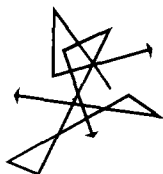


# Manpower Programs and Regional Development

Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.



## Federally assisted manpower programs help to fulfill the need for trained and skilled labor.

IN MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS, one can seldom select the most conducive setting in which to seek a total victory. So it is with the federally assisted manpower training effort. Its overall destiny resides in its ability to master the challenges presented by the South.<sup>1</sup> For it is now clear that many of this Nation's pressing urban problems are rural South in origin. Ralph McGill succinctly stated the issue with these words:

We have 16 million really poor persons living in our cities. Not all, but most of them are Negroes. Most of them have migrated across the past three or four decades out of a Southern agricultural area that needed them less and less. They are not prepared educationally, vocationally, or psychologically to move from the separated environment of the rural South to the city slum.<sup>2</sup>

The exodus has been to cities in the South and to those in the North and the West. The vast dimensions of this movement place paramount importance on preparation of the migrants as well as on improvement of the employment status of those who remain behind. Potential ramifications of the present training effort transcend the bound-

aries of the South itself—the entire Nation has a stake in the outcome.

The influence of manpower programs is necessarily affected by the backdrop against which these new undertakings operate.

The population of most Southern States is still largely rural. In 1960, the Bureau of the Census has reported, over 60 percent of the population of two Southern States lived in rural areas; in three States the figure was over 50 percent; in five, 40 percent; in one, 30 percent, and in the remaining two States, more than 25 percent of the population was rural. The national average was 30 percent.<sup>3</sup> In late 1967, the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty described the economic status of this population with the terse statement: "Most of the rural South is one vast poverty area."<sup>4</sup> Many of the Nation's most acute poverty pockets are in the region—much of Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta area, the Ozark Plateau, the South Texas border area, the Black Belt of the Old South, and the Piedmont Plateau.

Although most of the rural population do not live on farms, agriculture remains a dominating industry in many of these States. The prevalence of underemployment is closely associated with a rural population and agricultural employment.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, it is underemployment combined with the failure to develop the latent talents of its human resources that explains the economic deprivation in much of the South.

Rural areas generally do not place a high priority on the quality of education. In this era, education is the vehicle to both vertical and horizontal job mobility, and public education in the South is inferior by any standard that one might wish to apply.<sup>6</sup> Unless there are drastic changes in the education effort of the South, there can be

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, the South is used to include the 11 States of the Confederacy plus Kentucky.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph McGill, "A Man's Due: Opportunity To Earn A Living," *The Washington Evening Star* (August 15, 1967).

<sup>3</sup> *Food and Fiber for the Future* (Washington, National Advisory Commission on Food and Fiber, 1967), p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> *The People Left Behind* (Washington, President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, 1967), p. X.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. IX–XII.

<sup>6</sup> *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966). See also, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, "Resources for Southern Manpower Development," (1965), ch. II; and *Food and Fiber for the Future*, op. cit., pp. 210–212.

little prospect for meaningful results from the training programs. Without adequate education, training can only be for the most menial and low-skilled occupations—precisely the type of work which the South needs least.

Another feature of the region is its low wage structure. Partly attributable to the dominance of agriculture, partly to the lack of union organization, and partly to the existence of many marginal enterprises, the fact remains that wages are low relative to those of other regions. Accordingly,

programs that require the uniform payment to trainees of wages equal to the Federal minimum wage have created equity problems in many local communities. Similarly, there are instances in which training allowances in some programs have exceeded the wages that graduates can earn upon completion of the programs.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, of course, there is the heritage of denial of equal employment opportunity. The race issue

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, "Job Training in El Paso Succumbs to Federal Wage Law," *Wall Street Journal*, April 5, 1967, p. 5.

TABLE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF MDTA-INSTITUTIONAL TRAINEES IN SOUTHERN STATES BY CALENDAR YEAR, 1963-66

State and year		Number of trainees	Characteristics (in percent)									
			Sex		Color		Age		Head of family	Education (in years)		
			Male	Female	White	Non-white	Under 22	Over 44		8 or less	9 to 11	12 or more
Alabama:	1963	800	35.2	64.8	83.0	17.0	41.3	7.5	38.4	13.4	27.2	59.3
	1964	3,100	48.8	51.2	69.5	30.5	32.0	9.1	51.9	11.8	26.9	61.3
	1965	2,500	48.3	51.7	71.8	28.2	36.1	6.0	50.1	10.7	32.8	56.4
	1966	2,400	56.5	43.5	40.6	59.4	40.7	7.8	51.6	18.4	35.9	45.7
Arkansas:	1963	700	66.2	33.8	78.8	21.2	37.9	8.9	58.6	21.4	21.5	57.1
	1964	500	54.0	46.0	88.5	11.5	45.5	7.0	44.4	8.3	23.4	68.3
	1965	1,000	42.0	58.0	62.8	37.2	57.4	5.0	28.9	13.7	32.4	53.9
	1966	1,200	50.3	49.7	71.2	28.8	43.2	11.1	47.0	15.1	27.8	57.1
Florida:	1963	900	41.7	58.3	81.9	18.1	21.8	19.0	62.0	7.3	29.3	63.4
	1964	3,000	62.2	37.8	71.9	28.1	55.8	10.8	41.1	17.0	39.1	43.9
	1965	3,800	49.9	50.1	60.3	39.7	38.8	11.8	58.4	14.0	37.4	48.6
	1966	3,500	49.6	50.4	48.9	51.1	37.6	11.2	65.6	16.5	36.3	47.2
Georgia:	1963	400	80.8	19.2	79.6	20.4	34.6	4.2	60.7	11.1	31.6	57.2
	1964	1,400	59.1	40.9	58.5	41.5	42.0	6.9	55.1	13.1	34.8	52.1
	1965	2,500	39.7	60.3	45.7	54.3	38.3	8.7	58.3	17.7	34.8	47.5
	1966	2,000	48.3	51.7	44.6	55.4	30.8	8.6	61.2	13.6	37.8	48.7
Kentucky:	1963	1,600	55.9	44.1	88.0	12.0	39.1	5.4	57.0	18.1	24.8	57.1
	1964	5,500	64.5	35.5	91.5	8.5	38.2	9.0	65.7	26.3	24.0	49.7
	1965	3,100	48.7	51.3	76.6	23.4	62.7	4.7	35.2	20.3	34.8	44.9
	1966	3,500	63.8	36.2	92.2	7.8	60.4	6.0	42.1	27.3	22.6	50.0
Louisiana:	1963											
	1964											
	1965	1,700	63.1	36.9	59.6	40.4	43.4	3.1	56.1	13.7	28.6	57.7
	1966	2,400	47.1	52.9	50.6	49.4	59.3	15.0	43.4	14.1	28.7	57.2
Mississippi:	1963											
	1964	600	89.1	10.9	59.8	40.2	35.9	5.4	77.4	18.0	34.4	47.6
	1965	1,100	92.9	7.1	67.9	32.1	28.6	13.7	76.0	33.3	32.1	24.7
	1966	4,100	74.3	25.7	49.7	50.3	29.7	10.9	74.3	23.8	37.8	38.4
North Carolina:	1963	1,000	63.9	36.1	84.9	15.1	34.6	5.0	45.9	16.2	30.4	53.4
	1964	800	64.0	36.0	76.7	23.3	42.0	7.5	45.4	15.1	26.0	58.9
	1965	1,500	77.5	22.5	49.0	51.0	38.2	9.4	56.0	29.1	26.2	44.7
	1966	1,900	69.8	30.2	50.4	49.6	37.0	8.2	53.9	22.0	35.8	42.2
South Carolina:	1963	300	71.2	28.8	62.9	37.1	29.1	6.3	66.8	19.9	34.3	45.8
	1964	3,700	54.9	45.1	42.9	57.1	19.8	21.0	72.0	55.4	26.8	17.9
	1965	2,500	56.4	43.6	40.7	59.3	35.3	15.7	62.4	41.4	30.0	28.6
	1966	2,400	42.8	57.2	38.9	61.1	28.8	14.6	54.6	38.0	32.1	29.9
Tennessee:	1963	1,200	89.0	11.0	91.6	8.4	29.7	10.7	75.8	22.2	28.3	59.5
	1964	2,600	72.2	27.8	69.9	30.1	54.0	6.6	49.5	23.5	31.2	45.4
	1965	3,000	66.6	33.4	52.1	47.9	50.4	9.4	52.3	30.0	34.5	35.5
	1966	5,300	67.6	32.4	58.7	41.3	36.1	11.2	62.1	27.3	31.0	41.7
Texas:	1963	2,500	72.5	27.5	83.0	17.0	42.6	4.3	55.1	6.1	19.6	74.3
	1964	3,100	66.3	33.7	76.8	23.2	44.6	5.1	61.2	17.1	27.1	55.8
	1965	3,400	60.0	40.0	67.3	32.7	58.5	2.7	46.4	17.5	30.3	52.2
	1966	8,100	61.9	38.1	67.1	32.9	50.7	3.8	48.9	15.7	34.4	49.9
Virginia:	1963	900	48.3	51.7	67.4	32.6	23.5	12.6	57.6	16.4	28.2	55.5
	1964	2,000	67.0	33.0	63.4	36.6	63.3	4.6	33.0	36.4	26.0	37.7
	1965	2,000	60.9	39.1	70.2	29.8	35.3	10.3	59.6	32.3	30.5	37.2
	1966	1,700	51.9	48.1	76.9	23.1	31.2	13.1	67.7	33.9	27.7	38.4

is always present in any matter of importance. Closely allied with the race question is the pervasive apprehension of many Southerners toward the activities of the Federal Government. All of the manpower programs involve Federal funds, legislation, and guidelines. Moreover, since most of these new programs rely extensively upon local institutions for recruitment, guidance, counseling, and placement, the degree of local enthusiasm for the conduct of these functions spells the difference between accomplishment or failure. Too often the union of federally conceived projects and their implied goal to help Negroes has coalesced local opposition to manpower programs. In some instances, individual programs have been vetoed by State governors; in more cases, the threat of a veto has affected the character of a program;<sup>8</sup> and at other times, available programs are not used.

Yet, despite these obstacles, the South has partaken of the available manpower programs. The real issue for national concern is the degree of participation.

### MDTA

In terms of Federal appropriations, the institutional (i.e., classroom) and on-the-job (OJT) training provided under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) constitute the major flank of the new manpower training assault. The 12 Southern States have accounted for the following proportion of total enrollees in the program:<sup>9</sup>

Year	Institutional		OJT	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
1963.....	17	10,157	-----	-----
1964.....	26	26,300	-----	-----
1965.....	19	26,200	38	12,200
1966.....	24	38,500	37	24,900

Table 1 indicates the degree of State-by-State participation in the institutional phase of the program, and the trends in characteristics of enrollees

<sup>8</sup> For most programs where it is an issue, a governor's veto can be overridden after a 30-day delay. So the veto itself is not really the problem. Rather it is the fact that State institutions—such as the employment service or local school systems, to say nothing of local employers—assume such a vital role in the outcome of any given program that it is better to play the game their way than to try to flout the establishment.

<sup>9</sup> The figures are calculated from U.S. Department of Labor data.

in these classes since the program was launched. Table 2 provides similar information for OJT.

It is apparent that there is considerable variation among the States. It is only in terms of total numbers that a generalization can be made: Namely, the effort to date has been grossly inadequate relative to the need. Only a fraction of those who require assistance are being reached.

The trends in enrollee characteristics in the South generally conform to the national patterns over these years. During the early years, institutional training was emphasized. Lately, OJT has been stressed, along with inclusion of the disadvantaged: The Negroes, those over 44 years old, unemployed family heads, and those with little education.

### Neighborhood Youth Corps

In the South, generally, the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) has experienced a growing acceptance. Table 3 shows the number of enrollees by State. Detailed data on characteristics by State are unavailable.

During the early history of the program, the requirement that the NYC trainees receive the Federal minimum wage (\$1.25 at the time) was a major obstacle to its introduction in the South. In some communities, it remains a roadblock. Yet the increasing participation rate indicates that the problem is receding. But again, participation has varied widely among the States in any given year and within a State over time.

### Job Corps

In most Southern States, the Job Corps has not fared well. That is to say, very few Job Corps centers are to be found in the 12 States. Part of the explanation is that establishment of such a center can be vetoed by the governor. The scarcity of centers, however, does not mean that Southern youth are denied access to the Job Corps. Rather, it means that to participate they typically must travel further from their home State. Hence, the burden is placed on other regions to accommodate many Southern youths, and these youths must make a much more difficult adjustment than other corpsmen. Current Job Corps regulations stipulate that participants be placed in the center near-

TABLE 2. CHARACTERISTICS OF MDTA-OJT TRAINEES IN SOUTHERN STATES BY CALENDAR YEAR

State and year		Number of trainees	Characteristics (in percent)									
			Sex		Color		Age		Head of family	Education (in years)—		
			Male	Female	White	Non-white	Under 22	Over 44		8 or less	9 to 11	12 or more
Alabama:	1966.....	1,100	80.0	20.0	85.3	14.7	29.5	10.4	65.1	9.6	24.6	65.8
Arkansas:	1965.....	700	74.8	25.2	79.7	20.3	20.0	6.7	58.5	17.1	23.7	59.2
	1966.....	1,300	36.4	63.6	90.2	9.8	30.4	9.1	38.9	24.7	39.5	35.8
Florida:	1965.....	400	57.0	43.0	68.0	32.0	39.2	14.0	38.7	23.0	44.3	32.7
	1966.....	2,800	59.5	40.5	78.8	21.2	29.9	12.4	50.7	16.7	31.1	49.3
Georgia:	1964.....	500	74.0	26.0	43.8	56.2	38.6	7.6	53.7	33.7	36.3	30.0
	1965.....	1,000	85.7	14.3	63.1	36.9	38.8	7.8	54.9	20.5	32.9	46.6
	1966.....	1,600	66.7	33.3	75.5	24.5	30.6	4.5	50.3	11.6	27.7	60.7
Kentucky:	1964.....	300	66.2	33.8	97.9	2.1	35.1	9.0	49.8	34.3	35.3	30.4
	1965.....	300	22.9	77.1	99.3	.7	11.2	10.2	34.2	48.2	26.6	25.1
	1966.....	1,400	67.2	32.8	92.4	7.6	34.8	6.0	56.0	19.8	21.4	58.8
Louisiana:	1965.....	1,500	65.3	34.7	64.0	36.0	29.1	11.8	51.7	17.3	25.3	57.4
	1966.....	1,700	85.6	14.4	68.0	32.0	30.8	7.3	63.7	18.4	29.8	51.8
Mississippi:	1964.....	500	98.7	1.3	82.8	17.2	37.3	.9	64.9	8.6	11.3	80.0
	1965.....	1,400	76.7	23.3	85.9	14.1	52.2	1.7	46.4	4.0	22.1	73.9
	1966.....	800	99.1	.9	79.0	21.0	50.8	2.8	54.4	10.3	27.0	62.7
North Carolina:	1964.....	400	41.5	58.5	49.4	50.6	16.7	26.1	57.4	24.2	30.6	45.2
	1965.....	1,300	45.4	54.6	74.3	25.7	24.8	17.1	46.4	19.3	31.4	49.3
	1966.....	1,900	50.2	49.8	78.6	21.4	37.8	9.8	34.9	19.2	34.0	46.8
South Carolina:												
Tennessee:	1963.....											
	1964.....	400	68.5	31.5	81.1	18.9	17.2	22.7	70.0	21.5	34.4	44.0
	1965.....	1,900	84.3	15.7	96.3	3.7	30.0	11.4	67.1	30.0	22.4	47.6
	1966.....	3,700	89.2	10.8	78.8	21.2	22.3	12.6	74.4	24.7	24.1	51.2
Texas:	1964.....	500	88.3	11.7	85.1	14.9	35.0	3.3	64.5	12.4	26.9	60.8
	1965.....	1,000	66.8	33.2	87.9	12.1	35.9	5.9	56.9	7.4	29.1	63.5
	1966.....	2,300	78.7	21.2	77.4	22.6	28.6	6.3	60.1	7.2	18.9	73.9
Virginia:	1965.....	300	64.5	35.5	58.5	41.5	28.0	10.7	50.5	31.7	31.7	35.6
	1966.....	500	60.0	40.0	76.3	23.7	29.0	9.2	53.7	28.6	33.5	37.9

est their homes. For most Southern youths, this still means placement far away.

Of the 10 men's urban training centers, 2 are in the South (1 in Texas and 1 in Kentucky). Of the 16 women's training centers, only 1 is in the South (in Texas). In 1967, the women's centers were required by law to account for 23 percent of all trainees. Neither of the special Job Corps centers is in the South. Job Corps Conservation Centers (which in 1967 were required by law to account for 40 percent of all trainees) number 97; only 11 are in the South (2 in Arkansas, 4 in Kentucky, 3 in North Carolina, 1 in Texas, and 1 in Virginia). There are no centers in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, or Georgia.<sup>10</sup>

Yet youths from the South are more than proportionally represented in the Job Corps. (See chart.) Table 3 indicates the number referred to the Job Corps by the employment service in each Southern State. (Although there are others, the State employment service is by far the major

source of referrals to this program.) As can be seen, the South's participation rate is phenomenally high, accounting for 34 percent and 50 percent of the total referrals in 1965 and 1966, respectively. The large number from Texas is part of the explanation for the high figure for the region. Yet, Texas aside, the totals are still proportionally larger than those of other regions. There is no verifiable explanation for this high participation rate.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Since this article was written, a number of urban training and Job Corps Conservation centers have been closed or have been scheduled for closing in 1968. The South still has a disproportionately low share of the centers, however.

<sup>11</sup> There is an undocumented contention for this high Job Corps figure which is currently under investigation. Namely, it is claimed that the employment service in the South has been more than willing to refer Negroes to the Job Corps since the trainees are usually forced to leave the State and the region to participate. Conversely, the argument continues, the Neighborhood Youth Corps—which affords opportunities in the local community—has been used for white youths. Unfortunately, detailed statistics on enrollee characteristics that might prove or disprove these assertions are unavailable for either of these programs.

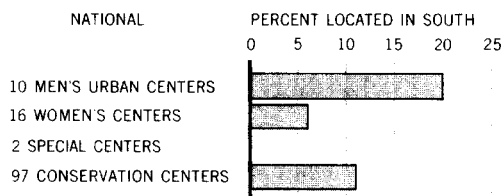
### Work Experience and Training

In 1962, the Social Security Act was amended to include a program known as Community Work and Training (CWT). The Federal Government contributed 50 percent of the administrative costs and 75 percent of the social service costs. The new program was targeted to supply training and work experience for recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children with Unemployed Parents (AFDC-UP) so that they could achieve economic independence. The only Southern State to participate was Kentucky, which did so briefly in 1964.

Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) passed in late 1964 instituted a program known as Work Experience and Training (WET). With the Federal Government providing 100 percent of the funds, the program was aimed at the same beneficiaries as the earlier CWT program.

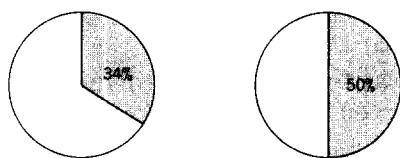
### Southern Participation in Federally Sponsored Youth Training Programs

ONLY A FEW OF THE JOB CORPS TRAINING CENTERS ARE LOCATED IN THE SOUTH:

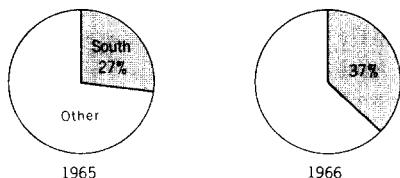


ALTHOUGH YOUNG SOUTHERNERS MAKE UP AN INCREASING PROPORTION OF YOUTH IN FEDERAL TRAINING PROGRAMS:

#### EMPLOYMENT SERVICE REFERRALS TO JOB CORPS



#### NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS ENROLLEES



Under these more favorable financing arrangements, all States but Alabama participated to varying degrees. Kentucky, for example, received 16 percent of all the funds made available under this section in its first 2½ years of operations.<sup>12</sup>

As can be seen from table 3, the South accounted for 20 percent of those participating under Title V of EOA through March 1967. Although exact enrollment figures are unavailable, the figures in table 3 do approximate the order of magnitude. The rate of participation by State shows extensive differences, with Kentucky and Arkansas together accounting for over half the total slots in the region. Because these States have limited job opportunities, there has been considerable debate over the appropriateness of training in Title V programs. One viewpoint suggests that the programs have been a subtle form of income maintenance.<sup>13</sup>

As for the near future, both the Title V and the CWT programs are being phased out. The 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act have created a new program—the Work Incentive Program—for AFDC families. The new program begins April 1, 1968, and by July 1, 1969, it will have completely replaced the forerunner programs. Because of the difficulties in adjusting State legislation and in obtaining State matching funds (20 percent), it is not expected that any Southern State will be able to participate in the immediate future.

### Special Programs

In addition to the more familiar programs just discussed, there are several programs designed for the special needs of disadvantaged groups. Specifically, they are known as Special Impact (or Kennedy-Javits), New Careers (or Scheuer),

<sup>12</sup> In fact, during the program's first year, Kentucky received 25 percent of the total funds appropriated under Title V. As a result of Kentucky's domination of the program, the Economic Opportunity Act was amended in 1966 to restrict the amount of funds annually appropriated under the title to any one State to 12.5 percent of the available funds.

<sup>13</sup> For a detailed discussion of this point, see Sar Levitan's "Work Experience and Training" in *Examination of the War on Poverty*, Staff and Consultant Reports to the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, August 1967, Volume I, pp. 59-86; also see a rebuttal to this position in the testimony of Lisle C. Carter, Jr., in *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty* of Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, July 1967, pt. 10, pp. 3055-3103.

TABLE 3. PARTICIPATION IN SELECTED MANPOWER TRAINING PROGRAMS, UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN STATES

State	Neighborhood Youth Corps		Job Corps		Title V (EOA) <sup>1</sup>
	1965	1966	1965	1966	Cumulative through March 1967
United States...	173,861	156,260	48,767	57,181	203,854
South: Number.....	48,284	57,909	16,691	28,719	41,662
Percent.....	27	37	34	50	20
Alabama.....	6	952	1,345	2,360	.....
Arkansas.....	25,008	9,312	1,263	1,394	6,525
Florida.....	2,428	2,773	1,577	3,483	2,051
Georgia.....	2,923	11,116	999	2,452	2,460
Kentucky.....	1,228	1,878	1,967	1,411	16,910
Louisiana.....	2,807	11,717	1,295	2,378	3,800
Mississippi.....	1,262	5,734	1,081	2,712	4,445
North Carolina.....	1,753	3,042	(3)	(3)	947
South Carolina.....	10	3,048	852	1,519	820
Tennessee.....	4,085	3,429	1,329	2,391	2,024
Texas.....	5,650	3,805	3,180	6,569	1,440
Virginia.....	1,124	1,053	1,803	2,050	240

<sup>1</sup> These data were compiled from the Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

<sup>2</sup> Recruiting not done by the State Employment Service.

and Operation Mainstream (or Nelson) programs <sup>14</sup> and stem from 1965 and 1966 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act. All three undertakings are limited in scope and in funds. To date, the effect of these programs for the South rests primarily in the fact that they are partially involved in the Department of Labor's Concentrated Employment Program (CEP).

Under the CEP arrangement, six manpower training programs are packaged together.<sup>15</sup> The package is offered to a locality in the form of a single contract from the Department of Labor. As of October 1967, 20 cities and two rural areas had been designated for CEP. Five of the cities are in the South (Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, New Orleans, and San Antonio) together with one rural area, the Mississippi Delta. The CEP

<sup>14</sup> Respectively, these programs are designed to provide (1) work experience and training for indigenous adults and youths in selected neighborhoods plagued by high unemployment rates; (2) employment opportunities for long-term unemployed adults in subprofessional, urban community improvement projects; and (3) employment opportunities for unemployed adults in conservation and beautification projects in small towns and rural areas.

<sup>15</sup> The six programs are MDTA-Institutional, MDTA-OJT, Neighborhood Youth Corps, New Careers, Special Impact, and Operation Mainstream.

<sup>16</sup> The 15 Model Cities in the South are: Huntsville (Ala.), Texarkana (Ark.), Miami and Tampa (Fla.), Atlanta and Gainesville (Ga.), Pikeville (Ky.), Charlotte (N.C.), Nashville and Smithville (Tenn.), Eagle Pass, San Antonio, Texarkana, and Waco (Tex.), and Norfolk (Va.).

undertaking—which is not really a training program but rather an administrative project—is expected to be expanded markedly in the near future. It is anticipated that many of the 63 cities participating in the Model City Program will receive a CEP contract. If so, as many as 15 Southern cities will benefit.<sup>16</sup>

## Assessment

As is characteristic of this region, diversity is the rule. The use of manpower programs in Southern States is no exception. In some instances, the South is among the leaders—e.g., Title V programs in Kentucky and Job Corps enrollment in Texas; in other cases, it contains the laggards—e.g., Alabama is the only State without a Title V program. In between, the States of the South sweep the spectrum.

There is no doubt that federally sponsored programs have had an effect. Despite occasional verbal assaults, the South has been willing to partake of the offerings. The cynic might say that this participation proves that prejudice and distrust can be mollified by the presence of dollars. In a more reasoned opinion, one might conclude that the acceptance is indicative of a new day. It is even more likely, however, that the explanation lies in terms of enlightened self-interest. The region is sustaining a rapid growth in its urban communities as well as a major change in its occupational structure due to industrial diversification. For the first time, the South needs educated and skilled workers to meet the needs of its expanding private businesses and burgeoning defense industries. Its one-time asset—cheap and unskilled labor—has become an albatross.

The alternatives are twofold: Upgrade its work force or encourage (by inaction or by program limitations) an exodus of its unskilled workers and an influx of talent from the rest of the Nation. Indications are that both courses are being pursued. Federally assisted manpower programs have helped the South to improve the employability of some of its citizens. Yet it is the level of operation and not the presence per se of these programs that is significant.

Although participation rates of the South are useful in showing what is happening and in indi-

cating some of the qualms of local officials about Federal money, they are largely irrelevant. In terms of the proportion of its population who are Negroes, who live in poverty (both Negro and white), who have little education, who are underemployed, the South has no dearth of opportunity.

To be meaningful, these programs must be substantially enlarged. The South needs a larger slice of a bigger pie. In addition, experiments should be initiated to establish training programs in rural areas for urban jobs. If the Southern States are incapable or unwilling to assume such responsibility, thought might be given to direct Federal sponsorship and administration. The evidence is

that many of the disadvantaged are leaving the rural areas, and hence it is both more humane and more economic to prepare the migrants before they begin their treks than to have them go totally unprepared.

Manpower policies alone can only soften the effect of the urbanization, industrialization, and migration problems of the South. But as a part of the constellation of program efforts—which include the new policies in the education and welfare fields as well as the continued reliance upon fiscal policy and the enforcement of equal employment opportunity legislation—they appear as a meteor of hope on the horizon.

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These influences [such as educational quality and especially discrimination] also prevent proportionate gains in income from immediately following improvements in the educational attainment of a disadvantaged ethnic group. Many members of minority groups are forced to endure a frustrating waiting period until they are able to obtain incomes which are appropriate to their education. This lag between income and education can be understood in part to be a result of the fact that in our society the flow of causation is frequently from income to education rather than in the reverse direction. In spite of this, minority persons may be able to match the majority in education, but they will not obtain comparable incomes if they do not have access to income opportunities which are available to similarly educated members of the majority population.

—Walter Fogel.