise the majority of the fastest growing minority group in the United States. The Hispanic population grew from 9.1 million in 1971, to 14.6, and now accounts for 5.6% of our population. (U.S. News, 8/81)

While many Latin leaders maintain that Hispanics are "on the threshold of power", figures show that Hispanas have not been allowed to freely reap the benefits of the American system. Hispanas have historically been the victims of every institutionalized bias based on sex, race, language, culture and/or ethnic origin. This has led to their oppression and exclusion from life in the mainstream U.S. (DOL, Adelante, 1981)

Evidence of their isolation rests in the lack of statistics on Latinas. At the Governor's Chicanas Issues Conference held in Los Angeles, California, community activist, Antonia Lopez, described how little is known on Hispanas in the Departments of Aging, Corrections, Education or Mental Health: "A lot of government itself has simply not documented us," she asserted in June, 1980. (L.A. Times, 6/80)

Furthermore, statistics that do exist reveal that Hispanic women collectively occupy the lowest rung in society.

Hispanas: Education

A March 1977 survey reported that the median number of years completed in school by Hispanas 14 years and older was 10.4. Twenty-seven and six-tenths percent of Spanish origin women completed eight years of grammar school or less: this was 8.4% for all persons. (Dept. of Commerce, Population, 10/80) Only 5.7% of all Hispanas completed four years or more of college, (DOL, Adelante, 1981) as compared with 12.9% of the total female U.S. population. (Dept. of Commerce, Population, 1979)

While 57% of Hispanic women in the labor force had at least a high school education, this was a full 10 percentage points lower than all women; nearly 18% of Spanish origin women aged 25 years and over completed less than five years of school compared to 3.2% of all females in the U.S. (Dept. of Commerce, Population, 10/80)

Unemployment

High unemployment and increasing inflation have adversely affected the economic status of Spanish origin women among other women workers. As unemployment rates hit postwar - recession record highs, those for minority women were slightly affected; they remained relatively higher than other population groups. From December 1980 to 1981, unemployment for nonwhite adult women increased by only 8% (from 12.3 to 13.3). All other sectors experienced substantial increases in unemployment except nonwhite teens up 6% from 37.5 to 39.6. (Time, 2/82)

Currently 15% of U.S. Hispanics are unemployed. (DOL, Adelante, 1981) In 1979 the unemployment rate of Spanish origin women workers 20 years of age, and over, was 8.9%, considerably higher than the 5.0% of white women workers but lower than the 10.8% rate of black women workers. (DOL, Twenty Facts, 1980) Eleven and two-tenths percent of the unemployed were 25 to 44 years old, compared with 6.7% for white women of this age group.

Labor Force Participation

In general, unemployment rates by place of residence reveal Hispanics held the lowest labor force participation rates of all sex and race subsectors of the population. (DOL, Employment, 2nd quarter, 1981)

In 1978 it was found for most specific age groups, Hispanic women had labor force participation rates about 10 percentage points lower than all adult women. (Newman, 1978) During the third quarter of 1975, an average of 1.4 million Spanish origin women 20 years of age and over were in the civilian labor force, representing 43.9% of all such women in the population. The proportions of white and black women in the labor force were at 44.9% and 50.9% respectively. As of March 1976, 49.2% of Spanish origin women aged 25 to 44 years were in the labor force, compared with 57.3% of all women of that age group, 93% of Hispanic men and 95% of all men that age. (DOL, Workers, 1978) That same year, 42.9% of women of Spanish

origin were in the labor force, compared with 46.8% of all women. (DOL, Workers, 1978)

The presence of young children in the family is associated with greatly lower labor force participation among women of Spanish origin. For example, 48.8% of wives of Spanish origin with children 6 to 17 only were labor force participants, compared with 53.7% of all wives with children between those ages. Forty-two and one-half percent of Spanish origin women who headed households were labor force participants compared with 57.0% of white female family heads, and 82.1% of white male heads of families. Among the U.S. Spanish origin population, about one out of six families was headed by women, as of March 1974. (DOL, Workers, 1978)

Not All Hispanics Are the Same: Intra-ethnic Disparities

Important to keep in mind, however, is that different age distribution and ethnic background impact strongly on Hispanic adult employability and participation rates, primarily among women and teenagers. (Newman, 1978) For example, Hispanic workers 35 years and over generally have lower jobless rates than younger workers, because they are more likely to have marketable skills and work experience.

Variations in jobless rates also stem from differences in educational attainment, and/or migration patterns. Recent data show that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have lower levels of educational attainment than do Cubans and other Hispanics.

Migration patterns show that many Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants had very little formal education; those from Cuba, on the other hand, were middle class refugees, with relatively high educational attainment. (Newman, 1978) Specifically, among Spanish origin women of 16 years of age and over, in March 1974, those of Cuban, Central or South American, and/or Spanish origin, were more likely to be workers (50%) than were women of Mexican (40%) or Puerto Rican (34%) origin. Two years later, figures show 80.3% of Mexican-American men were in the labor force, compared to 68.2% of Puerto Rican men.

Of the 3.3 million Chicanas in the United States, the labor force participation rate is 42% compared with 46% for all women. (MALDEF, Profil, 1978) Yet, official figures show that only 12.7% of Puerto Rican women were able to work full time all year. (King, 1974, 25)

Occupational Status

The participation rate for Hispanic women in the labor force advanced to 47% in 1979. This was 39% of all Spanish origin workers in 1979. (DOL, Facts About Women, 1979) This figure was compared with 51% for white women and 45% for black women. (DOL, Noticias, 12/29/80) While these figures may appear promising, looking closer we see a concentration of Hispanas in low paying, low status, sex-segregated jobs.

During the seventies, among Hispanic women, the largest occupational declines occurred in non-transport operatives jobs. The greatest increase took place in clerical employment, with lesser gains in service work and professional and technical jobs. (Newman, 1978) Twenty-three and six-tenths percent of Hispanic women were service workers in 1977.

Concurrently, 29% of employed Hispanas are clerical workers. Although the large percentage of Hispanic women employed in clerical positions is similar to the situation among women overall, their heavy concentration in the late seventies in operatives jobs--dressmakers, assemblers, machine operators, and similar employment--is striking. One-third of employed Cuban and Puerto Rican women worked at these jobs; one-fifth of employed Mexican women; one-ninth of all employed women.

Twenty-five percent of working Hispanas have semi-skilled professions; 19% are professional and technical employees (DOL, Adelante, 1981) This group was most likely raised in the forties or fifties during an era of increased educational and job opportunities for all women. Many were the first generation to complete high school and attend college; they are unique. Only 4% are in administrative positions (DOL, Twenty Facts, 1980), compared with 7.4% of white women and 15.3% of white men. (DOL, Employment, 3rd Quarter, 1981)

Socio-Economic Status

The median wage or salary income of year-round, full time workers in 1978 was lowest for minority women. (DOL, Twenty Facts, 1980) The median annual earnings for Hispanic women in 1978 was \$8115, compared to \$11,841 for Hispanic men. Among women, there was an earnings gap of \$1425 between Hispanic and white women who earned \$9540. For black women, their median annual earnings were \$8837. (DOL, Workers, 1978) The average income of the aggregate working Hispanas in 1977 was less than \$3000 per year. (DOL, Adelante, 1981)

Local Context: Boston's Hispanic Population

On the local level, the Hispanics in Boston are predominantly Puerto Rican and Cuban. This population is also growing and feeling the struggle to escape poverty and break into the American mainstream, as evidenced by the following figures.

The percentage of Hispanics in Boston has increased from 2.8% of the total population in 1970 to 4% in 1977 to 6% in 1980. Whites comprised 69% and blacks 20% of the city's population in 1980.

Over the past 10 years, the distribution of Boston's Hispanic citizens has dramatically changed. For example, Jamaica Plain has increased its share from 17% in 1970 to 26% in 1980; Dorchester's share of Hispanics increased 7 percentage points (13 to 20) while Roxbury's share has declined from 26% to 15%. Other neighborhoods where relatively large percentages

of Boston's Hispanics can be found are Allston-Brighton (9%), South End (8%) and Mattapan (8%). (H.O.P.E., 1981)

Occupational Status of Hispanics: Boston vs. United States

Labor force figures bear some resemblance to that of the nation as a whole: Hispanics are primarily in service occupations in Boston (47% up from 22% in 1970). In 1977, 17.1% of all Hispanic workers were service workers. In the city, other kinds of occupations show a decline. Clerical workers went from 33% in 1970 to 13% in 1980. In 1977, 15% of all Hispanic workers were clerical workers.

While 20.9% of Hispanic workers were operatives on the national level, in Boston, the number of Hispanics employed as operatives went from 42% to 16%. Only 14% of Hispanics were in professional, managerial, and technical positions. Compared to the total (city) population, Hispanics are over-represented in service jobs and under-represented in managerial ones. In 1977, 7.4% of all Hispanic workers were in professional or technical jobs and 5.6% of Hispanic workers were managers and administrators. These figures reflect similar labor force representations as on the national level. (Newman, 1978, 11)

Specific socio-economic figures for Boston's Hispanic female population are currently unavailable. The city's Latin research group (Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation) is undertaking a thorough study of such trends.

Barriers to Employment

A knowledge of how intra-labor market interactions exclude unemployed Hispanas is necessary in evaluating the potential of partnerships to alleviate resultant obstacles. Employment barriers of Hispanas stem from a variety of personal and institutional conditions, many of which are not immediately apparent. The relevant literature and discussions with many Hispanic women reveal primary barriers to employment in the formal labor force. Although intra-ethnic disparities exist, Latinas are clearly caught in a vicious cycle: educational attainment and economic status often stem from historic, institutionalized biases based on sex, race, language, culture and/or ethnic origin. (DOL, Adelante, 1981) The sparse literature on joblessness among Hispanas cites social, cultural values, low economic status and low educational attainment, and discrimination as barriers. Secondary ones include unionization of certain occupations and influx of immigrants and illegal aliens seeking similar jobs.

Cultural Factors: Religion

Firstly, the paternalistic attitude of the Catholic Church has had a heavy influence on social and cultural values of Hispanic families. Women are portrayed with the Mary image, as submissive, altruistic, and self-denying. According to Chicana organizer-feminist Consuelo Nieto, the only other type of woman is the whore: this dual stereotype "hampers women by

restricting their freedom of movement and personal autonomy." Their religious persuasion makes it hard for Hispanics to feel fulfilled as independent persons--often criticized by close relations if they differ from Church teachings.

As one social service staffperson explained to me, it is difficult convincing women that "it's alright to leave their children's home to live for themselves." (Nuñez) Some women she deals with also do not see wife-beating as a problem, but rather "part of married life". This low self-esteem of Hispanics, engendered by the church, works as the initial barrier toward seeking employment.

Also attributed to this religious influence among Hispanics is relatively larger families than other population groups. For example, of all Puerto Rican families living in the U.S., 76% have children under 18 years. Furthermore, 28.7% of all Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. are under 10 years; 12.7% of all Hispanics are under 5 years, compared with 17.6% for the total U.S. population. (DOL, Population, 10/80, 20) Increased family responsibilities, coupled with feelings of family commitments, often prevent Hispanics from working outside the home.

Sex Roles as Barriers

Strong obligations toward family stem from cultural values such as the stereotypical concept of "machismo": the female was to grow up to get married, bear children and take care of the home. Although the wife-mother is usually highly respected

and revered, her personal needs are considered secondary to those of other family members. (Murillo, 1971, 104)

For many, work itself is sought on behalf of others. In a collection of oral histories of Hispanas' experiences in the Southwest, a group of women in their thirties explained: "Our parents always taught us that once we got out of school, we were supposed to get a job. They didn't expect us to go to college, but they wanted us to be able to support ourselves and our families if we had to, or at least be able to help out our kids. As a matter of fact, that was supposed to be the real point of working, so that our kids' lives could be better than ours and our parents' had been." (Elsasser, et al., 1980, 85)

This socialization of sex roles often causes Hispanas to have guilt feelings about the fulfillment of their potential, and contributes to their persistent unemployment. Many Hispanic agency counselors explained how, if her husband was not employed, a Latina would rather he be placed in an employment development program than she. On the other hand, current financial difficulties are changing this view among unemployed Hispanas.

Male Attitudes

Furthermore, one of the major obstacles that prevents Latinas from seeking meaningful employment is the Hispanic male "macho" attitude, which many researchers assert, stems from an inferiority complex. (Aguilar, 1974, 31) Says one social worker at a local Hispanic agency, "the woman presents a threat

to the man if she wants to better herself." (Nuñez) Poverty conditions may aggravate this disposition: "The Mexican ideal of the powerful male would seem to make economic impotence or severe limitations especially threatening." (Murillo, 1971)

"Hispanic men are very possessive," explained one Puerto-ricqueña businesswoman in her early thirties. She further asserted how Latinos will often refuse to allow their wives or girlfriends to seek jobs for fears about potential bosses making sexual advances. (Hernandez)

On the other hand, many community service specialists I spoke with felt that due to worsening economic conditions, and the inculcation of American values, this "macho" attitude is less prevalent. "Things are getting better," one woman offered, "I see more and more younger Latinas standing up to their brothers." (Hernandez)

Immigrant-Status Related Barriers: Language

Within the myriad of personal problems which act as barriers to the formal labor market, is that concerning the English language. Here the issue is two-fold: 1) knowledge of grammar and vocabulary, and 2) accent in speaking (to be covered later).

Important to note is that learning English is not always the primary need of Spanish origin women. Often, due to the sex-role socialization in their native countries, these women have low levels of education when they arrive here. As a result, they are illiterate in their first language. One

interviewee explained how language was the foremost obstacle in finding employment. She also asserted how frustrated she felt after taking a 10-month intensive ESL* course (which constituted her first time in school after many years) and still found English difficult to understand when spoken quickly. (Ruiz)

Difficulties with the language can lead to other obstacles to an effective job search. As one Latina explained, "When I first came to this country (from Puerto Rico) before I learned English, I was scared to get on the subway because I thought I would get lost downtown and not be able to find my way back home." (Hernandez) According to their length and nature of residence here, general culture shock can make Latinas feel intimidated or estranged by preconceived notions of the American workplace.

Personal problems, easily solvable by native American citizens, often prevent Hispanic women from even considering employment. As one agency representative explained, one well-educated Chilean woman she met was too busy ensuring that her mentally retarded son received proper care and attention to pursue employment. "Hispanics have many problems" from the basic fact of being immigrants, she continued. Moving from a rural or agricultural background to a higher technology system presents many challenges often felt harshly by older Hispanics. (Perez, 1981, 6)

*English as a Second Language

Personal limitations are frequently found to isolate Hispanic workers. However, social barriers such as lack of employment opportunities or job finding assistance and varied forms of discrimination (age, racial and ethnic) are more profound barriers to job searching. (Perez, 1981, 4)

Information Accessibility

Inaccessibility to information is an important obstacle. An analysis of ways in which older Hispanics (of which 56% females were surveyed) find employment opportunities show that informal networks (i.e., word of mouth) seem to provide the only successful means. Yet, the study also found these networks tend to be limited and limiting for facilitating entry of Hispanics into the labor market. (Perez, 1981) In fact, one interviewee explained that often friends or acquaintances are hesitant to disclose information about job openings due to selfish interests. (Ruiz)

Discrimination in Education

As stated above, low educational attainment is often associated with chronic unemployment among Latinas. Differentials before they enter the labor market, for instance, within the educational system, have been attributed to causing barriers (i.e., reading retardation, high school drop-out rates and the small percentage of Hispanics attending college). Lack of bilingual support systems within school, another facet of education disparities, has set forth obstacles to employment attainment.

The following case presents an example: Nineteen-year-old Madeline River was a senior at the High School of Art and Design in New York in Spring 1974. At The United States Commission on Civil Rights Hearing (held in New York City, February 14-15, 1972) she made the following statements: I was discouraged from going to college because when I entered the High School of Art and Design, they have there both programs vocational and academic. When I applied for the school, I wanted the academic. . . . Therefore, since my reading grade was so low, I wasn't put in academic. I was put in vocational. Then when I'm trying to. . . be put in academic, my grade advisor, I went to her and she gave me a lot of run-around. She said I shouldn't bother going to college. I asked her why. She said, "Because you're going to be worrying too much about your homework." Now she didn't tell me it was my reading grades at all. . . ." (King, 1974, 23)

If the quality and quantity of Hispanics' education therefore is adversely affected by abnormal treatment, then some of the labor market differentials, perceived to be explained by low educational achievement may, in fact, be due to discrimination outside the labor market. (Jusenius, et al., 3/82, 5)

Discrimination: Job-Related

While their motivations are not documented, some firms show a preference for certain types of workers over others.

Those traditionally most hampered are women and minority groups. (Harvard Workshop, 1981, 11) For example, those I interviewed felt their accent was a profound detraction from being considered for employment. One woman complained how employers were immediately distrustful of her abilities to perform necessary tasks when they heard her accent. This was frustrating, she explained, "because I know I could learn the language quickly by working and being around English speakers." (Ruiz)

Another Latina with a college degree described similar employer reactions; she thought, however, because the job was in marketing, requiring the employee to be on the phone often, the employer preferred a native English speaker.

Overall, relatively little documented information exists about the way in which people who speak Spanish-accented English are treated in the labor market. However, there is some evidence that, after controlling for education and other factors, Hispanic men who predominantly use English, but also speak Spanish, earn less than their counterparts who only speak English. (Jusenius, et al., 1982, 7) Some Southwestern sociologists describe a group of college educated Chicanas:

As a group these women have had much more direct contact with Anglo Society than had the older Hispanas we interviewed. Some women spoke of their private hurt and anger at encountering racial discrimination in school or on the job, while others described their feelings of powerlessness, faced with an urban society's indifference, to the people of the barrio. (Elsasser, et al, 1980, 85)

In essence, personal problems and institutional realities present ominous barriers to Latinas entering and taking full advantage of U.S. labor market benefits.

PART II: WHAT IS TO BE DONE FOR HISPANIC WOMEN?

Recognizing the diversity of the Latina population and differentiating among the subgroups is essential in determining and meeting the employment needs of Hispanic women in this country. Facts drawn from interviews and literature substantiate the general need to improve employment opportunities and services for Spanish origin women. Clearly, any efforts to enhance the labor market position of Hispanas will only be effective if they first serve the distinctive problems attributed to their target group. Job related needs of Latinas in this country are described below.

Program Preparation

Working-aged Hispanas are often caught in a vicious cycle of poverty: a low income status, often exasperated by a large family forces many women to lead isolated lives; they must deal with the "basics" of survival. Thus, they are hardly in a position to seek, let alone take advantage of employment services.

To begin with, formal information networks are essential to the employment development of Hispanic women. To rely only on word of mouth for these persons is to be confined by an often false, stereotype of "an Hispanic sense of community." Thus, bilingual TV and radio announcements must be provided to raise awareness. Intensive outreach activities should be included in the form of widespread bilingual publicity and personal

canvassing, to help ensure target group participation. Due to a general distrust of Anglo society (Perez, 1981, 7) personal outreach must, of course, be carried out by bilingual professionals with a sensitivity to the Hispanic culture, and familiarity with community actors.

Ironically, the most crucial component of an integrated job development program project is not directly job-related. Cultural values often engender sex role stereotypes which act as obstacles. Lack of support from spouse, children and/or relatives is often a deterrent to job seeking efforts. A bilingual family counseling component is, therefore, essential for an effective job development scheme.

Furthermore, other fundamental health and human services must be readily available to Latinas before they can pursue job training. Knowledge of nearby hospitals, clinics, local public assistance offices, etc., can provide a "safety valve" to lessen anxiety--and therefore help Hispanas psychologically prepare themselves to pursue employment. Obviously, a subsidized program by which the participant can help support herself and children is essential.

Another basic need is that of ensuring transportation to and from the job development site. Whether it be specified routes for each participant with existing public transportation, or furnishing buses, Hispanic women's needs for such services must be met to foster consistent program participation. One

agency director cited how maintaining client interest is difficult if mechanisms which enable program participation are not developed.

Bilingual day care services are also imperative for many Hispanics. While traditionally, extended family members served this need, increased mobility of families and changing economic and social pressures have forced relatives to seek employment. Day care or after-school facilities at the work site would be ideal so mothers could check on children, and thus alleviate stress.

Education is crucial in job development efforts for Latinas. For many working-age Latinas this means first attending to skills in their own language. This effort should be supplemented with an intensive ESL program. The need to provide educational programs that are sensitive to language minority high school students is also pressing. Yet these concerns pertain mostly to younger Latinas with another set of barriers and priorities.

Many newly arrived Hispanic women experience feelings of fear and alienation when encountering the outside community. An on-going bilingual workshop should offer program participants a chance to acquaint them with office (or other worksite) styles, management expectations, intra-organizational relations, etc. (Note: the Oficina Hispana in Jamaica Plain currently offers a Life Skills Workshop as part of their Office Work

Training Program. The agency's director feels this component has been quite useful in helping Latinas enter and stay in certain sectors of the formal labor market.)

All the above mentioned needs are those related to personal problems of job seekers, over which they can have some control. At this point it must be noted that Hispanic women will only be able to find meaningful, continual employment if legal barriers, inflexible industry and union practices and discrimination are broken down. On various levels, collaboratives can facilitate these changes.

A complementary mix of (job-related) services are needed to enable interested Latinas to take advantage of any job development scheme. Through effective networking, local partnerships can encompass the minority-sensitive resources already being offered.

PART III: WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO SERVE EMPLOYMENT NEEDS OF
THIS TARGET GROUP?

Before considering an alternative training strategy for Hispanic females we must look closely at previous manpower and training efforts and their impact on employment problems of this target group. (NOTE: I have not found federal programs on any level designed to specifically meet needs of Hispanas in the U.S.)

Historical Facts: Sixties

When major manpower training efforts for the long-term unemployed began in the early sixties, with the MDTA (Manpower Development and Training Act) the goal was unsubsidized employment in the private sector via institutional and on the job training. Programs focused on the needs of the cyclically unemployed: those that were jobless due to a downswing in the level of national economic activity. Few minorities participated; their labor market concerns were not a national issue at that time. (Ginzberg, 1980, 43)

Policy soon turned from institutional training to respond to special problems of inexperienced, low skilled, disadvantaged persons. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was the first federal acknowledgement of the need to enhance the ability of the structurally unemployed to enter the labor market.

(Structural unemployment stems from some basic long term change in the economy's demand or technological conditions; this results in a mismatch of workers and skills.) During the decade, however, the focus remained on upgrading and retraining the cyclically unemployed. Only when the War on Poverty targeted the economically disadvantaged, did more structurally unemployed workers become involved in national manpower programs.

Manpower training and employment services for disadvantaged persons were located in areas with a high incidence of poverty. The principal program geared to serve low income minorities was the Job Corps, designed specifically for youth. Sixty percent of the enrollees were black. The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), which was a system of packaging and delivering manpower services to disadvantaged residents of a locally defined area, held 73% minority participation. Other efforts included WIN (Work Incentive Program), showing enrollment of 44%, which provided job training, counseling and placement services to AFDC recipients. As a disproportionate number of minorities were welfare dependent, the WIN program included large numbers of minority women.

There was also 69% minority participation in the National Alliance of Businessmen-Business Sector (NAB-JOBS) program designed to create jobs and training opportunities in the private sector for the hard core unemployed. At its birth (in 1968)

the JOBS program was run by the newly created non-profit National Alliance of Business, an intermediary organization comprised of representatives from the business community and geared to increasing private sector participation in manpower planning. Only some minorities and disadvantaged persons made short term gains in income and employment, and were to first be laid off when the economy worsened. Overall this Private Sector Initiative Program had minimal long-term impact on the structurally unemployed. (Kazis, 1979)

The late sixties and early seventies also saw increased efforts to reach minorities by way of federally funded training and job development services provided by community-based organizations. CBOs such as Opportunities Industrialization Centers, and SER (Service, Employment and Redevelopment) programs were organized to provide greater minority representation in program design, management and implementation. Currently CBOs are primary actors in service delivery of employment and training services for minority participants. (Ginzberg, 1980, 48)

As of 1973, about 70,000 blacks and other minorities participated in the abovementioned programs--yet reliable data on specific Hispanic enrollment is unavailable. (Ginzberg, 1980, 48)

Seventies

In 1971 Congress legislated the Emergency Employment Act which funded the Public Sector Employment Program in state and

local government. This action was spurred by apparent inability and unwillingness of the private sector to train and employ the disadvantaged through NAB-JOBS and similar federal efforts. From 1973 to 1978 the majority of PSE funds went to employment for cyclically unemployed, again ignoring the minority-dominated structurally unemployed workers.

CETA

In a concerted move toward a more decategorized and locally sensitive program, in 1973 Congress adopted the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). CETA was to provide a new, up-to-date charter for several manpower programs operating previously under other legislation. Prime sponsors, state and local jurisdictions, received ultimate responsibility to meet women's and minorities' skill training needs. In conjunction with the Emergency Jobs and Unemployment Assistance Act of 1974, expenditures were authorized for public service jobs and a mixture of classroom, training, outreach, counseling, remedial education and supportive services.

CETA programs of particular interest to women were designed as follows: Title IIB was to aid structurally unemployed through classroom job training, on the job training and work experience. The Public Service Employment (PSE) component set forth under Title IID was designed for the structurally unemployed and offered jobs in public or community based organizations. Title III attacked frictional unemployment

(due to time lags involved in the redeployment of labor). It provided funds for special target and national demonstration programs. All of these endeavors were supposed to encourage economic self-sufficiency. (Estrada, 1979, 6)

Title IV established a broad range of coordinated employment and training programs for youth.

The "New" CETA: 1978

As the seventies dragged on there was a renewed interest in private sector involvement. This tendency stemmed from the following: 1) the Carter administration's disillusionment with PSE, 2) social service cutbacks, 3) budget balancing, 4) media coverage of CETA as fraudulent. A pervasive feeling that only a private sector strategy can create enough employment and training opportunities for persons considered unskilled, hard to employ and victims of discrimination, was found among Congresspersons and executive officials.

Early evidence of this trend lies in the creation of two new programs: HIRE, on the job training for unemployed Vietnam veterans and youth; and STIP, which provided advanced skill training for unemployed and underemployed persons. The latter effort focused on the displaced, cyclically unemployed and was a precursor to the "new" CETA.

In the fall of 1978, the Department of Labor launched the "New CETA" with the CETA Reauthorization Act. Its objective was to revive, with new incentives, the private sector strategy of

the sixties. The accompanying legislation provided for new titles, the establishment of new implementing bodies (i.e., Employment Training and Assistance Councils (ETAC)) and, most importantly, the Private Sector Initiatives Program--otherwise known as Title VII. The programs designed under the Act were supposed to ensure economic independence of economically disadvantaged, structurally unemployed through employment.

(Estrada, 1979, 4) Not surprisingly, the 1978 Reauthorization Act also brought cuts in the number of PSE jobs and denoted this component to a secondary role. Increased job creation, stimulated by federal incentives, such as the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit program, took priority.

In its relatively short lifetime, proponents claim CETA has enabled prime sponsors to serve potential clients, provide education, counseling and job placement to chronically unemployed. For instance, the Boston Globe revealed that CETA efforts have led to actual jobs for about two-thirds of enrollees. (6/81) Conversely, others feel that "under both titles of the PSE program results in terms of job training are dismal: according to OMB figures only about 30% of the 340,000 or so Title VI and Title IID PSE participants leave for jobs in the private sector." (U.S. Chamber, 1982, 29) Commonly ignored is that all public employment money did not go to the salaries of CETA workers. For example, a recent Globe article stated, "one-third of those funds are being used this fiscal year to provide skill training and basic education: being used as the CETA money was originally intended to be used." (Schafenberg, 1981)

Opponents' criticisms have inspired the current administration to reduce CETA funding for Fiscal Year 1982 by 40%. In Boston this translates into a 55% cutback in federally financed job training from 32 million to 14 million dollars. (Mundel, 1982) Cutbacks are inspiring local jurisdictions to make limited funds go as far as possible. For example, in Boston, the Employment and Economic Policy Administration plans direct job-placement efforts without extended training for those judged to be job-ready. For training of adults, EEPA will require contractors to link up with private companies or secure foundation funds. (Boston Globe, 1981)

CETA and Hispanic Women

"CETA is the best hope--maybe the last hope--of reaching people who fall further behind every day, but who will never disappear." (Marshall statement, DOL, Noticias, 1980) Indeed, neither Hispanic women, nor their employment needs and problems are likely to disappear; however, if CETA is their "last hope" then apparently Hispanic women in the United States are in trouble.

In analyzing the effect of CETA on the labor market conditions of Hispanic women, several points must be considered:

- 1) Due to incomplete and low quality data, it has been difficult or impossible to ascertain the unique contribution of employment and training programs on the labor market status of any group.
- 2) Evaluations of pre-CETA and CETA programs predominantly pinpoint experiences of whites and blacks.
- 3) The general conclusion about pre-CETA programs is that those offering OJT

showed some benefits for minorities (i.e., earning gains).

4) Minority participation in CETA programs did not change markedly from pre-1970 federal program enrollment. (Ginzberg, 1980)

A recent study carried out by the Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation in Boston shows that Hispanic persons tend to be under-represented in government work training and work experience programs. (Perez, 1981, 6) "It is indeed unfortunate that many of the CETA programs (reviewed herein) continue to exclude or limit women and Hispanics from training and employment programs that could maximize their employment opportunities," one report asserts. Especially because Latinas are more heavily represented in the CETA eligible population than are non-minority women. (MALDEF, 1980)

Limited research reveals that low participation rates exist because "government and social welfare agencies have traditionally had difficulty in successfully reaching and serving Hispanic clients." The following factors are cited in impressionistic and empirical findings: 1) agency orientation toward dominant Anglo society clientele, 2) Hispanic preference for familial and community based resources versus formal government sponsored services--stemming from generalized distrust of Anglo society, 3) lack of Hispanic control over programs and/or agencies designated to provide such services. (Perez, 1981, 11)

The Chicana Rights Project of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (a non-profit research and legal aid organization) found that Chicanas comprised a significant number of the unemployed women in the Hernandez Texas local CETA area. Among other indicators that Hispanic women were underserved, the project determined that the targeted programs failed to meet statutory and regulatory prohibitions against sex discrimination. As a result, the Project filed an administrative complaint with the Regional Office of the U.S. Department of Labor against the designated prime sponsor, the City of San Antonio. Their report warns of the danger of prime sponsors who follow general patterns of non-responsiveness to women's needs within traditional categorical manpower programs. In fact, this MALDEF study found every prime sponsor reviewed had failed to meet planned service levels for Hispanic women's participation and/or replacement services, beyond the 15% variance from previously approved DOL service levels. (MALDEF, 1980, 13)

Crucial to note here is that the Chicana Rights Project intended to monitor the effects of CETA in San Antonio on Hispanic women. However, data compiled on the basis of race or sex, not both, forced the group to assume the following: identifiable enrollee groups (Hispanics and women) face the same problems of Hispanic women. Researchers added, "in truth, Hispanic women suffer the double burden of sex and national origin discrimination." (MALDEF, 1980)

CETA Program Participants

Sparse data on Latinas in CETA programs reveal their employment needs are barely being met. As of 1978, fewer Hispanics desired a job, compared to other women. Hispanics were more likely to want job training, basic skills (and, not surprisingly) English language training. (Berryman, 1981, 12) Income from the program was also a secondary priority among Hispanics.

Other figures show that in 1977-78 Hispanic women in "traditional female jobs" (and "traditional male jobs" in 1978) received lower average hourly rates than white and black women (Berryman, 1981, 51) Also, in "traditional male" and "mixed" jobs in 1977-78, fewer Hispanic women got their desired occupation than any other sex or race group. (Berryman, 1981, 41)

It appears that government sponsored job development programs made a weak attempt to enhance the labor marketability of Hispanics; negligent sponsors, mediocre attempts to meet specialized needs, disinterested employers, and a thwarted existence, can all be blamed.

PART IV: PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

What is a Public-Private Partnership?: Definitional Dilemmas

"Public-private partnerships" is a timely buzzword widely used by the media today. It stems from a variety of confusing messages from the current administration, based on disillusionment with government anti-poverty programs. First, the administration is challenging American business to "help solve our social ills" and asks for "private sector leadership and responsibility for solving public needs." (Lodge, 1982, 3) Second, in the same breath it is placing the burden of social improvement on all private institutions including businesses, non-profit, religious and neighborhood organizations. Furthermore, the government's call to arms offers no specific suggestions for enactment of these new policies. Intersectoral aggravation results, given present economic difficulties and a natural disparity of interests.

Thus, the term "partnership" conjures up different images for different people and often leads to uncertainty. For example, in answer to my question, "What is a public-private partnership?" one respondent asked me if his company's arrangement with a technical school constituted one.

Relevant documents reflect the confusion surrounding, and flexibility of, the term. For example, in a letter to the Chairman of the National Alliance of Business dated March 17, 1982, the president asserts "please know that we have a high regard for the work you do and that we are very proud to have

your partnership in the serious challenges that face all Americans."

Secondly, a study of the early experience of twelve Private Industry Councils by the Corporation for Public-Private Ventures uses the term in two diverse contexts: "These Private Industry Councils (PICS) are designed as local partnerships between the public and private sectors to promote increased private hiring of the disadvantaged." (Corp. for P/PV, 1980, vi) The same report later asserts, "At these (PIC) sites, the forging of public-private partnerships is underway." (Corp. for P/PV, 1980, x)

Authors of one document avoid the dilemma by offering definitions of public and private sectors and listing a variety of appropriate organizations (i.e., government, business, labor, educational institutions and civic associations).

Many groups create a definition for their own purposes. In order to complete a guide to help local officials improve their capacity to develop and manage public-private partnerships in community problem-solving, SRI International proposed this idea of partnerships:

concerted activities jointly undertaken by government and business to solve community problems in a way that yields benefits to both the firm(s) and the community at large. (Chmura, 1981, Preface)

Some observers see partnerships as a way of replacing federal grants with corporate grants: "It's just an outgrowth of the MDTA (Manpower Development Training Act) idea," claims another. (Dolan)

Literature Review

Due to their vague nature, the limited body of literature on partnerships is dominated by manual-type documents: these seek to guide players in preparing for, joining and implementing a local partnership. Most of the materials are geared to the public, non-profit side and offer lists of business monetary and human resources and suggestions on how to tap them.

The few documents for private sector use are written by consulting agencies who represent private sector groups. For example, the Center for Corporate Public Involvement of the American Council of Life Insurance and Health Insurance Association of America recently published a document which describes ways in which companies can bring "special strengths as partners in voluntary community initiatives to deal with the problems of the hard to employ citizen." Most materials for firms, however, are articles on corporate social responsibility, written by trade associations and other private-interest groups.

A final form of partnership oriented literature contains praise for both interests and policies to strengthen and/or sensitize each to the other.

History: 1967-1980

Early Job Development Schemes

Indeed, business and government have been collaborating for years. The private sector has made assorted efforts to

relieve urban problems since riots hit the cities in 1967. As one research group claims, "Successful experience with (such) partnerships spans the decades and the country."

(R + P Comm. CED, 1982, 3)

Early partnerships were spurred by social unrest, government pleas for help and subsequent manpower policies. They took on many forms of private sector involvement in urban affairs.

Job development programs were prevalent. For example, minority group hiring programs constituted a major area of private sector efforts. They focused primarily on providing jobs and training for young and disadvantaged blacks. However, government manpower policy encouraged a lack of interest in non-black minorities, lower middle or working class members. (Cohn, 1971, 23) Examples of such programs follow:

- 1) General Electric's Program to Integrate Minority Engineering Graduates (PIMEG) was initiated in 49 plant communities. PIMEG was designed to inform minority junior high and middle school students about careers in engineering.

- 2) The National Advisory Council on Minorities in Engineering (NACME) was, itself, a collaborative of business, education, government and the minority community. NACME encouraged 100 local agencies to implement local pre-college engineering career programs for junior and senior high school students with "a potential and interest in engineering."

Programs for the disadvantaged began with efforts to train, upgrade and/or hire people formerly considered unemployable. Four approaches typified these efforts: 1) on the job training, 2) vestibule training "in which a halfway house was used before transferring workers to normal production jobs" (Cohn, 1971, 45, 3) creating a subsidiary company offering real work experience to hard core employees, 4) creating a subsidiary to be spun off to employees and/or community groups.

The JOBS Program described in Part II provided subsidies and other expenditures for private sector training pledges.

Non-Training Specific Trends

Other models of corporate involvement during the late sixties were geared to, first, increase corporate income and, then, ameliorate city problems. Efforts took shape in assistance to community economic development, black capitalism, programs to aid management needs of municipal governments, and environmental improvement efforts. For example, companies such as Alcoa and Johns-Manville, were contractors in urban renewal projects in central city areas. In addition, AVCO operated child care centers in Massachusetts. A few insurance companies, utilities and banks "adopted" central city high schools by providing free space, facilities and/or vocational courses. (Cohn, 1971, 71)

There were also donations of cash, staff executive time and/or facilities. Many companies revised their giving patterns. Between 1967 and 1971, the average annual figure by individual

companies was \$175,000. These donations took the form of college scholarships, direct cash contributions to militant minority group organizations, along with efforts to redesign policies of voluntary agencies and fund raising groups. Corporations also donated facilities and equipment to neighborhood groups.

1970-1980: Employment Development Activities

The economic recession of 1970-1 interrupted many demonstrations of corporate conscience. Companies began to terminate training programs for the disadvantaged, and lay off unskilled workers. Businessmen questioned their prior involvement in urban affairs programs. Job development endeavors began to emerge in a variety of sporadic inter-related forms still present today: programs, organizational structures and informal arrangements.

Programs:

Many remaining programs took shape in joint efforts by private firms and government manpower programs within the CETA framework. New organizational types began to appear to administer funds. Training and skill development were heavily biased toward youth. Some examples follow.

The Chicago Alliance of Business Manpower Services is Chicago's recipient of CETA on the job training funds. This business run, non-profit group organizes, markets, supervises, and contracts directly with Chicago area employees for OJT.

Another job development collaborative is the Training and Technology program in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. There, local governing bodies use federal funds for training and living stipends; sixty companies hire and forty-five schools carry out administrative, recruitment and job placement duties. Also, established in 1974 and funded by the Ford Foundation is the Manpower Development Research Corporation: a non-profit group comprised of five federal job corporations.

More recently created establishments follow:

One effort designed to reduce youth unemployment in Massachusetts is Jobs for Bay State Graduates. The parent program, Jobs for America's Graduates, is sponsored by federal manpower agencies, the Rockefeller Foundation and, locally, major banks and businesses. The initiative aims to improve the transition from school to work for high school youths via career and vocational counseling, job training, placement and follow-up. Each local area is made up of business, labor, government and education leaders to enforce and monitor implementation. In Massachusetts, four high schools have particular arrangements endorsed by local players such as The Boston Globe and First National Bank of Boston (CNEA, 1982)

Informal arrangements for job development between public and private players became more prevalent as the decade wore on. Sponsored by the city's official community action agency (Action for Boston Community Development), the Shawmut-Merchants Bank Training Program began in December 1980. It demonstrates joint public-private funding of skill training programs.

This endeavor trains 200 economically disadvantaged individuals for entry level accounting and clerical positions with either of the two banks. CETA eligible applicants are channeled through the private non-profit corporation's intake process. Stipends are then distributed to trainees through ABCD from EEPA, the city's prime sponsor. Non-CETA eligible participants are awarded free tuition. Support services, offered through traditional neighborhood offices, are available to program recipients. Since the program is open to native and non-native English speakers, an applicant is referred to ESL training if language standards are not met.

Program instructors are ABCD employees; the banks provide salaries. Private sector participation stems from a community service philosophy, previous involvement with ABCD (i.e., PESO program) and congenial relationship between business, civic and neighborhood leaders. (Ibañez)

Clearly, the ABCD-Shawmut partnership reflects a "natural" effort stemming from mutual ability to identify and utilize existing political and economic resources.

The Jobs Cooperative provides another type of partnership designed for employment development. Last year in New York City, a group of Wall Street businesspersons came together to establish a vocational training program for predominantly clerical skills. Their activities grew from urging of a local settlement house staff (on whose board many were members) to help meet community employment needs. This partnership form

stems from recognizing what is in "your own backyard".

(Chmura, 1982, 55)

1970-80: Non-Job Development

Early non-job development partnerships stemmed from the capacity of the private sector to capitalize for, and assume leadership in, the development of desirable activities (i.e., the National Bank, canal systems and TVA). The focus shifted to improving the quality of life in distressed communities via specialized commercial, industrial and residential development ventures. Various organizational structures began to emerge to implement local economic development policies: many of these are based on public leveraging of private capital.

Community development corporations such as TELACU and the Kentucky Highlands Investment Corporation have successfully combined profit-oriented business development with a control by residents of the development of their own community. Retail outlets, banks, manufacturing of a variety of goods surface from these collaborative efforts. (Peirce, 1981, 171)

Other formal groups include industrial development commissions which use government funds to attract industrial development, and local development finance corporations. The latter group are often consortia of local businesses and financial institutions which collaborate over specific goals such as housing revitalization. The goal in each partnership is successful economic development "based on the design and

implementation of local policies and programs to raise the city's general standard of living, create local job opportunities and expand the tax base." (CNEA, 1980)

Other models include the National Consumer Cooperative Bank, City Venture Corporation (formed by Control Data and other private interests to implement inner city projects by promoting the Corporation's services), and state supervised farmers' markets.

An additional "partnership" based on recent rethinking on city affairs is the urban enterprise zone: a selected, small inner city area free of taxes, social services, industrial and other regulations in order to encourage entrepreneurs and capital. (Butler, 1981, 26)

Intermediary Groups: Becoming Part of the Partnership Process

Due to the diversity of "partnerships" cited above, a variety of processes, both formal and casual (rooted in personal or political ties) liaison groups are actively stimulating and developing collaboratives. Depending on their nature and level of involvement, these intermediaries provide a range of services from financing, information, training and technical assistance to fostering ongoing communication and assisting donors in directing resources into economic development ventures. Like "partnerships" many of these groups have been around for many years; some liaisons are partners themselves.

Examples of national intermediaries include 1) the National Development Council, which helps local communities

organize public-private efforts for economic development and provides staff training; 2) the Center for Community Change, which aids urban and rural community groups via publications, skill development workshops and financial aid; 3) the National Training and Information Center which uses private grants to employ selected development specialists to invest in and improve inner city neighborhoods; 4) enhanced tourism and cultural conservation within small and large cities is the focus of Partners for Livable Places.

Another long-standing liaison, recently making concerted efforts to foster local partnerships, is the Chamber of Commerce. In late 1979, the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce set out to "bring together public sector, business and community interests to identify and address economic development concerns." Principal objectives were to 1) expand the focus of its advisory bodies, 2) initiate a long range planning process by which to enhance involvement in Boston's growth-related issues. Through the resultant "Boston 2000" effort, several inter-sectoral task forces plan and coordinate economic activities (i.e., a comprehensive development plan for the Fort Point Channel area).

The above cited agencies have been functioning in technical assistance and advisory roles over the past few years. For many their work in fostering public-private partnerships is a "natural" facet of on-going efforts to aid community based organizations.

The Office for Public-Private Initiatives in the Department of Housing and Urban Development also fostered and monitored joint relationships for a variety of community development goals. It was abolished in 1981 under the current administration's economic policies.

The Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), incorporated in 1979, is an exceptional national intermediary. LISC was formed by a joint effort of the Ford Foundation and six major private insurance, banking and industrial firms. Federally funded, it makes grants and loans and gives technical assistance to community based organizations. LISC's goal is to "help strengthen and expand the capacity of independent, community based development organizations to improve the physical and economic conditions of their communities". The agency attracts local matching funds and creates LISC branches in those areas. Local foundations and cooperatives provide said funds; only "experienced community development corporations" receive assistance. For example, LISC is furnishing a grant, along with a community foundation's match to Jubilee Housing, Inc., to acquire and renovate low and moderate income housing units.

The Corporation's policy statement asserts how perhaps the most important role LISC can perform will be to help forge wherever possible a productive and continuing alliance between community organizations and the local and national private sector. This view stems from a general feeling that "for now,

public resources to assist local development have probably reached their limit." Thus, LISC's emphasis on assisting organizations in looking increasingly to the private sector for both experience and funds is clearly a response to governmental financial limitations.

Those intermediaries concerned with encouraging communication on the local level among distinct players appear in many forms. For example, business civic committees appear in the form of the Bay Area Council, a research, policy analysis, consensus-building and advisory group for the Bay Area business community. Its design takes root in the Chamber of Commerce idea.

Public-private forums serve as "neutral turf" at which public and private leaders can meet, discuss issues and set the groundwork for new partnerships. Non-profit public affairs groups like the Twin Cities' Citizens League or Womens League often serve this purpose.

The Council for Northeast Economic Action in Boston "works to build partnerships between public and private sector leaders" in support of economic development efforts. Believing that business community involvement is crucial, it acts as an advocate for the private sector by providing information and voicing business' views to federal and state policymakers.

The Council maintains close working relationships with Boston's banking community and has established a diverse network of cooperating institutions. A variety of government agencies,

private foundations and corporate contributors fund the group. Although the Council is "a technical assistance organization specializing in public policy research and analysis", its partnership building role is significant. At the same time, the Council has a priority in mobilizing private sector participation and perceives its expertise and financial ties as a crucial factor in successful project implementation.

Another type of local intermediary group is the Trilateral Council for Quality Education, inc. This non-profit organization was founded in 1974 to promote and facilitate education cooperation between Boston area businesses and the city's public schools. Trilateral pairs Boston high schools and the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center with local businesses on a voluntary basis. Program components such as teacher workshops in high technology skills, guest speakers and career exploration and job placement assistance for students--among others--are all aimed at concentrating business experiences, resources and personnel on improving public education in Boston.

Supported by government financing and specifically designed to strengthen the institutional structure for co-operation in the employment and training area is the Private Industry Council mentioned earlier. Often called "partnerships" on their own, the PIC's maintain a strong focus on enticing the private sector to make commitments with community groups via financial and other incentives.

As far as potential for PIC success, slow creation by prime sponsors in the late seventies was attributed to 1) traditional business community caution about new ventures, and skepticism stemming from requirements that community based organizations and labor be represented on PIC's; 2) intra-city politics which act as barriers to smooth negotiations; 3) CETA officials' lack of business sense; 4) federal administrative indecisiveness regarding PIC funding levels; 5) preference for upgrading the familiar PSE program.

Early interim evaluations (2/80 and 5/81) show that the basis for institutional development of many PIC's have been laid. They are beginning to foster local public-private partnerships; flexibility of Title VII regulations has fostered PIC innovation as R and D components of Prime Sponsors.

In terms of business attitudes, there have been a number of efforts to "market" PIC (or other CETA) services to employers which may have future pay off. Other indicators of private sector responsiveness may be intangible--certainly at this early stage. They include: cooperation among leadership on both public and private sides of the manpower table; commitments to join PIC; pledges to training of program participants; nature and extent (rate) of pledges versus actual placements. Current findings center predominantly around institutional development and program performance; PICs must be given time to mature before assessment of business attitudes can be made. (Corp. for P/PV, 1981)

The Opportunities Industrialization Centers, currently considered an intermediary agency, is not new at all. Initiated in the late sixties, OIC is a network of 140 organizations in the U.S. which provide employment training and other services to members of minority groups, unemployed and underemployed, and disadvantaged persons. Each OIC is a non-profit, community based, independent affiliate of the national structure which responds to local business and trainees' needs and unique institutional capabilities. Businesses belonging to local groups, designed as part of an industrial technical assistant contacts system, mesh their personalized employment training strategies with OIC resources. Businesses donate equipment, lend supervisors and trainers, provide on the job training and jobs, give direct financial assistance, and design fund raising activities. (Robison, 1980, 131)

OIC Boston describes its success "in bringing together business, industry, federal, state and local governments for the purpose of providing residents of Boston with academic skills training on a cost effective basis." (OIC Annual Report, 1980, 3) Thus, OIC fosters collaboratives in which they provide classroom training, rather than another community based organization; OIC is, in effect, a major partner with local private sector players.

Learning from the Past

Elaborate demonstrations of corporate conscience were encouraged by government incentives and socio-economic trends.

While many businessmen wanted to "purge themselves of a sense of guilt and responsibility", their involvement was largely based on enlightened self interest. "Our efforts are aimed at creating a healthy economic and social environment that is vital to the existence of any corporation," asserted David Rockefeller in 1971. Other objectives included strengthening corporate image, compliance with government equal opportunity requirements, insurance against popular threats to company well being, and financial benefit from expanded markets.

(Cohn, 1971, 5)

An early seventies analysis of business efforts to relieve urban problems reveals widespread dissatisfaction. Pressured by government forces and community groups, many businesses "reacted with more energy than discretion." They soon learned of the high costs, complexity and intra-organizational repercussions of involvement in urban affairs programs. (Cohn, 1971, 4)

Early job development oriented joint ventures were not initiated on the local level. Rather, they were a local response to federal pleas and generally take form as "described approaches in the private sector." Increasing interest in public-private "partnerships" grew out of President Carter's urban policy in 1978, which focused on distressed areas. The emergent concept acknowledged that the private market has superior technical and resource capacity to create jobs and to provide taxable investments; public funds were inadequate to rebuild older

cities. While this concept realized that "public participation and support can have a major impact on the level of economic risk that private enterprise can accept," it clearly suggested that the private sector play a central role. Public policy was examined for its impact on the local business economy. (CNUP, 1982, 69)

The striking difference between today's partnership and past public-private relationships is increased business participation in program planning and/or initiation, both of which are anticipated as voluntary. Today the long standing theme of enticing business involvement is still prevalent. For instance, one private group asserts that promoting the successful business community program for the hard to employ and mobilizing support is the "key to increasing private sector participation." (CNEA, 4/1980)

Another view is that partnerships offer "the private sector an opportunity to assume a more non-traditional role than it usually does; given economic difficulties' civic pressure, businesspersons' sense of management creativity is challenged."

In the early seventies job development programs lost popularity due to a changing administration, economic trends and business disillusionment. Arrangements with the private sector soon turned to efforts for community rehabilitation through job creation mechanisms. An underlying theme in encouraging local economic development was distrust of the traditional answer to social questions: establishing a new

program. Some observers believe these strategies merely compensate persons for the effects of institutional failures; underlying causes of systemic problems are not addressed.

As the decade wore on, concerns about the viability of programs, such as Targeted Jobs Tax Credits, to enhance private sector hiring of structurally unemployed ranged from 1) amount of credit in relation to tax bracket needed to offset inherent attitudinal barriers of employers toward target group riskiness, 2) preference for job-ready applicants, and 3) gap between interested companies and those with actual ability to hire "poor risk" employees.

The Public Sector Initiatives Program (PSIP) designed to help provide private sector employment opportunities for the economically disadvantaged was also under suspicion soon after its creation. Ironically, only 12% of business people surveyed one and one-half years after implementation were aware of the program. Government worries centered on the minimal role of business via involvement by lower echelon personnel; minimal participation of employers in best positions to supply jobs was the sponsor's largest fear. A survey conducted in 1979 showed that private manpower professionals in general preferred not to deal with government at all. (Kazis, 1979, 5)

Public-private enterprises on the local level were results of economic development efforts geared to employment: this mechanism is touted as sensitive to individual needs by

bringing jobs to people: "rather than transporting people from home, neighborhoods and associations to some new location dictated by a distant economic planner or business strategist." (Peirce, 1981, 168)

Another effort to sensitize employment-related mechanisms was to encourage collaboration for Private Industry Councils. In this way local markets' private sector actors and lower institutional players will be closely scrutinized, resulting in increased understanding of systemic problems. (Chmura, 1982, 12)

The switch of initiation efforts from federal to local is another attempt to make employment solutions more appropriate to target group needs. This theme is extended to the use of partnerships for all local concerns.

Every community is different and each has a context which can affect the kind of public-private partnerships that can take place. Relationships between government and business can best be ascertained and modified in a local context. "Social and economic conditions in a community will also help determine the kinds of opportunities on which partnerships may be focused", states one researcher. (Chmura, 1982, 11)

Local organizations and existing processes can be maneuvered to bring the two sectors together in collaborative efforts. As the author continues, "The ultimate value of public-private partnerships lies not in the number of corporate grants that a public agency can garner. Rather, the real benefit lies in the potential for developing better understandings of community

problems and more effective ways of using the full range of community resources to address them." (Chmura, 1982, 12)

Collaboratives are considered an answer to the shortcomings of intricately mixed major social service institutions. By bringing the full range of community resources (public and private) into the problem-solving process, a new problem-solving approach is implemented: one which is free from ideology, and not restricted by criteria for extent and nature of public and/or private sector involvement. (Peirce, 1981, 167)

Contending that business needs to feel a decisive role in planning and implementation of training programs, as well as substantial economic advantages, locally devised partnerships are touted as a way to involve private interests in job development schemes. Job training and placement is useless if other basic needs are ignored. With the right mix of local level actors certain barriers can be overcome, making manpower efforts more effective for the chronically unemployed. For example, a neighborhood or community group possessing familiarity with clients, competence, and local authority, can provide the essential spokes in the wheel of reinforcing service demands of many disadvantaged individuals. (Lodge, 1982, 15)

As a result of the above conclusions, job development efforts have become second priority to overall local economic development. Training is commonly conducted by specific educational type or vocational institutions and deals are worked out with individual companies; thus, is the nature of

current job development "partnerships". The majority of liaison agencies are concerned with broader community development questions and link groups together around a variety of issues. Local level intermediaries concerned with job development are most likely in the business of linking firms with schools or training groups. A great number are particularly involved with youth programs.

PART VI: ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION OF ISSUES

The current administration is encouraging the formation of public-private partnerships to remedy unemployment. Hispanic women show disproportionately high unemployment rates and negative experiences with previous training programs. These two trends are complementary. However, the process is far from simple. Both partnerships and Latinas are increasingly complex; in their complexity lies potential for problem-solving.

The fact that "partnerships" are not new, and are personally defined, makes them a feasible apparatus for helping Hispanas gain entrance into the formal labor market. Furthermore, shared attitudes toward the administration's socio-economic policies also promise to bring public and private together for job development of the hard to employ.

The administration's proposals for increased private sector involvement was met with a variety of skeptical reactions. Most interviewees felt changes in government spending would indeed take place, but all felt the current administration's hopes of replacing public funds with private commitments were unrealistic due to environmental (i.e., recession) and institutional reasons. Business leaders termed the president's proposals everything from "shortsighted" to "incredibly unrealistic."

Whether or not leaders agreed philosophically with the administration, cutbacks were perceived as harmful according to all public and private interviewees.

Community groups have begun to pursue other funding sources in hopes of becoming self-sufficient. Creating a small business venture, employing persons to seek and develop promising private sector "contacts", utilizing business expertise, collaborating with other CBO's, pursuing foundations, joining intermediary agencies and developing ways to contract out previously free public services--these are all ways that local service providers are responding to recent federal budget policies. In fact, many efforts to deal with the private sector were initiated prior to the Reagan administration and are now being enhanced. Previous recipients of traditional funds (i.e., CETA) were frustrated with their "short lives"; they felt that no accurate assessment could be made at this point.

Cynicism about Reagan's challenge to the private sector has resulted in slight changes in business behavior. Budget cuts make their "job harder to do", according to one private sector interviewee. Community groups who traditionally served as significant liaisons and/or recruiters were "having a hard time staying alive" and therefore were limited in their former capacities. The administration, therefore, was unrealistically encouraging partnership formation and "cooking the peoples' goose." (Dawkins)

While no one is "worried nor particularly nervous" about consequences of non-involvement, businesses are, indeed, concerned about how they are to replace government funding

for social improvement programs. The administration's proposals, highlighted by social and economic realities, have led socially conscious firms to enhance efforts and others to increase their awareness of community involvement issues. In essence, Reagan has not inspired many more unique private sector actions; yet formerly timid companies are more aware of potential business roles in social programs.

Companies who are recent sponsors of job development efforts cited two reasons for involvement: 1) feelings of corporate social responsibility often inspired by generous high level management, and 2) need for qualified entry level employees. In fact, those firms with traditionally strong community ties and financial commitments are actively enhancing their efforts (i.e., New England Life's Volunteer Incentives Program). This group of firms is most likely headed by socially conscious CEO's. "Our chairman is unusual; he's a people person," explains one respondent. (Dawkins) Important to note, every interviewee agreed "someone with decision-making power" and "people who can make things happen such as operating executives," were needed for a commitment. "Not just purchasing agents, finance reps or public affairs VP's," continued one respondent. (Waters)

One relevant publication asserts "important to successful public involvement efforts on the local level is commitment from executive leaders." In addition, a handbook designed to clarify the local economic development process asserts that

"the level of commitment from CEO's from major businesses and insurance companies among others listed is the key to success." (CNEA, 1980, 6) Involvement beyond attendance at community functions is urged. "Such a commitment involves substantial energy and time." (CNEA, 1980, 6)

While sensitive top level management is crucial to partnership development, direct access is not always required. The implementation of community involvement policies are most likely to come from an executive who is already socially sensitive. Ironically, these individuals often do not have the time (or feel they do not) to pursue socially conscious interests. As a solution, one research group recommends "second echelon corporate executives should be motivated to be more actively involved in public affairs by corporate policy that bases their career advancement in part on their performance." (R + P Comm. CED, 1982, 84)

Public affairs managers can, in fact, be quite effective in influencing a company's participation in a partnership. While this employee's potential varies with each firm, one case proves hopeful: A public affairs employee who had direct access to the Chairman of the Board was asked to write and present a paper on the company's activities in the community. Supplementary "socially responsible" tasks were assigned to her after management's positive reception. Thus, public affairs personnel could have a promising advocacy role for partnership development. Contacts on the intraorganizational level once again prove indispensable.

For those businesses characterized by "unique" top management, peer pressure provides an incentive to make some move for community improvement. Personal commitment to "socially conscious" committees or philanthropic boards inspires positive private sector attitude toward partnerships. Collaboratives offer "an opportunity for creativity in management," in response to pertinent corporate issues such as decreasing productivity and inflation. (Morely)

Uncertainty about the expected contribution to urban affairs has led many firms to make assorted efforts. For example, they offer personal finance workshops, or personnel officers join more public service committees and philanthropic boards and/or subscribe to interest groups' publications on corporate social responsibility. More ambitious "newcomers" are compiling guidebooks for their industry on options for job development efforts.

One private respondent claimed he enhanced his community involvement efforts due to the administration's suggestions. This rare case is reflective of one individual's personality. Important to note, his sense of "involvement" was participation on more committees, not necessarily committing his company to active roles in specific joint ventures or financial contributions.

Most community leaders had little faith in the administration providing the needed push to the negotiating table due to an inherent "bottom line", "un-human oriented" mentality.

If anything, changing demographics (i.e., growing numbers of blacks and Hispanics) would be an important influence. One businessman asserted: "We just can't expect to see the normal white middle class entry level applicant coming through here anymore." (Morely) Unstable economic trends and potential social instability would also provide the incentives to link up with local groups. One banker reflects, "The health of the bank means the health of the community." "They have to care," confirms a local public leader. (Hernandez)

Current scanty participation by businesses in any social programs, let alone job training, stems from fear, confusion about responsibilities and/or the recession. The importance of intermediaries lies here. Those groups on the national level can provide helpful literature while local liaisons offer interested firms a vehicle for participation. The majority of public and private players interviewed felt such an intermediary was necessary for collaborative creation. According to private sector respondents, intermediaries serve a variety of important roles in bringing disparate groups together over objectives and fostering communication. The liaison also "acts as a gauge of what the community expects." It exposes the business sector to pressing concerns and "helps give us legitimacy in the eyes of community residents and leaders." (Morely)

In Boston, the Private Industry Council has a salient reputation. Many businesses interviewed would join a collaborative if brokered by the PIC. Thus, important

mechanisms are already carrying out partnership creation over job development issues.

Conceptual vagueness and lack of ideology attached to "partnerships" provide another impetus for their creation for Hispanic women (or any disadvantaged group). Since roles and agenda evolve over time both groups share the burden of program planning according to mutual desires and expectations. An early 1971 nationwide study of corporate urban affairs programs reveals, "Businessmen learned that the tasks of planning and managing urban affairs programs require more thought and skill than they realized. . . many executives admonish themselves for learning too late that the skills required for managing urban affairs programs are not the same as those needed to run a successful business." (Cohn, 1971, 3) Thus, collaboratives offer the ideal mechanism for less demanding program planning, through shared responsibilities.

Other existing vehicles crucial to fostering a specialized partnership are grassroots Hispanic organizations and well-versed advocates. Important to note here is that the Hispanic community is characterized by local and neighborhood groups with different objectives. For instance, community development corporations interviewed favored a partnership for Latinas; they suggested that nearby ESL or vocational schools participate. This response stems from intra-barrio loyalty as well as pragmatism.

Large, well established agencies can provide the business appeal due to their reputations, public-private contacts and

abilities to leverage resources. In fact, when questioned about possible involvement in a collaborative for Hispanas, many private sector respondents immediately associated its increased potential with well known Hispanic CBOs. In addition, the CBO's have the ability to tap and coordinate diverse social service agents which offer essential services for Hispanas.

An important requirement of a specialized partnership for Latinas is minority representation in a partnership. An active role, in the planning phase of a program, is also warranted. The CBO can ensure the inclusion of a minority individual to offer "cultural sensitivity" among other things. Most importantly, the entire network of Hispanic agencies maintains the expertise about specific needs and interests of their constituents, streetwise leadership, competence in reaching these individuals, and providing them with appropriate services. Well-versed grassroots advocates can also be an important force in fulfilling the above tasks.

In general, and for Hispanic women, particularly, providing job training and/or placement is not enough. Problems which prevent Hispanas and other chronically unemployed, "are all parts of a circle, and multiple reinforcing links from several directions must be established for improvement to take place." (Lodge, 1982, 7) The collaborative mechanisms offer a viable method to meet the Hispanas' need for an array of supportive services (day care, transportation, language training) within a joint venture for Latinas. The need for a comprehensive

partnership stems from multifaceted socio-economic concerns of Latin women, often heads of households. If other "partners" assure that particular services are in place and accessible, that means "less headaches" for employers and supervisors. Thus, both public and private actors are happy, and the clients served.

Disadvantages: Easier Said Than Done

While partnerships may offer Hispanics a hopeful vehicle for serving many of their job-related needs, they are still difficult to establish. Environmental, institutional, and personal obstacles are to blame. The current recession leaves many firms with many "bottom line" worries. As one respondent claims, "Concerns about international financial competition and the recession make it more difficult" to become involved in community programs. Chief executive officers with profit making as a primary motive are "confused" about fulfilling their current challenge, given the economic climate. Only one optimistic private representative felt there is a "general quality in American society to help underprivileged persons," low productivity or not.

Secondly, the current administration's economic policies make it precarious to rely on community-based Hispanic groups to initiate job development collaboratives for Hispanics. Government funding for many CBOs has been drastically reduced. On the other hand, some businesses are more apt to become involved with community groups able to raise substantial

private sector capital--often the well established ones. Paradoxically, another group of business respondents prefers to work with "more needy" agencies, often those with less impressive reputations. (Spalding) In both cases Hispanic grass roots organizations are decisive actors in the collaborative formation process.

At the same time, there are other reasons to avoid excessive reliance on well-known community based organizations as frontrunners. Many reputable Hispanic groups are primarily concerned with local economic development ventures: their interests are job creation, not job development. As one representative explained, "Why train residents if there are no jobs?" Furthermore, political or economic forces can lead CBOs to change priorities and image. This can lead community residents to distrust the local agency and reject its services.

Ironically, when PIC was designed it was hoped that "it would not replace community based organizations." (Corp. for P/PV, 1980) Yet in some cases PIC is doing just that: distracting business from a possible training related initiative by one of its local constituent groups. In addition, one community leader described how many of his agency's "best staff members" left to work at PIC due to better salaries. This further contradicts PICs desire to leave CBOs intact.

Furthermore, due to the administration's private sector bias, Title VII funding (which legislates creation of PICs)

was raised by .7 million dollars from FY 1981 to FY 1982.

(Waters)

Thus, while a Private Industry Council spokesperson is unique in asserting "(our efforts are) proof that voluntarism works," many would-be collaborative initiators or participants are falling aside. Multi-service agencies, neighborhood coalitions and individual advocates in the Hispanic community must be able to leverage other groups' "clout" while initiating specialized collaboratives.

Personal biases prevent a major obstacle to partnerships for Latinas. "Both parties are often guilty of stereotyping the other and being insensitive to the constraints under which each operates." (Chmura, 1981, 14) Some private representatives admitted, "I'm probably not giving them enough credit," (Spalding) and "I don't fully understand their responsibilities." However, characteristics such as "unreliable", "different time table", and "priority on quantity not quality", were freely offered as obstacles to forming collaboratives. As one business interviewee explained, "Overall they have been very cooperative but they have a different set of rules and guidelines. Their lack of understanding gets in the way." (Johnson)

Stereotypes of the private sector surfaced in comments such as "real labor market needs (are their only incentive)", "bottom line mentality", etc. Even one business representative felt that the public sector is "more humanistic-academically inclined than we are."

Indeed, the belief that "the two sides literally have a different culture, language and way of looking at the world" was evidenced by further comments. (Chmura, 1982) Interviewees described stereotypical roles when asked what each "partner" should offer in a hypothetical Latina-oriented collaborative. (See #8, Appendix H) "Management expertise" and "ability to organize and direct a project productively and efficiently" were available private sector tools according to business respondents. Public expertise was found in a "sense of equity and community savvy."

Curiously, amidst mutual criticisms both public and private interviewees had similar concerns over joining a hypothetical partnership for Latinas. Private respondents continually asserted how they had a different sense of time and urgency to meet deadlines ("we move very fast around here" (Campbell)) than their public service counterparts. Both sides expressed the same dislike of unnecessary "rhetoric" in negotiations due to pressing duties. In addition, both felt the need to see a preconceived, defined, detailed program before coming to the negotiating table.

Complaints over distinct characteristics were also overshadowed by a general openness to a proposed collaborative for Latinas. Both sector representatives felt barriers could be overcome with "lots of time" and "immediately throwing out mutual expectations into the discussion." (Campbell) While in the partnership, all respondents felt there would be "no

set formula" regarding mutual tasks. Roles would be amenable and develop over time through the negotiation process. For example, one private representative felt that a public partner's role in monitoring trainees' performance "places a certain burden on the company. . . but it's probably beneficial to the company." (Morely) Since there is community expertise in recruiting impressive trainees, clearly, follow-up on familiar clients would be a natural step, according to most private interviewees.

Mutual caution about superfluous conversation also provided reason to exclude certain players from potential collaborative efforts for Latinas. For instance, local government representatives are not needed "unless they can bring (financial) resources to the table." (Campbell) Elected officials, on the other hand, were regarded as "a must" on any collaborative for their clout, power and political influence. (Morely)

Important to note, these opposing views were held by private sector respondents. The latter group was employed in socially prominent positions or were participants in civic, joint committees or task forces. Hence, some purposeful discussion is needed to overcome intra-sectoral barriers.

Ambiguous definitions of "partnerships" and incomplete instructions and support can be barriers to increased private sector involvement. One banker described "partnerships" as "one of those five dollar words: people break it down

into congestible components." While all interviewees were familiar with the term, partnerships meant everything from fact finding sessions between a company and state social service agencies, to community information seminars, to donating copy machines and loaning management to provide expertise. Semantics prove troublesome: either businesses did not know exactly what was expected of them ("Reagan is setting forth an idea without any ingredients," explained one interviewee), or felt they were already contributing to social programs.

On the other hand, flexible ideas of partnerships may offer a promising opportunity for training Hispanics: one person; a coalition of individuals with strong political and economic backing or an established community group with the same; any of these can provide the essential advocacy to initiate and help direct such a special joint venture.

The partnership mechanism for Hispanics' job development is also questionable due to institutional barriers such as discrimination. Although Hispanics have unique concerns, it seems this does not effect an employers' attitude toward hiring them. "They perform well on the job" (Tzamos) and are not scrutinized differently than other workers, according to private respondents. However, this racial indifference is deceiving for three reasons. First, racial discrimination against Latinas was unlikely to surface in one-time, face-to-face interviews. Close monitoring of personnel records over

time would be necessary. Racial stereotyping surfaced only indirectly. One manager cited other employees' beliefs that Hispanics were "unmotivated and lazy." He quickly went on to say that intra-personnel name calling was common in his organization. Another agency head cited an instance of her job developer being rejected by an employer who preferred to hire "people who were clean" in his store.

Second, important to note was that many private respondents cited affirmative action legislation in describing their company's lack of bias toward Hispanic women.

Third, hidden racial and sex role biases about Latinas could inspire employers looking for "cheap labor" during the recession to become partners in a job development scheme. (Obviously, the nature of industry is decisive.) However, if a woman is applying for menial and/or entry level positions, Spanish characteristics may not be deterrents as much as if Hispanics sought white collar, high status jobs. Clearly, a training program emanating from a local partnership implies placement of entry level, low and/or semi-skilled workers.

On the other hand, since a recession provokes financial worry, business leaders would be compelled to "get the most from their money" and hire skilled or semi-skilled English speaking workers, many of whom are currently unemployed.

Also, including minority representatives, from either sector, on collaboratives can help to monitor company motivation for accepting Hispanic women applicants. It also

facilitates direct communication needed to change bigoted attitudes.

The End Product

Limiting a job development collaborative to only working-age Hispanic females also presents problems according to several respondents. Although Hispanic women show their inability to enter the formal labor market, this group requires no more care than that of other disadvantaged groups. Many Hispanic community leaders in Boston felt unemployed Latinos deserved more attention. One such interviewee claims that Hispanic women often take traditional female jobs in the informal sector (i.e., cooking, cleaning, serving). These jobs do not require English and allow mothers to be close to their children. Thus, any training program would have to offer comparably convenient and financially superior employment in order to attract many Hispanas. (Perez) Knowledge of these opportunities, coupled with cultural values, might compel many Latinas to place their husbands' employment needs above their own.

All Hispanic leaders agree Latinas, in general, comprise an important group of unemployed Americans due to "special problems" of double discrimination. Yet, "everyone is suffering during these times" and both Latinas and Latinos "should be able to do what they want to do." (Acevedo)

Many private industry interviewees were opposed to such specific a venture. One called the idea "a bias within a bias

within a bias." (Puglia) Other disadvantaged groups would be ignored; inter-ethnic conflicts might result.

One interviewee felt that "no new local partnership is needed--we already have the Private Industry Council." This individual also felt there were too many local entities representing specific clients "Out there already", and wanted to reduce the "bureaucratic community."

On the other hand, there is no job development program just for Hispanic women. Ameliorating the widespread unemployment in Boston's Hispanic areas is urgently needed, and businesses are still seeking directions for community involvement. Thus, the majority of interviewees favored such a narrowly defined collaborative. In fact, one public sector respondent pointed out that 1) Boston's Hispanic community leadership is largely female, and 2) since Latinas are likely to assume responsibilities of child care and household maintenance they often have experience with local institutions. These two factors suggest that Boston's Hispanas and relevant service organizations provide excellent potential as powerful supporters, if not initiators, of partnerships should they be specifically designed for Spanish origin women.

PART VI: CONCLUSIONS

In this study I looked at the potential of local public-private partnerships as an alternative employment strategy for Latinas to previous short-lived government training programs. My purpose was to discover how the current proposals might be implemented, given current economic pressures and the discouraging political climate.

Six principal conclusions have emerged from my efforts:

1) The current political climate and socio-economic forces imply that public-private partnerships are here to stay for the next few years and must be dealt with in a locality-sensitive manner.

2) The ambiguity of the partnership notion (stressed in Part IV) lends itself to flexible, target group-specific interpretation. This enhances its viability as an employment development strategy for Hispanic women in the U.S.

3) Cultural values and social realities imply that Hispanic women require particular job preparedness services which a collaborative effort could easily offer.

4) The participation of and cooperation among Hispanic community based organizations, in conjunction with relevant individuals, is essential for the success of joint ventures for Hispanas.

5) Intermediary agencies must take an active role in supporting and/or facilitating a specialized partnership for Latinas.

6) Knowledge of and access to socially concerned management figures is an important step in partnership creation for Latinas.

Widespread negative publicity and poor memories of previous job development programs--often unjustified--render current federal efforts unpopular amongst private sector employers. Coupled with elimination of the public service sector of CETA placement, federal assistance offers a shaky mechanism for advocates of job development schemes for disadvantaged hard-to-employ persons. Economic trends and demographic transitions are already indirectly influencing innovative local steps to solve community problems; resources are already in place. The current administration's challenges can offer indirect inspiration to pursue non-traditional public and private roles in job development schemes.

Partnerships connote a diversity of images for potential public or private players; thus, with Latinas' job needs in mind, a joint endeavor could take any shape, comfortable to all parties and suitable to clients. Through joint program design, implementation and evaluation, mutual interests can be served according to team and location-specific objectives.

Hispanas in the United States are beset by a reinforcing circle of language and family problems, and education and skill related deficiencies. These, in addition to institutional barriers, prevent many individuals from entering or staying in the formal labor force. Partnerships offer the opportunity

for multi-service agencies to join forces with private sector employers in attending to Latinas' diverse needs.

The key to such an effort is initiation and/or participation by individuals or groups with a concern for and sensitivity to this target group. Their power to leverage resources is also needed. This is most likely a community development corporation or multi-service agency designed to serve the Hispanic community, those with the necessary "clout" among local elected officials. Networking among relevant groups can be especially meaningful for service delivery, accessing key business leaders and intermediary groups, and obtaining commitments.

One researcher asserts, "Developing positive relationships between two parties as different as government and business requires an understanding and respect on the part of each party for the interests and views of the other."

(Chmura, 1981) Personal biases often prevent partnerships from emerging, although the mutual interest exists. Intermediary groups, which are private or federally funded, could provide the needed impetus for collaboration via definitive plans, financial incentives and a forum for on-going communication.

Granted, difficult economic times make partnership formation difficult. Yet, at the same time, key private sector individuals (personally committed to social improvement, influential in the business community, interested in the

administration's policies as a challenge to the corporate imagination) can prove to be interested and interesting parties in training and employing Hispanas.

Clearly, advocates in public and private circles who, for whatever reasons are inclined towards Hispanic women, have a lot of work to do and a challenging climate in which to do it.

PART VII: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This paper has been concerned with fostering the entrance of Hispanas into the formal labor market as skilled workers. An important issue for further research is the employment experience of Hispanic women versus others after partnerships facilitate their labor market entry. Pertinent questions include: are they concentrated in certain entry level positions (i.e., traditional female, low wage, sex segregated)? How does their promotional record compare to other employees? Other women? A related issue to examine is how partnerships might be utilized for employment development of Hispanas with higher education versus those with no skills.

Secondly, some observers find that small businesses are the most effective creators of jobs in the inner city. This study involved private sector participants from large corporations or private non-profit institutions. Administering similar questionnaires to small business representatives may shed a different light on the potential of partnerships for employment development of Hispanas.

Inter-industry disparities might also be studied using the same framework. My research centered around the experiences of the service sector; how would similar questions manifest themselves in blue collar industrial settings?

In addition, partnerships for job training and placement of all economically disadvantaged (or other subgroups) might provide some enlightening findings or the basis for policy recommendations. These could later be applied to Hispanic women.

Boston clearly has a distinct political makeup due to historical and socio-economic forces. This character implies that local officials and/or policymakers could have an extremely different role in partnership development for Hispanics (or other disadvantaged groups) than other cities. To look at the relevance of such diverse roles on successful partnership creation and implementation in varied cities would be another important topic to research.

Partnerships are easier said than done. Varying interest groups have distinct purposes for wanting to link up with the other sector's representatives. One significant issue to explore is, under which conditions would collaboratives work the best for Hispanic women? Those in which intermediary groups have been instrumental in funding? Encouraging communication? Which type of advocacy group is the most effective, if any, for a specialized collaborative for Hispanic women?

Current politics dictate an emphasis on private sector contributions to social improvement. This is in the context of a recession. Important to the feasibility of this policy

for job development of Hispanas (or others) is to study the responsiveness of partnerships during changing economic times. A similar effort based on transitions in political climate would also prove interesting.

The current administration has proposed this partnership policy in conjunction with a defined economic plan for the United States. Today's partnerships are based on voluntary initiative; yet, the recession makes it difficult for business to take on the president's challenge. What other strategy for job development, then, can be proposed under the present supply-side emphasis on private enterprise to remedy social ills?

APPENDIX A

Community Based Organizations

Alianza Multi Service Agency
Nuestra Community Development Corporation
IBA Community Development Corporation
Jamaica Plain Neighborhood Development Corporation
Casa de Sol
ABCD-Oficina del Empleo (South End)
Cardenal Cushing Center

Private Sector Groups

Shawmut Bank
State Street Bank
New England Life Insurance
Digital Equipment Corporation
Teradyne
Saint Elizabeth Hospital
New England Medical Center

Intermediaries

Boston Private Industry Council
Employment and Economic Policy Administration
Boston Chamber of Commerce
Opportunities Industrialization Center
Massachusetts State Office of Manpower Affairs

APPENDIX B

TO UNEMPLOYED HISPANIC WOMAN

- 1) Are you looking for a job? Why? Why not?
- 2) What have been your largest problems in finding a job?
(personal reasons, external forces, etc.)
- 3) If you could name a particular service or service agency which would make it easier for you to find a job, what would that be like? (day care, ESL, etc.)
- 4) Where would you want to receive this service? how often?
(full time)
- 5) How would you be able to pay for the above?
- 6) Tell me briefly about your work history: Were you ever working as a result of involvement with a government-supported work program? What were your overall impressions of the job? Why did you stop working there?
- 7) If married (or living with a man):
If you were offered an opportunity to join a training program and your husband did not approve, what would you do?
- 8) If you were offered an opportunity to join a training program and your husband was unemployed, what would you do?
- 9) If you could choose any job in the world, what would that be? why?

APPENDIX C

TO PROFESSIONAL WORKING WITH HISPANIC WOMEN

- 1) What are the largest problems Hispanas have in finding work?
- 2) Has your organization attempted to resolve some of these? If so, how? And what is your impression of how these efforts affect the problems?
- 3) From your experience, what type of job, if any, do your female clients desire? Why is that?

APPENDIX D

TO COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATION SERVING HISPANIC WOMEN

SURVEY SET I

- 1) Has your group been dealing with employment problems of Hispanas? if yes,
- 2) When it comes to Hispanic women, what are the greatest obstacles in finding employment in the "formal" labor force?
- 3) What specifically is needed to help this group find such employment? What kinds of occupations do these individuals desire?
- 4) In what capacity has your group been dealing with employment problems of Hispanas? Through which mechanisms, programs? For how long?
- 5) Please reflect on your experience with these programs (above). Were they effective? Why? Why not? Specific problems associated with such efforts? (i.e., administrative, financial, etc.)
- 6) How have the current budget cuts affected your participation in these programs? Your efforts geared toward serving Hispanas in your community?
- 7) What alternative policy/program options have you explored? Been involved in? (particularly for Hispanas seeking work)
- 8) Public-private partnerships have been heavily promoted in the newst^sthese days. Are you currently involved in any "non-traditional" collaborative for purposes of job creation for Hispanas? Describe if yes. (Go to 10) Why did you join it, etc.
- 9) If not, have you considered joining into such a collaborative, forming one, etc.? Why? Why not?
- 10) If yes, from your experiences with such link-ups, what are your feelings about using this technique for employment development of Hispanic women? Any specific reservations? Explain.
- 11) If not, would you like to join one? Why? Why not? Do you have any expectations about other partners' roles or responsibilities? Are there any specific contributions you see yourself making in such a set up? See others making?

APPENDIX D (continued)

- 12) What about local government agencies traditionally involved in employment development programs (i.e., EEPA), should they be included in such collaboratives? Or would they serve a more useful function acting in a different capacity? What should the role of intermediary agencies such as the PIC be?

APPENDIX E

TO COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATION SERVING HISPANICS

SURVEY SET II

- 1) What has your group been doing to relieve unemployment problems among Hispanics, particularly Hispanic women?
- 2) Do Hispanic females require distinct attention or care over other groups of unemployed Hispanics? Please describe, if yes (OR, is unemployment of Hispanics a greater problem than unemployment of others in the community?)
- 3) What specific concerns surround job-seeking Hispanic women?
- 4) What importance does OUTREACH play in helping to solve the above?
- 5) Please reflect on your experiences with government financed employment development programs.
- 6) How have the current budget cuts affected your participation in these programs? Your efforts geared toward serving Hispanics in your community?
- 7) What alternative policy/program options have you explored? Been involved in? (particularly for Hispanics seeking work)
- 8) Public/private partnerships such as the ABCD-Shawmut Bank program have been heavily promoted in the news these days. Is this notion of partnership the same as yours? How would you define a public/private partnership?
- 9) Are you currently involved in any "non-traditional" collaborative for purposes of job development for Hispanics? Describe, if yes. (Go to 10) Why did you join it, etc.?
- 10) If not, have you considered joining into such a collaborative, forming one, etc.? Why? Why not?
- 11) If I were to ask you to join a collaborative designed to serve employment development needs of Hispanic women in your area, what would you say? Does this seem like a "better" idea for this target group than past government sponsored programs such as CETA?

APPENDIX E (continued)

- 12) If yes, from your experiences with such link-ups, what are your feelings about using this technique for employment development of Hispanic women? Any specific reservations? Explain.
- 13) If not, would you like to join one? Why? Why not? Do you have any expectations about other partners' roles or responsibilities? Are there any specific contributions you see yourself making in such a set-up? See others making?
- 14) What intuitions do you have about business attitudes toward public/private partnerships from your current private sector relationships? What do you feel about their ability to/desire to become involved in such partnerships?
- 15) For example, what services, other than directly job or training related, are necessary (cultural, social, etc.) and could (or should) be provided by a partnership effort?
- 16) What about local government agencies traditionally involved in employment development programs (i.e., EEPA). Should they be included in such collaboratives? Or would they serve a more useful function acting in a different capacity? What should the role of intermediary agencies such as the PIC be?
- 17) What is your experience with, feelings about other intermediary agencies with the PIC? Is an intermediary group always necessary? Under which conditions would it not be?

APPENDIX F

TO INTERMEDIARY ORGANIZATION

SURVEY SET I

- 1) Which employment development programs have you sponsored which might apply to Hispanas?
- 2) In what capacity have you worked?
- 3) What groups did you intend to serve with these endeavors? How have these efforts served (attempted to serve) Hispanic women? What were the resultant "successes" and "failures"?
- 4) What specific obstacles were related with this specific client group? (Please reflect on your experiences with this client group.)
- 5) What did you do (have you done) to remedy these obstacles (#4)?
- 6) You are familiar with the notion/strategy of public-private partnerships. (I perceive this as a situation in which all parties bring resources "to the table" in order to jointly design and manage an (employment development) strategy.) How would you define public-private partnerships? (Would you change my idea?)
- 7) Are you involved in any such collaboratives (for Hispanic women)? Please describe. Why did you sponsor it? (join it)?
- 8) If not, have you considered any such hook-ups? Why? Why not?
- 9) If yes, from your experiences with such hook-ups, what are your feelings about using this "non-traditional" technique for employment development of Hispanas? Any specific reservations? Explain.
- 10) What might be general obstacles to either public or private group involvement in such a partnership?
- 11) How would you recommend overcoming these obstacles? (Under which conditions is it possible?)

APPENDIX G

TO INTERMEDIARY ORGANIZATION

SURVEY SET II

- 1) How do you define a public-private partnership?
- 2) Please explain the history and current nature of your involvement in such a concept here in Boston, reasons for it, examples of projects, etc., your related goals/objectives/expectations.
- 3) What are the roles of government agencies (i.e., EEPA, PIC, federal agency offices) on the local level? (in partnerships)
- 4) From your experiences, what obstacles are present in getting both/all sides to sit down together in such a partnership? What has your group done to overcome such obstacles?
- 5) Do any of your efforts (cited above) involved a training/employment development component? Describe why not. (How does training fit in with the above cited scheme?)
- 6) What do you think of Reagan's current proposals/ideas, etc., of the 80's as the decade of increased private sector involvement in remedying community problems? Is it realistic? Why? Why not?
- 7) How do you think both public and private sides react to this challenge by the federal government/current administration? Is it/will it enhance private sector motivation in the field of training/employment development, for example?
- 8) In general, what are the positive and negative aspects of such a proposal?
- 9) Given the above stated definition, what do you think of fostering such a collaborative effort on the neighborhood level (i.e., ABCD and Shawmut) for a particular target group of chronically unemployed? i.e., Hispanic women? General impressions? Would you want to take part? Why? Why not? What would your role be then?
- 10) Is an intermediary such as yourself always needed for a public-private partnership on local/neighborhood level?
- 11) What role would government agencies (i.e., EEPA, PIC, federal agencies on local level) have in such a collaborative if any? Should they have a role? i.e., planning, monitoring, funding, etc.

APPENDIX H

TO PRIVATE SECTOR EMPLOYER

(who employ individuals through government sponsored employment development programs)

SURVEY SET I

- 1) Which employment development programs, geared to serve Hispanic women (among others) have you been involved in?
- 2) Why did you participate?
- 3) Please reflect on your experiences with public sector organizations and/or recipients which were involved.
 - a) Were all your perceived roles fulfilled? Why? Why not?
 - b) Were there recurring obstacles to program implementation?
 - c) Were those program recipients different than others in terms of skills, job preparedness, performance on job, etc.?
- 4) With recent cutbacks, what happened to your public sector link-ups? Are you still involved in any job creation/employment development programs? Do you still want to participate in efforts to assist Hispanic women find employment?
- 5) The notion of public-private partnerships (and increased private sector involvement) in which all parties bring something to the "table" to design and manage a job creation strategy, is heavily promoted these days. Are you involved in any such collaboratives (for Hispanic women)? Please describe. Why did you join it?
- 6) If not, have you considered any such hook-ups? Why? Why not?
- 7) If yes, from your experiences with such hook-ups, what are your feelings about using this "non-traditional" technique for employment development of Hispanics? Any specific reservations? Explain.
- 8) Would you like to join one? Why? Why not? Any expectations about other partners' roles or responsibilities? Are there specific contributions you see yourself making in such a collaborative effort? See others making?
- 9) What about local government agencies traditionally involved in employment development programs (i.e., EEPA), should they be included? Would they serve a more useful function acting outside the partnership? What about the role of intermediary agencies, such as the Private Industry Council? What should that be?

APPENDIX I

TO PRIVATE SECTOR EMPLOYER

SURVEY SET II

- 1) Which employment development/training programs geared to serve economically and socially disadvantaged persons have you been involved in?
- 2) Why did you participate?
- 3) Please reflect on your experiences with public sector organizations and/or recipients which were involved.
 - a) Were all your perceived roles fulfilled? Why? Why not?
 - b) Were there recurring obstacles to program implementation?
 - c) Were these program recipients different than others in terms of skills, job preparedness, performance on job, etc.? Were there special problems or benefits with this group?
- 4) With recent cutbacks, what happened to your public sector link-ups? Are you still involved in any job development programs? Do you still want to participate in efforts to assist economically disadvantaged to find employment?
- 5) The notion of public-private partnerships (and increased private sector involvement) in which all parties bring something to the "table" to design and manage a job creation strategy, is heavily promoted these days. How do you define a public-private partnership? Are you involved in any such collaboratives? (for Hispanic women) Please describe. Why did you join it?
- 6) If not, have you considered any such hook-ups? Why? Why not?
- 7) If yes, from your experiences with such hook-ups, what are your feelings about using this "non-traditional" technique for employment development of Hispanics? Any specific reservations? Explain.
- 8) Would you like to join one? Why? Why not? Any expectations about other partners' roles or responsibilities? Are there specific contributions you see yourself making in such a collaborative effort? See others making?

APPENDIX I (continued)

- 9) What about local government agencies traditionally involved in employment development programs (i.e., EEPA), should they be included? Would they serve a more useful function acting outside the partnership? What about the role of intermediary agencies such as the Private Industry Council? What should that be?
- 10) What do you think of Reagan's current proposals, ideas, etc., i.e., the 80's being the decade of increased private sector involvement in remedying community problems? Is it realistic? Why? Why not?
- 11) How do you think both public and private sides react to this challenge by the federal government/current administration? Is it/will it enhance private sector motivation in the field of training employment development?
- 12) In general, what are the positive and negative aspects of such a proposal?
- 13) Given the above stated definition, what do you think of fostering such a collaborative effort on the neighborhood level (i.e., ABCD and Shawmut Bank) for a particular target group of chronically unemployed? i.e., Hispanic women. General impressions? Would you want to take part? Why? Why not? What do you perceive your role to be in such a venture?
- 14) Is an intermediary always needed for a public/private partnership on the local/neighborhood level? Why? Why not?
- 15) What role would government agencies (i.e., EEPA, PIC, local branches of federal agencies) have in such a collaborative, if any? Should they have a role? (i.e., planning, monitoring, funding, etc.)
- 16) What is the importance of having minority representation on such a partnership?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aguilar, Linda. "The Chicana and Unequal Opportunity."
LULAC News. May 1974, pp. 30-31.
- Almquist, Elizabeth McTaggart. Minorities, Gender and Work.
Lexington Books, D.C. Heath & Co., Lexington,
Massachusetts, 1979.
- Auletta, Ken. "The Underclass--I, II and III," Three part
series: The New Yorker, November 9, 16, 30, 1981,
pp. 63-71-101.
- Berger, Peter L. and Richard John Neuhaus. To Empower
People--The Role of Mediating Structures in Public
Policy. American Enterprise Institute for Public
Policy Research: Washington, D.C. 1977.
- Berryman, Sue E., Chan, Winston K. and Robert M. Bell.
CETA: Is It Equitable for Women? Santa Monica,
California: The Rand Corporation, May 1981.
- Boston Private Industry Council (Information Packet), Boston:
Authors.
- Butler, Stuart M. "Enterprise Zones: Pioneering in the
Inner City" in New Tools for Economic Development:
The Enterprise Zone, Development Bank, and RFC, eds.
George Sternlieb and David Lisotkin. (New Jersey:
Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University,
1981)
- Center for Corporate Public Involvement of the American
Council of Life Insurance and Health Insurance.
Winning a Stake in America: A Special Effort for
Hard-to-Employ Disadvantaged Citizens. Washington,
D.C.: Authors, 1982.
- Chamber of Commerce of the United States. We Can Do It
Together: A Local Chamber of Commerce Action Program
for Citizen Review of Federal Spending at the Local
Level. Washington, D.C.: Authors, 1981.
- Chicana Rights Project of MALDEF (Mexican American Legal
Defense and Education Fund). CETA: Services to
Hispanics and Women. San Francisco, California:
July, 1980.
- Chmura, Thomas (principal author). Redefining Partnerships,
Developing Public-Private Approaches to Community
Problem Solving: A Guide for Local Officials. Menlo
Park, California: SRI International, January 1981.

- Clark, Gordon and Meric Gertler. "Local Labor Markets: Theories and Policies in the U.S. during the 1970's". Cambridge, Massachusetts: John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Revised November 1981.
- Cohn, Jules. The Conscience of the Corporations: Business and Urban Affairs, 1967-1970. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.
- Committee for Economic Development. Jobs For the Hard to Employ: New Directions for a Public-Private Partnership. (A Statement by the Research and Policy Committee). New York: Author, January 1978.
- (The) Corporation for Public/Private Ventures. Making the Connections: Private Industry Councils, A New Direction for CETA: A Study of the Early Experiences of 12 Private Industry Councils. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Authors, Year 2 Report, February 1980.
- (The) Corporation for Public/Private Ventures. Private Sector Initiatives Program (CETA Title VII Implementation in Seventeen Study Sites). Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Authors, Third Year Interim Report, May 1981.
- (The) Council for Northeast Economic Action. Local Economic Development: Public Leveraging of Private Capital. (Prepared under a grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development). Boston, Massachusetts: Authors, April, 1980.
- Council for Northeastern Economic Action. "Work Program". January 1, 1982.
- Elsasser, Nan, MacKenzie, Kyle and Yvonne Tixier y Vigil. Las Mujeres: Conversations from a Hispanic Community. Old Westbury, New York: The Feminist Press, 1980.
- EEPA (Employment and Economic Policy Administration). Information (Statement of Purpose). Boston, Massachusetts: Author.
- Estrada, Carmen A. "CETA: An Economic Tool for Women." Chicana Rights Project, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund. San Francisco, California: MALDEF, 1979.
- Ginzberg, Eli, ed. Employing the Unemployed. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1980.

- Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce. Boston Guidelines for Development: A Public Planning and Discussion Document. Boston, Massachusetts: Author, January, 1981.
- Harvard Chelsea Workshop. A Resource Guide for Employment Planning at Chelsea CETA. Cambridge, Massachusetts: John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February 1981.
- Harrington, Paul E. and Andrew Sum. "Labor Market and Occupational Information for CETA Prime Sponsor Policymaking, Planning and Program Operations." Boston, Massachusetts: Center for Labor Market Studies, Department of Economics, Northeastern University, 1980.
- "Hispanics Make Their Move." U.S. News and World Report. August 24, 1981, pp. 60-63.
- How Banks Participate in Local Economic Development: Five Models. A Report from the Council for Northeast Economic Action under a Grant from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development. Boston, Massachusetts, January 1982.
- "Jobs and Dollars". The Boston Globe (editorial), August 29, 1981.
- Jusenius, Carol L. and Virgulino L. Duarte. "Issues in Improving the Labor Market Position of Hispanic-Americans." National Commission for Employment Policy Staff Briefing Paper for Hispanic Advisory Committee. Washington, D.C., March 1982.
- Kazis, Richard and Peter Sabonis. "Leveraging With a Toothpick: The Carter Administration's Private Sector Strategy for Jobs Creation." National Center for JOBS and JUSTICE. Washington, D.C., 1979.
- King, Lourdes Miranda. "Puertorriqueñas in the United States: The Impact of Double Discrimination." United States: Civil Rights Digest 6, No. 3 (Spring 1974): pp. 20-34.
- Local Initiatives Support Corporation. Highlights: June 1980 to January 1982. New York: Authors, January 1982.
- Lodge, George C. "The Role of Business in Community Development." Confidential Draft, Harvard School of Business Administration, Boston, January 29, 1982.
- Mundel, David S., Administrator, Employment and Economic Policy Administration. Statement before House Committee on Education and Labor. Washington, D.C., April 1, 1981.

- Murillo, Nathan. "The Mexican American Family," in Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives, eds. Nathaniel N. Wagner and Marsha J. Haug. St. Louis: The C.V. Mosby Company, 1971, pp. 97-108.
- NACLA. Report on the Americas. Latin America Women: One Myth - Many Realities. Vol. XIV, No. 5. New York: North American Congress on Latin Women, September-October 1980.
- National Alliance of Business. Helping America Work: Annual Report, 1980-1981. Washington, D.C.: Authors, 1981.
- National Commission on Neighborhoods. People, Building Neighborhoods: Final Report to the President and the Congress of the United States. Washington, D.C.: Authors, March 19, 1979.
- National Council for Urban Economic Development. Community, Economic and Manpower Linkages. (Section 1: Summary and Analysis). Washington, D.C.: Author, 1976.
- Newman, Morris J. "A Profile of Hispanics in the U.S. Work Force." Monthly Labor Review. December 1978.
- "New Relationships Between the Public and Private Sectors." Critical Issues for National Urban Policy: A Reconnaissance and Agenda for Further Study. First Annual Report of the Committee on National Urban Policy, Commission on Sociotechnical Systems, National Research Council. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 1982.
- Nieto, Consuelo. "Chicanas and the Women's Rights Movement: A Perspective". Civil Rights Digest 6, No. 3 (Spring, 1974): pp. 36-42.
- Nieto-Gomez, Anita. "Heritage of La Hembra", in Female Psychology: The Emerging Self, ed. Sue Cox, Phd. Chicago, Illinois: Science Research Association, 1976, p. 226-236.
- Opportunities Industrialization Centers of Greater Boston, Inc. The Voice 1980 (Annual Report). Boston, Massachusetts: 1980.
- Osterman, Paul. Getting Started. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1980.

- Peirce, Neal R. "Local Public-Private Enterprise-- Context and Trends," in Expanding the Opportunity to Produce: Revitalizing the American Economy through New Enterprise Development, eds. Robert Friedman and William Schweke. Washington, D.C.: The Corporation for Enterprise Development, 1981, pp. 166-175.
- Perez, Anna Maria (M.S.W.). Boston's Hispanic Older Workers: A Status Report with Recommendations for Training and Employment Programs. Boston, Massachusetts: Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation, April 1981.
- "Population". HOPE Newsletter (Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation), Vol. 3, No. 2, Summer 1981, p. 3.
- (A) Presidential Message to the National Alliance of Business. Washington, D.C.: National Alliance of Business/U.S. Department of Labor, March 17, 1981.
- "Private Sector Initiative Program (PSIP): The PIC is the Keystone." U.S. Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration, Washington, D.C., 1980.
- "Profile of the Chicana: A Statistical Fact Sheet." San Francisco, California: Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, March 1978.
- "Reagan's Polarized America." Newsweek. April 5, 1982, pp. 17-19.
- Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development. Public-Private Partnership: An Opportunity for Urban Communities. New York: Authors, February 1982.
- Retsinas, Nicholas P. Let's Make a Deal Or On the Way to Public-Private Partnerships. Prepared for the Coalition of Northeast Municipalities. Boston, Massachusetts, September, 1980.
- Robison, David. Training and Jobs Programs in Action: Case Studies in Private-Sector Initiatives for the Hard-to-Employ. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1978.
- Scharfenberg, Kirk. "CETA Under Seige: Are Cuts in Program Good Reaganomics?" Boston Sunday Globe, June 7, 1981.
- Tri-Lateral Council for Quality Education, Inc. Programs of the School/Business Partnerships in the City of Boston 1980-81 Academic Year. Boston, Massachusetts: Author, 1981.

- "Unemployment on the Rise." Time. February 8, 1982,
Vol. 119, No. 6, pp. 22-29.
- U.S. Conference of Mayors, et al. Local Economic Development
Tools and Techniques: A Guidebook for Local Government.
Washington, D.C.: U.S. Departments of Housing and
Urban Development, and Commerce, 1979.
- U.S. Department of Commerce (Economic Development Administration).
Critical Issues in Development Finance. Project No.
ERD-725-G-79-60. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Public/
Private Ventures, February 1981.
- U.S. Department of Commerce. Population Characteristics:
Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March
1979, Series P-20, No. 364. Washington, D.C. Bureau
of the Census, October, 1980.
- U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Population
of the United States by Age, Sex, Race and Spanish
Origin: 1980. Series PC80-S1-1. Washington, D.C.:
Author, May 1981.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Adelante, Mujer Hispana III.
(Description of National Conference to be Held May 21-22,
1982 in Denver.) Denver, Colorado: Women's Bureau, 1982.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Employment in Perspective:
Minority Workers. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor
Statistics, Report 652, Second Quarter 1981.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Employment in Perspective: Minority
Workers (Report 655). Washington, D.C.: Bureau of
Labor Statistics, Third Quarter 1981.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Facts About Women Heads of Households
and Heads of Families. Washington, D.C. Office of the
Secretary, Women's Bureau, December 1979.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Noticias de la Semana: A News
Summary for Hispanos. (Speech by Sec. of Labor Ray
Marshall). Washington, D.C.: Office of Information,
Publications and Reports, Week of December 1, 1980.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Noticias de la Semana Databook,
Week of December 29, 1980. Washington, D.C.: Office
of Information, Publications and Reports, December 1980.

- U.S. Department of Labor. News. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics, February 5, 1982.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Twenty Facts on Women Workers. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary, Women's Bureau, 1980.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Women of Spanish Origin in the United States. Washington, D.C.: Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, 1976.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Workers of Spanish Origin: A Chartbook. (Bulletin 1970) Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1978.
- Vils, Ursula. "Chicanas Stand Up and Speak Out," Los Angeles Times, June 23, 1980, Part V, p. 1.
- Waldhorn, Steven A., Henton, Douglas C., et al. Rediscovering Advocacy: Using Nonservice Approaches to Assist Low Income People: A Guide. Menlo Park, California: SRI International, September 1980.
- Weber, Nathan and Leonard Lund. Corporations in the Community: How Six Major Firms Conduct Community Participation Programs. New York: The Conference Board (Research Bulletin), 1981.
- Wintner, Linda. Business and Cities: Programs and Practices. New York: The Conference Board, 1981.