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## ABSTRACT

The Joint Minorities Development Program (JMDD) was a joint enterprise of Organizing and Supportive Agency, Inc. (OSA) and Human Interest Regarding Employment/Minorities Action Coalition (HIRE/MAC) to train black construction workers and organize them into a self-supportive construction cooperative. JMDD evolved in three stages. The first phase was the construction of an experimental modular home. The second involved program development, operation, and change of direction from modular to conventional house building. A major difficulty was found in meeting the training needs of the men. The third phase was the actual building of a house, characterized by increasing labor dissatisfaction and lack of coordination between the many organizations involved. It is concluded that JMDD was a qualitative if not a notably quantitative success. A small and cohesive group eventually survived and profited from the experience. As a pilot program the project offers valuable background for similar ventures. (MS)

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JOINT MINORITIES DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (JMDP)

Final Report  
to the  
United States Department of Labor  
covering activities under  
Manpower Administration Grant No. 92-36-72-09

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Organizing and Supportive Agency, Inc.  
Ithaca, New York  
June 1, 1973

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## JOINT MINORITIES DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (JM DP)

Report to the U. S. Department of Labor on  
Manpower Administration Grant No. 92-36-72-09

The Joint Minorities Development Program (JM DP) was a joint enterprise of OSA, Inc. (Organizing and Supportive Agency, Inc.) and HIRE/MAC (Human Interest Regarding Employment/Minorities Action Coalition) to train black construction workers and organize them into a self-supportive construction cooperative. This report will first describe the background and basis of this collaboration, will then detail the three phases through which it evolved, and will conclude with an overview and evaluation. Successes and failures, correct judgments and judgmental errors, favoring circumstances and misfortunes, will all play a part in the narrative, which is designed to enable others, and perhaps ourselves, to do better another time. For no matter how frank we may be about our mistakes, we do firmly believe that the experiment here recorded was far more of a success than a failure, and that it provides in broad outline a pattern which, with certain suggested modifications, could and should be copied.<sup>1</sup>

### I. Origins and Objectives

During the early winter of 1971 Professor Jaroslav Vanek (Economics) of Cornell University brought together a small group of interested colleagues to discuss the possibility of forming a labor-managed cooperative as a way of demonstrating its potentialities as a development medium for minority and low income people in the United States and elsewhere.

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1. Rick Leyes, a graduate student in the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations, who served as clerk of the works during the house building phase and was closely associated with the worker-trainees throughout our activities, is writing his Master's thesis on the project. Some of the interpretations in the present report have been influenced by the responses of trainees to the survey carried out by Leyes.

(See App. A for a full list of the major participants in this enterprise.) Also instrumental in forming the group were Professor William F. Whyte (Industrial and Labor Relations) and Professor O. M. Ungers (Architecture), whose ideas for a low cost modular house seemed to offer an opportunity to organize a cooperative to produce these units. Because the Ungers house was designed for the assemble-it-yourself low income market, it also opened up the possibility of combining community development activities with employment opportunities.

As discussions proceeded it seemed desirable to create a formal structure capable of taking the necessary initiatives and of providing financial, technical, and administrative assistance to the cooperative until it should be able to stand on its own feet. The group therefore decided to create OSA, Inc. as a not-for-profit corporation under the laws of the State of New York. Though the incorporation became official only in January 1972, the group began to function informally in the early spring of 1971.

Before a cooperative could be formed it was necessary to complete the architectural drawings for the Ungers house, and, if possible, to build and erect a complete unit which could be accurately costed and tested for its practicality as a living unit. Since Cornell University research funds were available to Ungers and Vanek for completing the drawings and for the purchase of a limited amount of materials it was decided to begin construction of a single module (one room) during the summer of 1971 if facilities, workers, and a master carpenter to supervise the work could be obtained. Means would then be sought to construct additional units, sufficient to make a complete house. These activities and plans were referred to as the Self-help Housing Pilot Project (S-hHPP).

The search for labor brought OSA into contact with John Bryant, Chairman-Director of HIRE/MAC and organizer of the Black United Tradesmen (BUT) of Elmira. Bryant approved the cooperative idea, <sup>but</sup> reflecting the attitudes of the men he was trying to help, mainly was interested, at least initially, in the training and eventual employment opportunities offered by S-hHPP. He said that several members of BUT would be available to provide the labor time to build components for the trial module if supervision and facilities could be arranged. These requirements were eventually met by obtaining the overtime services of William Cicione, then General Trades Instructor at the Ithaca facilities of BOCES (Board of Cooperative Educational Services), and by the agreement of BOCES to allow its General Trades shop to be used for S-hHPP after school hours.

## II. Evolution of JMDP

### 1. First Phase : (August--September 1971)

Work on the module commenced on August 1, 1971, with four members of BUT providing some 20 hours of labor time per week, together with transport from Elmira, without charge to S-hHPP. Among at least some members of the OSA-HIRE/MAC collaborative group there was an initial impression that Cicione was to work on similar terms, but since he bore the full responsibility as technical supervisor, it soon was agreed that he be paid a sum equal to half his regular salary. While this was neither unreasonable nor objectionable, the looseness of the initial agreement was unfortunate. Not only did it create an unexpected problem of financing, but it left a residue of misunderstanding which, though remaining mainly below the surface, interfered from time-to-time with the smooth operation of the program. In the end, Cicione's salary was financed for the four active months of S-hHPP in 1971 by a personal contribution of \$500 plus \$1500 from BUT and

another Elmira organization, the Metropolitan Inter-Church Agency (MICA).

The experimental module was largely completed by mid-September 1971, and work on it was abandoned around the end of the month. It had served its function, and attention therefore turned to deciding what to do next. Planning and organization for the second phase of the program occupied the month of October.

2, a. Second Phase: Problems of Program Development: (November 1971--February 1972)

Several problems had to be faced during the planning stage. One related to financing further work on the still incomplete drawings for the Ungers house. Moreover, the work on the experimental module had suggested a number of design changes which had to be considered. More substantial, however, were the financial requirements to cover the cost of materials and equipment for a complete modular house and to meet the expenses of a considerably expanded work-training program. Finally, there were the questions of where to site the house after the components had been constructed, who should live in it, and so on.

The financial needs for completing the drawings and part of those for purchase of materials were met by research grants from Cornell University, with prospect for a further partial contribution from the Bishop Sheen Foundation. It was hoped that as work progressed the remaining materials requirements would be covered by additional grants or by loans. At the same time, preliminary soundings indicated that a small training grant would probably be forthcoming from the Manpower Administration of the USDL. Because manpower training would be the focal point of such a grant, because by this time the collaboration of OSA and HIRE/MAC had been tightened in various ways, and because both organizations were concerned to have the training evolve in a developmental manner for low income people, we thought

it desirable to distinguish this second phase of activity, to be financed by the Manpower grant, from S-hHPP. We therefore called it the Joint Minorities Development Program (JMDP).

These earlier indications were fulfilled with USDL approval of a grant to OSA, Inc. of \$24,400. Initially to run from February 14, 1972 to February 14, 1973 the grant later was made partially retroactive to January 1, 1972 and extended to June 30, 1973. The initial budget, subsequently revised somewhat, and the actual expenditures, are as follows:

|  | <u>Initial<br/>Budget</u> | <u>Actual<br/>Expenditures</u> |
|--|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| I. Personal Services<br>(Technical instruction, supervision, and architectural assistance) | \$8,900                   | \$12,755.00                    |
| II. Emergency Supportive Services to Trainees  | \$5,000                   | 4,915.63                       |
| III. Materials and Equipment   | 4,500                     | 2,934.83                       |
| IV. Program Administration, Research, Evaluation, and Reporting Expenses                   | 4,500                     | 693.29                         |
| V. Worker Organization Administrative Expenses   | <u>1,500</u>              | <u>3,101.25</u>                |
| TOTALS   | \$24,400                  | \$24,400.00                    |

It will be observed that the largest single item of expenditure was compensation for trainers. Most of this was well spent, for Cicione was exceptionally well suited for his role in JMDP. Some of the other training funds could have been better spent, or left unspent, however, for reasons noted later.

The smallest expenditure was for Program Administration, etc. The reasons for this are that the officers of OSA were able to serve without pay, and that several students rendered administrative and research services gratis, for expenses only, subsistence wages or course credits. The materials and equipment item was also relatively small, first because of our ability to use BOCES facilities and second because we were able to use some items belonging to Cicione. More could well have been spent on emergency services to trainees and on worker organizational expense, except that the structural conditions for handling such expenditures effectively did not develop satisfactorily, as noted below.

The question of where to erect a modular test house was taken up with Cornell, which did indeed have a suitable site. However, discussions with officials turned up a number of potential difficulties, such as where title to the house would be vested and how the rental proceeds from the prospective graduate student tenant would be allocated. Ways of overcoming those obstacles were considered, but for reasons which will appear presently, there was no need to press these problems to solution.

Bryant's initial plan for providing the required worker-trainees was that they would be members of the regional black worker organizations affiliated with HIRE/MAC in Elmira, Waverly, Auburn, Ithaca, and perhaps Geneva, and this is how the collaboration of OSA and H/M came about. The Ithaca group, however, wanted to supply all of the work-trainees from its own membership. Bryant opposed but could not block this restrictionist policy, and in retrospect it can be seen as symptomatic of a limited regional and community perspective on the part of the IBCWC. Moreover, it caused bad feeling among members of BUT and the other non-Ithaca organizations, especially in view of the financial help previously provided from Elmira.

This limited perspective appears to have been due in large part to the fact that the Ithaca group, operating initially as the Minorities Employment Service, was formed in the winter of 1971 for the purpose of representing the black community in an Affirmative Action Program (AAP) financed by the New York State Employment Service and sponsored by local contractors and building trades unions. Under the terms of this grant, a salaried Recruiter-Coordinator from the minority group was to recruit, screen, select, and place candidates in subsidized OJT employment on publicly funded construction projects in Ithaca. These men were to receive training both on and off the job which, it was alleged, would provide the knowledge and experience required to pass journeyman examinations and thus become qualified for union membership in two years. Men who entered this program had to be members of the worker organization, which eventually adopted the name Ithaca Black Construction Workers Coalition (IBCWC).

In actuality, however, the men in AAP found they were learning little on the job, and that no off-job training was being provided. They saw dwindling their prospects for passing the union examinations (which they had probably evaluated too optimistically, in any case, given the arbitrary manner in which many such examinations are administered), and were ready for the alternative offered by JMDP. IBCWC even went so far as to adopt a rule requiring their members to attend the sessions scheduled at BOCES for two evenings a week and Saturday mornings.

The tie-in between IBCWC and the Ithaca AAP was not a source of strength for JMDP, as might be thought, but rather of weakness, for it brought into IBCWC membership, and therefore into JMDP, many men who were attracted far more by the promise, often not fulfilled, of immediate employment than by desire either to learn a skill or to participate in a community development project. Those men who did not get jobs, who found that their employment was transient or sporadic (due partly to ineffective policing of the AAP machinery),

or who quit because of harassment on the job, apparently saw little value in learning a skill preparatory to taking a union examination under dubious conditions. The smaller number of men who remained in more or less continuous employment, or who were not disillusioned by the unfulfilled promise of AAP, apparently saw the prospect of ultimate union membership in terms of the status attached to specialization, to becoming a plumber, a carpenter, a mason, or an electrician. This ran counter to the JMDP philosophy, which was based on recognition that union membership was an unlikely outcome for most of the AAP enrollees and/<sup>that,</sup> even if achieved, it did not guarantee employment, especially for minority people. Therefore, in JMDP's view, it was better for minority workers to become "construction mechanics," familiar with at least the basic knowledge and skills of several trades rather than to become narrowly specialized in one, and thus to acquire the self-confidence that such breadth of knowledge and experience would tend to build. In a region like ours, where non-union construction work is common, broadly trained men, in our judgment, would be able to offer themselves confidently to small contractors as qualified to work in a variety of trades, and would be more likely to be kept on for the duration of a contract than if they were journeymen in one trade only. Alternatively, they could seek employment whenever there were openings in any of several lines instead of waiting for their specialty.

The first of the above factors, short-run expectations of employment, contributed to a high rate of absenteeism and turnover. The opportunity costs of attending the JMDP sessions were not negligible for most of the men, and if the training provided was not much valued as job bait the benefits soon became less than the costs. Thus, the *raison d'etre* of IBCWC did not conduce to regular attendance; and the rule requiring regular attendance not only provided escape clauses but was difficult to enforce. As a result, no more than 12-15 of the 25-30 men who enrolled at one time or another over the winter showed up consistently at the JMDP sessions.

The second of the factors mentioned above, desire to learn a particular trade, also contributed, at least initially, to a certain amount of dissatisfaction on the part of those who attended the sessions consistently. This was because production of the panels for the modular house provided knowledge and training in carpentry alone, and would continue to do so until time for production of the "mechanical panels." Not only this, but even the carpentry work on the panels was routine and repetitive, requiring none of the knowledge of construction principles, and none of the varied skills, possessed by experienced carpenters. Men who wanted to be electricians, plumbers, masons, and even carpenters, therefore became restless. Moreover, given the nature of a modular house, there was no prospect that meaningful training opportunities in these skills would be provided.

By the time the JMDP grant funds became available, we were aware of the two problems just discussed and were seeking ways to solve them. A third problem was the inability of the single trainer, Cicione, to instruct, supervise, and engage the active attention and interest of all of the 15 to 30 men who showed up at each session, to say nothing of trying to orient and socialize the new men who showed up from time-to-time.

The men's reactions to our program were no doubt influenced by a lack of coordination between the Affirmative Action Program and JMDP. Our program was shaped in part by our perception of the inadequacies of AAP. The black workers hired through AAP, in general, appeared to be getting little on-the-job training, which made it extremely unlikely that they would develop the knowledge and confidence in themselves required to have a chance to pass a union examination - even if one were fairly administered. JMDP aimed to build this knowledge and confidence so that the men could advance as construction workers, whether within or outside of the unions, and whether as a specialist or a construction mechanic. But AAP at least did provide a few jobs (for a limited period), whereas JMDP had no jobs to offer.

Leyes' survey indicates that many of the men were not sympathetic to the construction mechanic strategy. This could have been partly because we were not able to pursue that strategy far enough to secure a minimum level of general competence. Hence, the men remained skeptical and inclined to wonder whether the traditional craft specialization route might not be safer for them. A further factor was that we failed to explain the strategy adequately, and to present our reasons for adopting it. Had this been done in an atmosphere of free discussion the strategy would doubtless either have become more acceptable or been changed.

More generally, the fact that we did not recruit and select the trainees ourselves, with a clear perception of our objectives, and that we did not even provide systematic orientation for the men who came to us via AAP and IBCWC, minimized our chances of developing the strong coherent program we desired. Another time it would be important to establish rapport, and a common understanding and acceptance of objectives, before actually commencing operations.

2,b. Second Phase: Operation: (March--April 1972)

With the approval of the training grant the means for dealing with many of our problems seemed to be at hand. It would enable us to provide instruction in the basic construction trades, and we hoped that it would prove possible to rotate the men in the work of producing modular panels. We also hoped that the men could to some extent be rotated among the specialties, so as to broaden their base of knowledge, and they all could receive some instruction in how to read blueprints.

Meanwhile in January, the union and contractor representatives on the Affirmative Action Program Committee, having learned through Bryant, a member of the Committee, of JMDP's intention to provide the missing off-job training, privately sought and obtained from the New York State Employment Service (NYSES) authority to spend \$30,000 on a training program similar to that planned by JMDP. They then asked BOCES or organize and operate the training program

on their behalf. When BOCES said that this would be impossible, and proposed that the AAP Committee join with JMDP, a meeting to discuss this possibility was held. It was the first of many meetings and discussions which ended in nothing. The ostensible reason given for not cooperating with JMDP was the fact that OSA was not an accredited educational institution, and so could not be granted State training funds, but this seems not to have been so. The real reason appears to have been the hostility of the dominant contractor and union members of the AAP Committee to the leadership of OSA, and their consequent efforts to frustrate, or at least to circumvent, its efforts. For evidence on the attitudes of unions and contractors toward the aims and prospects of Affirmative Action, and on the perceptions of those affected by those attitudes, see Appendix B.

While JMDP would have welcomed the availability of the NYSES funds, if they could have been obtained without losing control to the AAP Committee, there was nothing to prevent our going ahead with the plan of broadening our offer of training opportunities, as already indicated. As soon as the training funds were assured, therefore, trainers were sought for electricity and plumbing, and also for Cicione's specialties, masonry and carpentry, in order to enable him to function more effectively as supervisor of the entire program. In addition, instruction was offered in architectural drafting and blueprint reading; and when the weather permitted, efforts also were made to provide instruction and practice in <sup>heavy</sup> equipment operation. These latter efforts were largely aborted, however, by what clearly appeared to be an informal, racially biased, boycott by equipment owners and operators.

Unfortunately, our efforts to provide instruction in the four basic construction trades, to rotate the trainees, and to reduce absenteeism, were only partially successful. Four of the six new trainers, though well enough qualified to teach basic skills, either failed to take their responsibilities seriously, spending class time on trivialities, or failed for other reasons

to stimulate and engage the interest of the men. In addition, these trainers had little or no awareness of the extent to which teachers must plan the material to be covered, determine the most effective sequencing of steps, and pace the student's progress. A fifth trainer had none of these deficiencies, but gradually lost effectiveness because of his failure to understand, or perhaps to accept, the philosophy and objectives of JMDP. For all these failures, our own lack of advance pedagogical planning and consequent weak guidance may have been partly responsible. Only in architectural drawing, which the more effective of the two available trainers regarded as the best way of teaching blueprint reading, was a substantial measure of enthusiasm eventually developed, but even this became dissipated as the learning of new techniques evolved into their more routine application, and the men lost interest in practicing an art which they would probably have little or no subsequent opportunity to use. The situation might have been different if the trainer's efforts to obtain a drafting job for one of the trainees had succeeded, but even that would likely have been perceived (probably correctly!) as only a lucky, once-in-a lifetime break.

While the men generally professed a desire to learn a skill, and those who put the most time and effort into JMDP throughout the program did indeed gain impressively both in skill and in confidence in their own abilities, our inability to provide a direct link between training and subsequent employment undoubtedly tended to reduce the motivation of most of the men.

While we aimed to develop a construction cooperative that would provide earning opportunities for the men who successfully pursued JMDP, we were unable to do so for several reasons. First, though not necessarily most important, was the fact that formation of a cooperative was still no more than an idea, an intention, a hope, when JMDP was initiated, and progressed little beyond that stage for many months. The legal basis for the cooperative,

its relation to OSA, its internal organization and decision structure, its mode of income distribution, and so on, had not been defined. Indeed, they had barely been considered. Moreover, the necessary financial, legal, and other resources, for launching such a venture were not in sight. Hence it would have been impossible, during the first months of JMDP, to present the trainees with a solid prospect that a cooperative would be formed, and that those who learned well would become its founding members, even if the desirability of doing so had been considered, which it was not.

Instead, a few limited and poorly executed efforts were made, mainly by students associated with JMDP, to educate the worker trainees concerning the meaning and advantages of cooperative production and to bring them round to acceptance and eventually to espousal of the proposal to start a cooperative. Part of the reason for our halting educational efforts was Bryant's view that "cooperation" was a foreign idea to men whose socialization had been entirely in terms of individualistic survival efforts, and that they were not ready to hear "cooperation" discussed. This may have been a wrong judgment, but for many of the men it was probably correct. While a few were seriously interested in full time work, in learning a trade, and in shaping a career, some had already been inured to the street economy before they were recruited (by highly non-selective methods and dubious promises) into the Affirmative Action Program, and thus into IBCWC and JMDP. Steady work and learning a skill were not where their heads were. A few others, still lingering uncertainly in the welfare-supported no-man's land between the street economy and the regular job market, and still looking for ways to improve their lot, were in constant danger of losing hope of regular employment and seeking fulfillment in other ways, as several did. The severity and incidence of these kinds of problems, even in a non-metropolitan environment like Ithaca, are well indicated by the fact that a third of all our enrollees ended up either serving jail terms or awaiting trial.

While the men last described were not likely to be receptive to the idea of forming a production cooperative, most of the rest could probably have been reached by a well-planned effort to create a group of men who were committed to working toward establishment of a cooperative, and thus to take a quantum step toward mastery of their own destinies. The fact that it might also have failed is hardly justification for not trying. But this is the wisdom of hindsight. At the time we had only the dimmest understanding of the attitudinal context in which we were operating, and little ability to act in accordance with what we did understand.

For example, one of the Business and Public Administration graduate students working with JMDP, noting the prevalent absenteeism, tardiness, early departure, and rapping on the job, suggested that what was needed was more structure and discipline to the training sessions. While we recognized that he was correct, our view was that a traditional approach would not get at the root of the problem. Moreover, we also felt that a certain amount of looseness and informality were desirable. Or, to put the matter another way, we realized that more structure and discipline were needed but we also believed that it would only be effective if it emerged because the men invoked it rather than as an external imposition. In retrospect, it seems clear that many of the men found the lack of discipline demoralizing and felt that they would have responded better to a more tightly structured situation. Unfortunately, we did not know how to achieve the desired level of discipline without creating the traditional type of situation where white men are laying down the law to black men. And we doubted seriously that this method would promote the ends we sought.

Our strategy might have worked if we had begun with an already organized group, ready to commit itself in a disciplined way to a program that we would

work out jointly with them. However, there was no such group in sight, and we lacked the perception and skill to create one. We therefore felt our way along in hopes that such a group would emerge out of the few men who remained dedicated to the program.

2, c. Second Phase: Change of Direction: (May--mid-June 1972)

As the 1972 winter moved toward spring we became increasingly aware of many, though not all, of the inadequacies identified in preceding paragraphs. Important among these was the inappropriateness of the modular house as a training vehicle. Had the house nevertheless seemed a promising prospect for production by a cooperative we presumably would have sought a way to continue producing its components. Instead, there were increasing grounds for doubt concerning the feasibility of the house. The components, instead of being light enough in weight for easy do-it-yourself assembly on site, as intended, turned out to be exceedingly heavy and hard to handle. In addition, solutions to installation of the mechanicals had not yet been found, and it was not clear what these solutions would have to be. Thirdly, revised cost estimates indicated that the price of a complete house could not be less and might be more than that of an equivalent conventional house. Fourthly, prospects for funding the continued purchase of materials for an experimental house were very much in doubt. Fifthly, the Cornell site for setting up a test model seemed less attractive than at first thought. Finally, we received word that BOCES was going to remodel the space we had been using, and that we would therefore have to remove our materials and tools.

Under the circumstances it seemed advisable to give serious consideration to abandoning the modular house and using construction of a conventional house as the training vehicle. Cicione, an experienced builder, stressed that such a house would provide all of the training opportunities we required, and urged that the progress of actual construction, by providing a tangible basis for satisfaction on the part of the worker-trainees, would improve morale.

He had a site in mind, and had reason to believe that OSA could obtain a mortgage from a local bank. After considerable discussion concerning the feasibility of building the house with over-time labor, since most of the responsible core group had regular jobs, of minimizing absenteeism, of ways to compensate the men for their time on the job, and various other technical details, it was decided to go ahead if the mortgage was forthcoming. It was, and a cellar hole was dug about the middle of June, 1972.

3, a. Third Phase: Building a Conventional House : (Mid-June 1972--April 1973)

The solutions to the problems of scheduling and compensating work on the house, and certain other difficulties, were set forth in an agreement between OSA, Inc., and IBCWC, and in a subsequent clarifying letter from OSA. (See Appendix C.) One major provision was that IBCWC as a sub-contractor agreed to provide all the labor on the house for a fixed sum payable in installments correlated with the drawings under the mortgage. The fixed sum, in turn, was to be divided among the worker-trainees in proportion to the hours recorded on the job for each man, regardless of the kind of work done. Since the agreement also specified, in line with the JMDP philosophy, that each trainee was expected to be present at all work sessions, and to perform whatever tasks needed to be done at the time regardless of his specialty, the principle of equal pay per hour appeared to be the most feasible and equitable. The amount per hour would depend, as in any producers cooperative, on the efficiency with which the work was performed. By setting a fixed compensation for labor, OSA was protected against runaway labor costs. At the same time IBCWC stood to benefit, along with OSA and HIRE/MAC, by a provision for sharing among these three organizations, the surplus resulting from any excess of the sales price of the house over full construction costs. Conclusion of the agreement, however, was accompanied by a certain amount of wrangling, misunderstanding, and even mistrust (partly related to some abortive attempts, prior to JMDP, at black-white cooperation in the Ithaca low income housing field).

The ill effects of these developments were never wholly overcome.

Almost immediately after the cellar hold was dug, the Southern Tier area of New York was inundated by Hurricane Agnes, and followed by an exceptionally wet July. One result was that a great deal of otherwise unnecessary unskilled work had to be done on the foundation, and often redone several times. A second result was that the time required for completing the foundation dragged on, so that the end of the summer was in sight before the deck could be laid and framing could begin. A further factor contributing to slowness of progress was that the reliable core group contained no men with masonry experience or aspirations, so that most of the work had to be done by inexperienced men. While they welcomed the training they received, both they and others could not avoid becoming somewhat disheartened at the length of time required to get above ground level.

Under these conditions, initial enthusiasms began to wane, absenteeism increased, compensation was delayed, and some of the unemployed men became openly dissatisfied with the terms of an agreement under which they had to wait two months or more to be paid. When a partial advance payment (perhaps mistakenly) <sup>was</sup> made before it was due, they expressed further dissatisfaction because the amount to be distributed averaged out to only \$2.00 an hour.

Only the unemployed received compensation. The employed members of IBCWC had earlier agreed that they would leave their earnings in the organization to serve, along with the IBCWC share of the surplus, as a nest egg for the future. Though there had been little serious discussion of the cooperative idea within IBCWC, or between it and OSA, there was increasing discussion, as the job progressed, of what might be the next step after completion of the house. In these conversations the idea of forming a cooperative came up frequently. Though some efforts were made toward the end of the summer to give more precise form to the cooperative idea, these were ineffective,

partly because the question was presented somewhat casually, and partly because there was no readily convenient time and place in which to bring the members of IBCWC and OSA together for a full discussion of this and other questions.

The lack of such a facility, and of a carefully prestructured understanding and mode of communication between IBCWC and OSA, meant that <sup>any</sup> matters of importance had to be dealt with in separate meetings, at arms length, and through intermediaries (especially Cicione, Bryant, and student associates), rather than directly and face-to-face. Even had such a facility and structure existed, direct and frank discussion would have been hampered by the aura of mutual distrust which surrounds and plagues many efforts at black-white cooperation, including, in particular, ours. While this atmosphere can often be changed for the better, at least within limits, it takes great understanding, patience, and devotion to the objective of frank, open communication and cooperation to accomplish a visible advance.

While OSA accepted the idea that training and related economic activities for low income people should be integrated with an indigenously led community organization, it was not clear how such an organization should be developed.

The Ithaca black population has been represented, in the eyes of the white "establishment," by members of the black middle class who owe their occupations and statuses to white supported organizations. While there are indeed working class blacks who reject this traditional leadership, they had in the past been unable to develop their own cohesive organization. Furthermore, in contrast to Elmira, the total black population of Ithaca is small enough so that it would not represent a powerful political force even if it were well organized - a factor which tends to discourage organization outside of and independent of "the establishment."

It was John Bryant's aim to build in Ithaca an organization led by black working people and responsive to their interests. But at the same time he was seeking to build a regional organization through integrating the IBCWC with similar organizations in Elmira, Waverly, Auburn, and Geneva. In retrospect, it is clear that the development of the regional organization could only have been successful if the key organizer had been operating on a much firmer economic base. Bryant's primary source of support during most of this period was a half-time salary as section leader for the Human Affairs Program. His old car was running up increasing repair bills, and there were times when he was simply unable to get from his home in Waverly to critical meetings in one of the other cities. Furthermore, in each city he had to work through volunteers he recruited, and whose expenses he paid through personal funds. While the middle class volunteer is supported by a secure salary, health insurance, and other benefits that protect his economic and psychological security, the lower class black is in a far more precarious position and must devote himself primarily to efforts for survival. Thus, even the most talented organizer needs to give a good deal of at least social and psychological support to the working class volunteer if progress in organizing is to be achieved. The network simply could not be built and maintained without at least a small nucleus of paid organizers.

While OSA was sympathetic to Bryant's regional organization objective, JMDP could provide economic support only for those activities that contributed more or less directly to our Ithaca-based project. Thus we provided only a very partial solution to Bryant's organizing problems, and the strain between local and regional objectives continued to have a debilitating effect upon the Ithaca project.

This strain manifested itself within JMDP. Several of the members of ICBWC initially accepted Bryant's regional objectives and sought to cooperate with him, both in Ithaca and elsewhere. These were also the men who were the most dedicated workers and regular attenders at work sessions on the house. Others, who did not share the vision of regional organization, came to look

upon the house as something identified with Bryant and his friends and therefore not offering them an accepted place in the scheme of things. As these men dropped off in attendance, the burden of completing the house fell entirely upon that small group of regulars who had originally been identified with Bryant. This in turn had a demoralizing influence on the regulars, who felt that it was not fair for their small number to have the responsibility that had once been accepted by the total ICBWC organization.

Progress on the house slowed to an almost complete halt by March 1973. It was now evident that the OSA contract with IBCWC was no longer viable. This led us, in a meeting with those who had been doing most of the work on the house, to cancel the IBCWC contract and to push toward the completion of the project with the men committing themselves to an eight hour day and a forty hour week, under Ciccione's direction, with each man sharing in the remaining money allocated to labor, in proportion to the hours he worked. While the project hours had been scheduled for two evenings a week and Saturdays at a time when most of the men had been employed, since all of the core group except one had been laid off, a full work week was now feasible.

Under the new arrangement, the men went to work with renewed dedication. The house was finished and ready for sale by the end of April.<sup>2</sup> (See fn. p. 21)

3, b. Third Phase: Conclusion: (May 1973-- ?)

We believe it can be claimed both for OSA and for a considerable number of IBCWC members, that they consistently exhibited the/ <sup>requisite</sup> qualities of dedication, patience, and frankness over the entire period of their association, and that this was responsible for a steady improvement in the degree of respect and closeness of communication between the two groups. Thus, as time went on a small group of serious, dedicated men emerged, men who were determined to finish the house because they had assumed the responsibility of doing so, because they wanted the satisfaction and full experience of working from be-

ginning to end on a conventional house, and because they were becoming more and more committed to the idea of forming a cooperative, or otherwise building a durable future on the basis of their accomplishment. This group consisted for the most part of men who had consistently attended the training sessions from the beginning of the second phase in November 1971, or from their first enrollment in a session. The size of the group varied somewhat, according to circumstances, but at the time of this report consisted of 3-4 men.

Because this is a solidary group, which trusts each other and which, as a result of recognized straight dealing on both sides, also had developed mutually trustful relations with OSA and its representatives, they and 2-3 white construction workers, of whom one had attended the training sessions at BOCES during the winter of 1972 while the others had already attempted to start a cooperative, have formed themselves into a bi-racial labor self-management enterprise called Group One. The organizers are assured of immediate employment because Cicione, as prime contractor to build a house for a private owner, has made a sub-contract with Group One whereby they will provide the labor on the house for \$10,000. The contract is similar to that between OSA and IBCWC. If the arrangement is successful further jobs are likely. When and if OSA obtains the requisite funds from the sale of the house, or otherwise, we expect to help to provide Group One with needed capital equipment and tools.

In the end, JMDP can be counted a qualitative if not notably a quantitative success.

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2. In the end, because two of the three employed workers who were most regular in their attendance at work sessions had become unemployed during the winter, and because of the disintegration of IBCWC as an effective organization, it was decided to abandon the "nest egg" idea mentioned on page 17. All moneys due to IBCWC under its labor contract with OSA, therefore, were disbursed to individual worker-trainees either through IBCWC or, eventually, by OSA directly.

### III. Overview and Evaluation

The fact that a small and cohesive group eventually survived and profited from the trials and tribulations of the JMDP experience suggests that the group could and would have been larger if there had been earlier recognition of the need, and better understanding of how to achieve this result. That a group survived at all is testimony to the patience, sympathy, and persistence with which the OSA and JMDP goals were pursued. Cicione and Bryant brought indispensable qualities to the task of achieving these goals.

OSA's greatest weakness was its failure to appreciate the importance of finding or creating an organizationally strong and solidary nucleus of workers as a precondition for achieving its objectives. Recognition of this need, and of the organizational dynamics required to satisfy it, increased as time passed and difficulties were encountered and surmounted, but the effects of early neglect could not be entirely overcome. Hence the survivor group was much smaller than it otherwise might have been.

Among the measures which partly resulted from, and partly contributed to, the largely unplanned emergence of a cohesive group was the election of several IBCWC members to directorships in OSA in the fall of 1972. Had this been done earlier, and had these men therefore participated earlier in OSA meetings and decision processes, this would at least partly have overcome the communication difficulties mentioned previously, and might have made an important difference. Another earlier step which helped to promote understanding and improved relationships was the organization of a visit by several of the trainees and Cicione to the International Builders Exposition (INBEX) in Louisville during the summer. Partly because of uncertainties and fears concerning overnight accommodations and partly because the men could not afford more time away from work, the group left Ithaca early one morning and

returned that same night. Had it seemed feasible to do so it clearly would have been desirable to take a considerably larger group, and preferable to stay over for at least one extra day. It is all too seldom that members of low income ethnic groups can make trips like this, customarily reserved for members of the dominant middle class, and an opportunity to do so could have important effects on morale and self-confidence. Visits to expositions, of course, are only one of many ways of achieving these results, and conscious efforts to take advantage of many such opportunities should be made in any program like that reported on here. Funds should be provided to compensate the men for lost work, and to allow ample time for successful accomplishment of the objectives.

Though not possible under the circumstances surrounding the creation of JMDP, it would have been better if it had been possible at the outset to involve the prospective trainees in defining the objectives of the training program; in structuring recruitment and selection; in determining the form and structure of any organization eventually to be formed by "graduate" trainees; in planning the details of the training process, including the respective responsibilities of the sponsors and the trainees in determining the extent to which trainees would participate in decision, management, and instruction processes; and in deciding upon the qualifications for such participation. While these preliminaries would require a great deal of time, patience, and understanding to negotiate, the alternative is a more or less paternalistic relationship between sponsors and trainees, with all of the problems and prospects of failure, or limited success, which this presents. While JMDP began paternalistically, its devotion to the principles of participation led it to move slowly but steadily in this direction; but its early history prevented it from moving far enough.

The ideal, as already implied, would be to begin the training and developmental processes with a solidary group which already understood and accepted the objectives of the training and development sequences, which was prepared to maintain discipline and to participate responsibly as an equal partner in decisions, and between whom and its partners there existed a mutually trustful and open relationship. Since such groups rarely exist, they must be created. While it would be quixotic to expect this to be possible in many, or perhaps in any, cases, efforts along this line could be expected to pay off more than proportionately.

One important component of such efforts which needs to be stressed is an emphasis on the developmental aspects of the training and organizational goals. As noted earlier, the appeal to purely individualistic motivations is a weak basis on which to operate a training program. While paying the trainees a kind of wage for time spent in training sessions might assure higher attendance it would not assure commitment to learning. Only belief in the value of acquiring a skill can do that. Hence trainees need to be or to become work-oriented and then to be given some ground for expecting that a reasonably secure job will be waiting them and after they achieve a certain level of skill, and that there will also be opportunities to continue learning and advancing.

To build confidence that such assurances would be fulfilled it, of course, would be necessary for the partners in the enterprise to have, or be able to obtain, the requisite financial, human, and other resources required to carry out whatever they had planned and agreed to. While this would help to assure a promising future for individual trainees, it would not of itself bring about the necessary level of emotional commitment by trainees to the program and its objectives. For this it would be necessary to create a feeling that programs of the proposed kind held the possibility, through cumulative growth and community support, of enabling minority communities to achieve

progressively expanding control over their own destinies. Devotion to a moral and social objective like this can bind men together, can cause them to persist in the pursuit of distant objectives despite interim discouragements and setbacks, in a way that self-oriented individualistic motivation cannot.

For outward-looking motivations to be effective, however, it is not sufficient for a particular group merely to adopt a community-oriented stance and profess broad social objectives. The group must be so tied into an immediately contiguous community that it is not isolated but can look to the community for support and encouragement when these are needed, and can expect a responsiveness to its developmental initiatives when they become feasible and timely.

It might seem that IBCWC met these requirements, for it was initially sponsored by the Southside Center, the focus of recreational and improvemental activities for the Ithaca black community. The community tie-in of IBCWC was rather weak, however, for a number of reasons. Bryant, though aware of the weakness and of the desirability of overcoming it, was handicapped by not being a member of the Ithaca community. Partly for this reason, and partly because he believed in a regional rather than a local concept of community, he made various attempts to regionalize the conceptions and organizational relationships of the JMDP trainees. Either the objective was too grandiose, however, or the resources for achieving it too limited, and none of these efforts succeeded. As time passed, therefore, the role and significance of IBCWC for JMDP steadily diminished, and organizational functions devolved upon the cohesive and solidary small group of JMDP survivors whose emergence has been noted above.

### A Summary of Outcomes

Our project has fallen far short of our hopes. Nevertheless, we can note a number of significant positive outcomes.

1. The House. The house has been built and, as of June 1, is being offered for sale at \$26,500 by Ithaca real estate brokers. (We had hoped to get \$2-3,000 more, but financial pressures make us want to sell as soon as possible). The work has been done entirely by previously unskilled men, under the direction of a very able craftsman and trainer. While the difficulties and delays will leave us with little if any surplus from the house sale to be used for further projects, net sale proceeds of around \$25,000 will be sufficient to cover the mortgage and all due bills.

2. Contributions to human development. At least three men have developed such levels of skill and confidence in their abilities that they will be able to do competent journeyman level jobs, under supervision, in future sponsored projects or in the open market. One of these men is scheduled to take the journeyman's test in carpentry when it is offered in the near future. He has the necessary recommenders and is confident of passing the test and being admitted to the union. If he should be successful, this one man will bring about a high percentage increase in the number of black workers in the construction unions here.

3. Organizational development. While the regional and Ithaca area organizing efforts faltered, so that we worked within a social context of disintegrating organizations, out of this experience arose a cohesive group of men who got to know and respect each other better through carrying out this project and who may provide a smaller but much firmer base for building future production cooperative efforts.

4. Educational pay-offs. Through the Human Affairs Program, 5-10 Cornell students worked closely with our project, thus linking their academic learning to field experience. The most tangible product of this experience will be the Masters thesis by Rick Leyes (see page 1). He has been developing a record of events and worker reactions to them through every stage of the project. At this writing, he is carrying out a detailed survey of all of the men who participated in the project at any time. This will lead to an analysis of the perceptions and motivations of both those who dropped out and those who remained fully involved. When the thesis is completed, within the next several months, we may be in a position to provide more systematic analyses of our successes and failures and more solidly based practical recommendations for others who may seek to work in this problem area.

5. Development of OSA. Members of OSA who have worked closely with this project have learned much regarding the obstacles to be overcome if projects of this general nature are to be more successful. If we are able to move on to future projects, then this learning will lead to practical pay-offs. We are currently hoping to aid two initiatives, either of which might lead into socially useful activities.

We now recognize that the kind of project here reported upon could only be developed to its fullest extent with far greater resources than we had available to us. This means not only more money but also a number of people able to work on project development and management on a full time basis. The current project was deceptively inexpensive because Morse, Vanek, Whyte and Bryant for part or full time served on a volunteer basis, but this also meant that our project activities had to be fitted in among other demands on our time. While Cicione was compensated for his services, his obligation to see the house through to completion prevented him from taking on private house building contracts that would have provided him with greater income.

He is in no position to make this sacrifice on a continuing basis.

Since OSA is unlikely to raise the large sums of money to finance an organization to develop and manage future projects, we see our future role more in terms of consultation and facilitation efforts, where we might be helpful without carrying major operating responsibilities. The two projects under consideration are of this nature.

One of these is Group One. If asked, we stand ready to offer our advice on how the enterprise might be developed, and we may be able to help in other ways, but OSA will not be responsible for the management of the new organization.

The other potential project is based upon an anticipated further development of a design for a component house for which patent was applied for by Bill Cicione. When he joined our project to direct training and construction on the Ungers model, Cicione had already begun to think of elaborating and improving upon his original design. As he faced the difficulties apparently integral to the Ungers design, Cicione gained valuable experience which, he feels, assures his ability to improve his own design in ways that promise to make possible the manufacture of components for an economical and practical type of house capable of quick and easy assembly on site.

During the coming months Cicione hopes to produce a trial set of components and to erect a livable experimental house. If this model proves to be economically and technically sound, Cicione will explore with a chain distributor of building supplies the possibility of taking over the marketing of the components, so that a manufacturing enterprise could be started and could concentrate on production. Cicione continues to be interested in the cooperative organization and management of production, on a bi-racial basis, and would expect the members of Group One to provide the nucleus for such an enterprise.

Cicione has not asked OSA to assume any of the risks and financial burdens inherent in his new pilot project but, subject to the availability of funds, OSA may eventually make a grant to assist with design and development.

If the pilot project proves successful, we will then explore with Cidone ways in which OSA can assist in the development of the cooperative production organization he has in mind. If these hopes and expectations are fulfilled the seed money grant to OSA by the Manpower Administration of the USDL will have been more than justified by its fruits.

## APPENDIX A

### Persons Primarily Concerned with the Operation of JMDP

#### Officers of OSA, Inc.

Chairman: Professor William F. Whyte, School of Industrial & Labor Relations, Cornell University

President: Professor Jaroslav Vanek, Department of Economics, Cornell University

Executive Vice Pres.  
(& Secretary until 12/72) Chandler Morse, Professor Emeritus of Economics, Cornell University

Secretary  
(from 12/72) Professor Herbert Mahr, Department of Physics, Cornell University

Treasurer Warren W. Currier, Director of Adult Education, Board of Educational Services (BOCES), Ithaca, N. Y.

#### Directors of OSA, Inc.

William Cicione, General Trades Instructor, BOCES, until June, 1972; Consultant, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University until December, 1972; self-employment thereafter.

Professor O. M. Ungers, Chairman, Department of Architecture, Cornell University

John Bryant, Chairman/Director of HIRE/MAC: Section Leader, Human Affairs Program (HAP), Cornell University, until June, 1972, self-employed thereafter.

Professor H. Peter Kahn, Department of the History of Art, Cornell University

Dorothy Nelkin, Research Associate, Program in Science and Technology, Cornell University  
Rev. George Kingsley, Executive Director, Metropolitan Inter-Church Agency, (MICA), Elmira, New York

Sherman Lee, Treasurer, IBCWC, Ithaca

David Richardson, ex-chairman, IBCWC, Ithaca

James Washington, member IBCWC, Newfield, New York

#### Instructional Staff

William Cicione, Technical Supervisor

Anthony Albanese, Plumbing; plumbing contractor, Ithaca, New York  
Charles Broughton, Masonry; member of masonry union, Ithaca, New York  
G. Brown M., Architecture; graduate student, School of Architecture, Cornell U.

William Danielson, Carpentry; self-employed, Ithaca, New York

Appendix A-2  
Instructional Staff (cont.)

Peter Ellis, Architecture; Department of Planning, City of Ithaca

Jonathan Johnson, Electrical; electrician, Newfield, New York

George Myers, Plumbing and earth moving equipment; septic systems and backhoe contractor, Newfield, New York

George Schumacher, Plumbing; plumber, Newfield, New York

A. W. Wallace, Electrical; electrical contractor, Elmira and Ithaca, New York

Student Associates and Assistants

Eve Chesbro, Arts & Sciences, Cornell University '72; Secretary of HIRE/MAC; Supportive Services consultant and evaluator, Summer 1972

Richard Leyes, M. S. candidate in NY State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University ; observer, evaluator, researcher; served as clerk of the works, Newfield House Project, Summer, 1972, to facilitate performance of these functions

Staff of the Human Affairs Program (HAP) who Participated in Meetings as Advisers and Observers

Benjamin Erlitz, section leader

Virginia Dowd, Administrative Aide

Professor Theodore Reed, NYS School of Industrial & Labor Relations and Director of HAP

Active IBCWC Members, n. e. c.

Michael Britt, Ithaca

David Grimes, Ithaca

Maynard Richardson, ex-Secretary, Ithaca

James Saunders, Ithaca

Robert Jean Saunders, Ithaca

Students in HAP who were especially active

Gene E. Broadnax, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, Washington, D. C.

Thomas A. Hamilton, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration; Cleveland, Ohio

New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations  
*A Subsidiary College of the State University*  
Cornell University Ithaca, New York 14850

6/15/78

Mr. Robert Fells  
New York State Employment Service  
Binghamton, New York 13900

Dear Mr. Fells:

You will recall my visit on May 9, along with Prof. Robert Aronson. My interest was in finding out your perspective on the terms for providing related instruction to the trainees engaged in OJT programs under the Ithaca Affirmative Action agreement covering several construction trades.

The proposal was made that "Cornell" (meaning for practical purposes the Cornell Program for the Study of Minority Employment) first become a party to the agreement, then sub-contract for related training services to OSA Inc. (Organizing and Supportive Association, Inc.) which has a training staff in being.

I appreciate the time you took to explaining to me your views on why a "recognized educational institution" should be involved in the process. At the time they seemed rather persuasive. However, I have now spoken with all the parties at interest and must conclude that no useful function could be served by interposing "Cornell" between OSA (the only service delivery system acceptable to the trainees at this juncture) and the Affirmative Action Committee. Merely signing a codicil to the existing agreement would not give "Cornell" any independent leverage on the other signatories. Your organization has influence by means of its provision of funds. The Affirmative Action Committee has influence because it is the decision making instrument of the contractors, the unions and the South Side Community Center representing the minority community. OSA would have influence because it is able to provide a needed service for implementation of the agreement. Any of these bodies may have differences with any of the others. Such differences have to be negotiated directly. "Cornell", lacking money, lacking job opportunities, lacking training know-how, and lacking any legitimate constituency with primary stakes in the undertaking is not going to be able to add anything to any already complicated structure. My advisory board is quite skeptical that we can contribute anything by trying to serve as a fifth wheel.

6/15/72

The ILR School and this program will try to encourage the efforts of all agencies working to improve employment prospects of Ithaca and Tompkins County minority group members. Structurally speaking, the Affirmative Action Program in construction is already sufficiently involved and complex. We do not believe any useful purpose would be served by our direct participation in the agreement. We would be happy to consult with OSA, HIRE-MAC, the South Side Community Center and the Affirmative Action Committee at any time, try to provide useful information and or offer our good offices should mediation or conciliation be desirable. "Policing" the terms of the agreement, however is the responsibility of each of the signatories, not the least of these burdens resting on the State agency funding the covenant.

I have advised members of my board of my conclusions following a lengthy investigation and will provide copies of this letter to representatives of the Affirmative Action Committee and OSA.

Very Sincerely,



Frank B. Miller  
Professor, Industrial & Labor Relations  
Director, Program for the Study of  
Minority Employment

FBM:gw

cc: J. R. Long  
J. Bryant  
R. McKersie

# Affirmative Action Training Plan Stirs Controversy on Committee

By J.M. POGODZINSKI

An intricate patchwork of organizations and interests, responsible to different and often conflicting constituencies, forms Ithaca's response to the Philadelphia Plan and similar efforts to increase minority representation in the construction industry.

At the center of the maze is the Joint Committee on Minority Construction Employment, a body created under the "affirmative action" agreement between the South Side Community Center, the Ithaca Building Trades Council, and the Ithaca-Cortland Builders Exchange, and composed of three representatives of each of those organizations.

But the operation of Ithaca's "hometown" plan for dealing with the problem of affirmative action, which has been described by the Joint Committee's Chairman, Dr. Louis J. Long, as "more successful than any other in the state," is continued in the presence of a great deal of pulling and tugging of opposing forces.

For example, the former director of the training program, Cleveland Meyers, has charged that the minority community was "duped" into entering the affirmative action agreement.

A different point of view was held by John Cortwright, a union representative on the joint committee. "I think this affirmative action thing," he said, "is going to prove to the people who have been making all the noise that they haven't been

"We have not been successful at establishing a related training classroom program," admitted James Cortwright. He added that efforts are continuing to establish such a program through a local cooperating educational institution.

#### How Innocent

However, not all concerned view the failure of the committee to establish such a program an innocent.

as stepped on as they thought they were — in Ithaca..."

The committee's stated purpose "is to increase minority group employment in all phases of the construction industry in the Ithaca area."

To accomplish this purpose the committee developed a program to provide 400 days of on-the-job training to minority group members over the usual apprenticeable age, according to James Cortwright, the joint committee's Executive Secretary and brother of John Cortwright.

He said the program was "designed to allow them to take and pass a journeymen's test," in the particular craft for which they were training.

Cortwright said the training program provides for five trainees each in the electrical, plumbing, carpentry and masonry trades, and for two trainee painters.

#### Only Ten

However, Rev. Louis Cunningham, present director-coordinator of the training program, said Wednesday there are only ten trainees working presently. "Work in Ithaca," he explained, "has not been that great."

But the employment situation is not Cunningham's only concern. Referring to the journeymen's test, he said, "We have our misgivings about the administration of that test. There is always going to be apprehension in my mind about that test."

John Bryant, Chairman of HIRE/MAC (Human Interest Regarding Employment/Minority Action Coalition), speaking of affirmative action in Ithaca, said that the "Complex of control, the University-Contractor-Union complex, makes it impossible to get any real progress for jobs as far as minorities are concerned."

Because of the failure of the Joint Committee to provide

Cunningham's optimism about the minority trainees success on the journeymen's test were not shared by John Cortwright.

"It's an absolute impossibility," Jean Cortwright said. "It's my prediction that there isn't one of them that's going to pass it." Cortwright said an ordinary apprentice spends four or five years learning his trade, and that 400 days was not sufficient.

Another controversy has arisen over the joint committee's failure to provide related classroom instruction for the minority trainees similar to the kind of instruction that is provided by union apprenticeship programs.

Bryant said, HIRE/MAC is assisting the Ithaca Black Construction Workers Coalition (IBCWC) an independent group of minority tradesmen, in providing its own training program.

The IBCWC training program, part of the costs of which are being borne by a \$25,000 grant from the U.S. Department of Labor, presently consists of the construction of a stick-built house in Newfield, according to William Cicione, a former General Trades instructor at BOCES Board of Cooperative Educational Services who supervises the IBCWC training program.

Assisting the IBCWC project in Newfield has been the Organizing and Supportive Agency, Inc. (OSA) a non-profit corporation, which has assisted in the financial arrangements for the training program.

OSA's Executive Secretary, Chandler Morse, professor of economics, emeritus, said that his organization, in cooperation with HIRE/MAC, offered to conduct the related training for the Joint Committee, but that in negotiations with the committee's chairman, Long, and the State's representative proved fruitless.

Morse indicated that the State insisted that the OSA-HIRE/MAC group did not qualify to conduct the training because it was not recognized as an educational institution.

#### Multiskill

A unique aspect of the training provided at the Newfield site by the IBCWC is that it is "multiskill" training, according to Cicione.

Although each man specializes in a particular aspect of construction which corresponds to the traditional trade divisions of the industry, said Cicione, he also learns about the others. Thus, he said, a mason would know enough of carpentry to be able to do that if necessary.

Cicione believes that the chief value of the program is its ability to motivate the individual. "Six months ago," he observed, "these guys couldn't think of building a house. They are building it because they've gotten self-confidence from this exploratory approach."

But James Cortwright was not so sure of the multiskill approach. "You don't get to be a tradesman by being part-plumber, part-carpenter, part-mason, part-electrician. What they are giving these people does not qualify them for a specific craft."

Cortwright said that with respect to the trainees in the Joint Committees program, that the regular apprentice classes run by the unions were open to

the trainees, but that none of the trainees had availed themselves of the opportunity. "Who the hell's fault is that?" he asked.

In response, Morse indicated he believed the joint committee was governed more by considerations of public relations than in fulfilling their stated objectives. This is how he interprets their concern that any training program that is carried out is acceptable to the trade unions, he said.

#### State's Response

The reaction of state officials to the charges that the program was faltering varied. When asked whether the minority trainees would be able to pass the journeymen's test, Robert C. Eells, OJT Specialist for the New York State Department of Labor Manpower Training Unit in Binghamton, said "Well, it's going to depend on the man and depend on the particular trade."

When asked which trades would be more difficult for minority trainees to pass the journeymen's test, Eells declined comment, but later added "Well, you're talking about a very difficult, sensitive area."

Eells, when asked to if even half of those presently in the program would be able to pass the tests, again declined comment.

When asked if a review would follow upon any large scale failure of minority trainees in the present program, Eells noted "Ithaca's always been a very progressive community. The Labor Department is in no position to go up there and require anything."

"If everyone leaves it alone," he added, "I think it's going to come out all right, to everyone's surprise."

Eells said that the present policy of the Labor Department with respect to the training program was to "let nature take its course."

Edward Lange, affirmative action programs administrator for the New York State Department of Labor, said in a telephone interview, "We have been satisfied with their performance ... We believe there has been a good faith effort."

Lange said he did not know what would follow on any large scale failure of the minority trainees on the journeymen's test, but added "The state's policy with respect to affirmative action has been to assist communities in developing their own program. The affirmative action program of the state has been geared to a voluntary solution to this problem."

When asked whether he was aware of the difficulties encountered by the Joint Committee in finding a recognized educational institution, Lange said he was but that the policy did not originate from his office. He said he believed it originated from the Department of Education.

The union representatives on the joint committee exhibited a variety of attitudes on affirmative action.

#### A Necessity?

Charles Kidney, Business Agent of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterer's Local 17 said, "I don't really think it's necessary for any craft because

of the apprenticeship program. It's not done in a fair manner because they force these people on you. It's not fair to the contractor, and it's not fair to the union."

Kidney added that he catches "a lot of guff from the apprentices here," about affirmative action, especially,

he added, from apprentices out of work.

John Cortwright, the Electrical Workers representative, charged "The minority problem is more fictitious than fact. Ninety-nine per cent of these people don't want to work anyway."

However, Frank Begent, business manager of the Carpenters and Joiners Local said of affirmative action, "I think it's here to stay, I really do."

When asked whether he had received any complaints from his membership, Begent said, "You get it but it not 100 per cent. "There's always a few who have to complain."

The program is aimed exclusively at minority group persons who are over the apprenticeable age, but who have not had an opportunity to enter the construction industry, according to James Cortwright. Previous experience in the industry is also a criterion in the selection of trainees, he said.

The budget for the program over a two year period is \$112,252, according to Lange. He said the largest single item in the budget, \$70,400 is provided for compensation to contractors who took on trainees at the rate of \$8 per day per trainee.

When asked the future of the affirmative action program in Ithaca, John Cortwright of the Electrical Workers summed up his feelings in these words, "My prediction is that it will disappear..." Cortwright added that "minority has nothing to do with it. Construction is something that an awful lot of people are sticking their nose into and those that are sticking their noses in don't know a thing about it..."

AGREEMENT

Between OSA, Inc. and the Ithaca Black Construction Workers Coalition (IBCWC),  
a component of HIRE/MAC.

1. OSA, Inc., as prime contractor, undertakes on its part to build for sale a house in Newfield to be financed by a construction mortgage from the First National Bank of Ithaca. The net proceeds, if any, will be earmarked for further developmental purposes, as set forth hereafter.

2. IBCWC, as subcontractor, with the endorsement of HIRE/MAC, undertakes that its authorized members will provide the labor for the construction operations specified below, subject to payment by OSA of a total contract price of five thousand two hundred thirty-five dollars (\$5235), broken down as follows:

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| <u>Foundation work</u>                     | \$1200        |
| Footers                                    | \$180         |
| Blocks                                     | \$720         |
| Slab                                       | \$300         |
| <u>Framing and closing in</u>              | \$1200        |
| <u>Plumbing</u>                            | \$640         |
| Rough                                      | \$320         |
| Finish                                     | \$320         |
| <u>Electrical work (including heating)</u> | \$600         |
| Rough                                      | \$300         |
| Finish                                     | \$300         |
| <u>Finish carpentry</u>                    | \$500         |
| <u>Dry wall</u>                            | \$600         |
| <u>Ceramic tile</u>                        | \$160         |
| <u>Painting</u>                            | \$300         |
| <u>Excavation, etc. (see paragraph 3)</u>  | \$35          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                               | <b>\$5235</b> |

3. Excavation of the foundation, grading, trenching, preparation of the driveway, and installation of the well and septic system will be subcontracted but learning opportunities will be provided to the greatest extent possible.

4. Payment for labor performed under this contract will be by check payable to IBCWC (Newfield Account). Payments will be made following inspection and acceptance by the First National Bank of each stage of the work as called for in the Bank's "Schedule of Advances on Construction Mortgage Loans". The schedule of payments is as follows:

| <u>Advances by Bank</u>              | <u>Stage of Completion</u>   | <u>Labor Payments Due</u>       |               |
|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 30%                                  | Building enclosed, roof on,<br>(Also interior studding, exterior siding, included in 2nd stage by Bank). | <u>Foundation</u>               | \$1200        |
|                                      |  | <u>Framing</u>                  | \$1200        |
|                                      |  | <b>TOTAL</b>                    | <b>\$2400</b> |
| 30%                                  | Mechanicals roughed in.  | <u>Plumbing</u>                 | \$320         |
|                                      |  | <u>Electrical</u>               | \$300         |
|                                      |  | <b>TOTAL</b>                    | <b>\$620</b>  |
| 30%                                  | Dry wall installed, electrical, plumbing, ceiling complete; interior trim complete.                      | <u>Plumbing</u>                 | \$320         |
|                                      |  | <u>Electrical</u>               | \$300         |
|                                      |  | <u>Dry Wall</u>                 | \$600         |
|                                      |  | <u>Finish carpentry</u>         | \$500         |
|                                      |  | <b>TOTAL</b>                    | <b>\$1720</b> |
| 10%                                  | Painting and all finish work complete.   | <u>Ceramic tile</u>             | \$160         |
|                                      |  | <u>Painting</u>                 | \$300         |
|                                      |  | <u>Subcontractor assistance</u> | \$35          |
|                                      |  | <b>TOTAL</b>                    | <b>\$495</b>  |
| <b><u>TOTAL OF PAYMENTS DUE:</u></b> |  |                                 | <b>\$5235</b> |

5. Work sessions will ordinarily be held from 6:00 pm. to 9:30 pm. on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday and from 9:00 am. to 4:30 pm. on Saturday, but changes may be made in the schedule according to need.

6. Responsibilities for executing the work required for each operation are assigned as follows:

|                         | <u>Work Teams</u>  |  | <u>Helpers (laborers)<br/>(to be rotated)</u>                   |
|-------------------------|--|--|---|
|                         | <u>1st team</u>  | <u>2nd team</u>  |   |
| <u>Foundation team:</u> | R. Fields<br>C. Hughes   | W. Huston<br>M. Dickerson                                    | 2 per session   |
| <u>Framing team:</u>    | J. Washington<br>O. Cooper<br>M. Britt<br>R. Sanders<br>P. Smith | A. Ellis<br>J. Sanders<br>J. McGowan<br>D. Grimes<br>R. Best | 2 per session plus<br>2 additional during<br>roofing operation. |
| <u>Plumbing team:</u>   | M. Richardson<br>G. Butler<br>M. Scott                           |  | None  |

|   |  |  |      |
|---|--|--|------|
| <u>Electrical team:</u>   | M. Richardson<br>S. Lee                              | L. Roseman                                       | None |
| <u>Dry Wall team:</u>   | J. Washington<br>O. Cooper<br>M. Britt<br>J. McGowan | R. Sanders<br>P. Smith<br>A. Ellis               | None |
| <u>Finish carpentry team:</u>   | J. Washington<br>O. Cooper<br>M. Britt               | R. Sanders<br>P. Smith<br>A. Ellis<br>J. McGowan | None |
| <u>Ceramic tile team:</u>   | D. Fields  | C. Hughes<br>M. Dickerson                        | None |
| <u>Painting team:</u>   | G. Brown<br>S. Lee                                   | R. Best  | None |
| <u>Subcontract assistance team:</u> (excavation, septic system, well, driveway, grading). | J. Sanders<br>R. Best                                | M. Richardson<br>G. Butler                       | None |

7. The first half hour, more or less, of each work session, will be devoted to job instruction (training) related directly to the work to be done. Job instruction may also be scheduled at other times as needed by work teams or individuals. There will be no compensation for job instruction or for other time not recorded as work time by the Clerk of the Works.

8. When men are not serving on work teams they will be expected to be present as observer-trainees. An appropriate trainer will be present to explain what is being done, to discuss technical problems, and to provide an opportunity for practice work if possible.

9. The excess of the net proceeds of the sale of the house over its full cost will be divided among OSA, Inc., IBCWC and HIRE/MAC as follows:

|           |     |
|-----------|-----|
| OSA, Inc. | 50% |
| IBCWC     | 30% |
| HIRE/MAC  | 20% |

It is understood that these funds may be used by the several organizations only for such charitable and public purposes as are legal for OSA, Inc. and that, more explicitly, they may not be transferred to private persons or employed in ways which will constitute indirect transfer for private benefit.

Accepted for OSA, Inc.:

William Whyte, Chairman

Date 6/21/72

Chandler Morse, Exec. Vice-Pres. & Sec.

Date 6/21/72

Accepted for IBCWC:

David Richardson, Chairman

Date 6/22/72

George Butler, Co-Chairman

Date 6/22/72

Forsement by HIRE/MAC: John Bryant, Chairman/Director

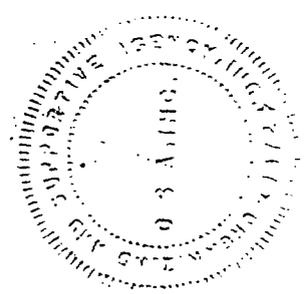
Date 7/7/72

FIRST NATIONAL BANK AND TRUST COMPANY OF ITHACA

SCHEDULE OF ADVANCES ON CONSTRUCTION MORTGAGE LOANS

| <u>ADVANCES</u> | <u>STAGES OF COMPLETION</u>  |
|-----------------|--|
| 30 %            | Building enclosed, roof on.  |
| 30 %            | Mechanicals roughed in, interior walls formed, exterior siding on.   |
| 30 %            | Walls plastered or dry-wall installed, electrical, plumbing, heating complete, and interior trim complete. |
| 10 %            | Painting and all finish work complete.   |

The construction mortgage loan advances will be made only after inspection by the First National Bank & Trust Company of Ithaca and satisfactory completion according to the above schedule.



June 21, 1972

Mr. David Richardson  
 Chairman of the Ithaca Black Construction Workers Coalition  
 305 S. Plain Street  
 Ithaca, New York 14850

Dear Dave,

As I agreed to do at the meeting on June 12th, I am writing to deal with some of the questions which were raised concerning the proposed contract between OSA, Inc. and IBCWC, a component of HIRE/MAC, and also to deal with certain additional points.

1. The bonus provided for in the agreement with Bill Cicione is part of the cost of construction and, like all other costs, will be deducted from the selling price of the house in order to determine the amount of surplus to be divided among OSA, IBCWC and HIRE/MAC. This means that each organization will contribute to the bonus in proportion to its share in the surplus. Suppose, for example, that the house costs \$18,000 to build and that it sells for \$21,200. The surplus would then be \$3200 without Bill's bonus of \$300, and \$2900 with the bonus. The effects of the bonus on the shares of our three organizations would then be as follows:

|                | <u>Surplus to be divided</u><br><u>without a bonus</u> | <u>with a bonus</u> | <u>Contribution to bonus</u> |
|----------------|--|---------------------|------------------------------|
| OSA (50%)      | \$1600   | \$1450              | \$150                        |
| IBCWC (30%)    | \$960  | \$870               | \$90                         |
| HIRE/MAC (20%) | \$640  | \$580               | \$60                         |
| Total          | \$3200   | \$2900              | \$300                        |

The share of the bonus contributed by each organization is thus the same as its share in the surplus. The higher the price of the house the larger the bonus, but we all will get a larger surplus, too. If the house sold for \$23,250, for example, the bonus would increase to \$450, but the surplus to be divided after paying the bonus would increase by \$1900 to a total of \$4800.

2. It is understood and agreed that IBCWC may name one or more men to work with the Clerk of the Works as a kind of apprentice for the purpose of learning the job ( which is usually handled by the prime contractor himself on small jobs ). Since this will be a training activity the apprentice(s) will not be paid for the time spent in this capacity.

3. Since the price at which the house is to be sold is of concern to all three cooperating organizations, it is only reasonable that they all should have a voice in this matter. OSA therefore agreed that the decision concerning price shall be made jointly, as you suggested, by yourself, John Bryant, Bill Cicione and myself, it being understood that each of us will consult our organization before attempting to reach a decision.

4. It is further understood that there will be a full accounting of all costs and debts, and that these accounts be open for inspection by the chief executive officer of each of the three cooperating organizations, before there shall be any distribution of the surplus.

5. In order that there be no misunderstanding, the term "costs" is intended to include the following, as well as other legitimate out-of-pocket expenses which may be necessary to complete the house:

- (1) Labor costs, as under the contract with IBCWC and HIRE/MAC.
- (2) Equipment rental costs.
- (3) Materials costs.
- (4) Bill Cicione's fee of \$1000.
- (5) Bill Cicione's bonus.
- (6) Inspection fees for trainers in masonry, carpentry, plumbing, electrical.
- (7) Subcontractor charges for excavation, well, septic field and other jobs as needed.
- (8) Cost of the lot and its improvement.
- (9) Legal fees and other costs, if any, incurred in connection with the purchase of the lot.
- (10) Bank charges as specified in R.J. Morris' letter of June 2nd.
- (11) Interest on the mortgage (and on other borrowing, if any), until the house is sold.

6. It is understood that, subject to inspection by HIRE/MAC, payroll records will be maintained and other tasks will be performed by Mr. Cunningham and Miss Vannoy, but that this is done by them as a service to IBCWC and implies no involvement or participation by either the Affirmative Action Program, the Southside Center, or any other outside group.

Yours Sincerely,



Chandler Morse  
Executive Vice-President and Secretary of OSA, Inc.

Approved: W F Whyte 6/21/72

CM:ec

IBCWC  
305 South Plain Street  
Ithaca, New York 14850

October 30, 1972

OSA, Inc.  
Mr. Chandler Morse  
Ellis Hollow Creek Road  
Ithaca, New York 14850

Re: Agreement between OSA, Inc., IBCWC,  
a component of HIRE-MAC, involving  
the Newfield House

Dear Mr. Morse:

We, the members of the Ithaca Black Construction Workers  
Coalition, have decided to allow OSA, Inc., to defer payment of the  
first bank draw until we need it or not later than the third bank draw  
whichever occurs first.

Respectfully yours,

  
Levi Boseman  
Chairman

LB:av

AGREEMENT

Between (1) OSA, Inc. and (2) William Cicione

1. OSA as prime contractor agrees to employ William Cicione as General Supervisor of Construction on the house it plans to build in Newfield with First National Bank of Ithaca financing. As General Supervisor, Cicione undertakes to:

- a. Organize, schedule, supervise, inspect, and certify as satisfactorily completed all work on and connected with the house.
- b. Personally guarantee the final completion of the house in a manner satisfactory to the Bank if circumstances (other than acts of God) should prevent completion of the house as a combined training and income-creating enterprise.

2. Compensation for performing the functions and accepting the responsibilities specified in paragraph 1(a) shall be as follows:

- a. A fixed stipend of \$1000 payable in two installments of \$300 each at completion of the first and second stages of construction as outlined in the Bank's "Schedule of Advances", and one installment of \$400 payable on completion of the third stage.
- b. A bonus which shall vary with the net sale proceeds of the house, as follows:

| <u>Net Sale Proceeds</u>                      | <u>Bonus</u> |
|---|--------------|
| More than \$18,000 but not more than \$19,500 | \$150        |
| More than \$19,500 but not more than \$21,500 | \$300        |
| More than \$21,500 but not more than \$23,500 | \$450        |
| More than \$23,500 but not more than \$25,500 | \$600        |
| More than \$25,500                            | \$700        |

3. In the event that it becomes necessary for Cicione to make good on the guarantee specified in paragraph 1(b) the terms of compensation set forth in paragraph 2 will become subject to renegotiation, the intention being to arrive at a fair settlement based on the amount and nature of the work which fulfillment of the guarantee may require.

4. OSA (JMDP) further agrees to employ Cicione as the trainer for all carpentry work on the house except for such finish carpentry as may be handled by William Danielson. In this capacity his duties and compensation shall be governed by the terms of the agreement entered into between OSA (JMDP) and the training staff.

Signed for OSA, Inc.: Chamber Moore 6/1/72

Signed by William Cicione: William Cicione E.V.P.

Date: June 1st 1972

Witnessed by William Danielson, OSA Treasurer 6/8/72