Multiple Career Pathways: 
Emerging Context for 
Workforce Development 
Policy

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-- Work in progress. Motivation – make sense of explosion in activity around workforce development in last two years – most I have seen in my 30 years observing developments in employment and training community.

Advantage of being at AFL-CIO – see a huge amount of information come through my office. Try to make sense out of it. Often times the Federation gets directly involved in it.

-- My hunch is that there is a historic change or transformation going on. Large economic and demographic forces have revealed the weaknesses of a certain mentality that has been dominant over several generations. Those changes relate both to education policy and federal workforce policy and practices and legislation.

-- Here is my central argument. Note – I am calling this “four year college for all” mentality – not the broader “college for all.” So I am pointing to four-year, baccalaureate institutions – not two year colleges like community colleges. One of the goals here – young people and students and parents need more choices, and greater information and counseling to make wise choices. To get good jobs, people will generally need some post-secondary education.

-- Identifying large social trends is a tricky business – it is contested and controversial and lends itself to broad generalizations that often are not accurate. My approach is to examine what is going on with organizations and institutions at all levels. Look at their policies. Look at their practices – and how they are expending their resources and money. Draw conclusions when there is a preponderance of evidence.
GI Bill. History goes back to the GI Bill of Rights. Passed in 1944. Tremendous benefit to veterans returning from World War II. At the height of GI Bill in 1947, one-half of college admissions were veterans. If you look at the analysis of its effect, some argue that the post-war economic growth boom was actually caused by the legislation.

-- It subsidized the education of nearly 8 million veterans. I recall that my dad finished high school through the GI Bill. That 8 million was 10 times what the authors expected.

-- It also contributed to the expectation of other groups in American society that they should receive support in education.
Number doubled. GI Bill led to a doubling of the number of college students in the 1940s. That increase continued in the 1950s. Education benefits were extended to Korean war veterans.

Subsidies for higher education then became national defense policy – to protect the national against Communism. The Russians launched Sputnik in 1957. And in 1958 the Congress passed the National Defense Education Act – loans to college students with special abilities.

Baby Boomers started to flood colleges in the 1960s.

Then President Johnson’s War on Poverty pushed federal subsidies toward an expectation of four year college for all. In 1965 Congress passed the Higher Education Act.

This trend culminated in 1972 with the passage of Pell Grants for low-income students. The number of low-income students receiving Pell Grants went from 176,000 in 1973-74 ... to 3.4 million in 2007-2008.

What resulted was the mass production of education – guided by the idea that government is obligated to make higher education available to every individual. Higher education became an expectation for almost everyone – certainly the Baby Boomer parents who experienced the wave of entry into college in the 1960s.
So if millions of college students were graduating in the 1960s and 1970s, was the labor market flooded with graduates who could not get jobs? This chart indicates that the early wave of college students came at the same time as professional and technical occupations were growing rapidly. So those graduates were absorbed into the workforce.

Remember, this was also the time when productivity was increasing and wages were keeping up with productivity. This was the golden age of American expansion and dominance after World War II – until the late 1970s. Globalization kicked in. Multinational corporations began their policies of outsourcing. Manufacturing jobs began to decline in number.

And the percentage of Americans in the labor force with college degrees continued to grow at a rapid pace – faster than the available places in professional and technical careers. That started in 1980s and the gap widened in the subsequent decades.

Higher education has become a big business. Since then higher education has become a huge sector of the economy. More than 7,000 institutions. Books have been written about the “corporatization” of higher education. Colleges have adopted more of the practices of other big business. Huge salaries to chief executives – in this case college presidents. The use of a casual and precarious workforce – namely part-time instructors. I am one of them, teaching Sociology at George Washington University once a year.

-- Huge number of undergraduate and graduate students in 2011-2012.

-- The revenues of colleges and university exceed one-half trillion dollars. The education market is enormous and many entrepreneurs are working to figure out how to drain some of those revenues to their own projects, including for-profit schools and online courses.

-- And I would argue that colleges and university are NOT job-driven institutions that respond to the actual labor market. They sell their services. Virginia Hamilton of USDOL has quipped that it is a faith-based system: I pray that she graduates and pray that she gets a job. Many colleges are held in very high regard in society. They do not have to report their performance in terms of how many of their graduates obtain jobs in their chosen fields.
So this is a chart showing the flow of students under the Four Year College for All Mentality. Greatly simplified, of course. This is from a report by the President’s Council of Advisors on Science and Technology. It was drawn with CTE in mind – but I think it applies to the larger system I am talking about.

Students go from Kindergarten through middle school and high school, hopefully graduating and then making a decision: Look for a job and go into the active workforce … or continue into a four year college or university and entering the workforce after that. This is the traditional model.
-- What are the implications of this model or mentality? First, it has become conventional wisdom that you need to get a four year college degree to get a good job and make the sort of wages that will get you into the middle class. That has become the common sense assumption – promoted in a myriad of ways throughout American society and culture.

-- Many parents expect their children to go to college. Their neighbors in middle-class neighborhoods expect the same.

-- These expectations constrain the work of career counselors, especially in high school. They are expected to direct successful students into college. Research has found that they generally do not counsel low-performing students in high school about the difficulties of college. And if they tried to encourage students to consider another path, they would be challenged by parents.

-- Surveys have also shown that the vast majority of high school students expect to go to college – thus acting in accord with expectations of parents and their peers and counselors and American culture in general.

-- I believe that community colleges do not receive the same level of respect as four-year institutions – though I’m still looking for evidence of that. Let me know what you think.

-- And finally, jobs that do not require a four-year degree are often associated with being dirty, dangerous and dead-end. Graduating from a four-year college is supposed to be a way to avoid those jobs.
Again, my sense is that this model or mentality or paradigm has broken down. And this huge amount of activity we see around workforce development ... and overcoming the so-called skills gap ... and providing more skill training services ... is a result of an alternative model that is gaining steam and challenging the traditional model. Of course, that alternative has been there for many years – most notably in the registered apprenticeship system as it has developed since the 1930s. But now that alternative is gaining steam. The efficacy of the traditional mentality had declined. It is not resulting in what people say that we need: a skilled and capable workforce.

My hunch about what brought this on is the beginning of the retirement of the Baby Boomers. In 2008, the first Baby Boomers reached early retirement age of 62. Many of them are highly educated and skilled workers. Many employers were unprepared. And the problem is going to get worse – rapidly. Every day, 10,000 Baby Boomers reach retirement age. 40 million Baby Boomers will retire between 2010 and 2030. By 2025, members of the Millennial generation will make up 75 percent of the U.S. workforce.

70 percent of the job openings will require a high school degree or less. But there is still that 30 percent that will require some college education, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The Baby Boomers are leaving ... and when employers look behind them, there is not a viable pipeline of skilled workers to take their place. Employers are reluctant to offer higher wages. And they are often not willing to hire people full time.

I would argue that the reason for this is that employers eliminated their job training practices for frontline workers – but the data here is hard to come by. Government data from the mid-2000 shows that most training dollars went to professional and managerial employees. A recent Georgetown University study found that employers spend about 83 percent of their formal training dollars on workers with a Bachelor’s degree or higher, or persons with some college. Only 17 percent goes to workers with a high school education or less. This is an area that needs a lot more work and investigation.

What we can pinpoint is the ways in which the four year college for all mentality has been exposed as being weak and, in many ways, dysfunctional.
The weakness of this mentality is exposed, first, by the well-documented rate of dropouts—or attrition—from college. This has reached a crisis level, I think.

-- Research shows that almost all high school graduates can enter college. Many do gain entry—partly because of open admissions policy at community colleges. One survey found that 99 percent of high school grades planned to attend college. So what happened when they got there?

-- If you look at the Fall 2008 cohort—those who entered before the Great Recession—only 55 percent earned a degree in six years. This finding is from the Harvard Graduate School of Education report. Other analysis has found that the graduation rate is even lower.

-- That reflects the rate for four-year institutions. The dropout—failure—rate of community colleges is much lower, more around 25-30 percent.

-- Research has shown that part of the problem is that low performing students in high school are not informed about the rigors of college. They are not prepared—even though they think that they are. They get to college and find that they have to take remedial courses—for no credit. Not surprisingly, many become frustrated and drop out. Clearly, the traditional system is not working for many students.
Another factor is rising college tuition. These increases have become widespread public knowledge. The chart here shows that college tuition and fees have increased nearly eight times since 1982.

-- The situation became particularly bad during the Great Recession. States cut education funding 23 percent per student. Since the end of the recession, some of those state subsidies are coming back in state budgets. But for 46 out of 50 states, the contribution is still below pre-recession levels, according to research reports.

-- Tuition was up 26 percent overall during the recession.

-- More costs were shifted onto students.

-- I would ask: Is this model of students paying these costs sustainable over the long-term?
What we have seen is a tremendous increase in student debt – now more than $1.2 trillion dollars.

-- This chart shows that student loan debt is now the largest source of household debt ... consumer, non-mortgage debt.

Take a look at this chart, whose time frame is 2004 to 2014, ten years. There are four kinds of debt here: student loan, auto loan, credit card and HELOC (home equity loans.) In 2004, the balance of student debt was the lowest of the four, at $300 billion. It has increased steadily since then – continuing right through the Great Recession, in which many went to college thinking that it would be their ticket to career success and high wages. Auto loans went down during the recession and have perked back up as people have started to buy cars again. Both credit card and HELOC debt have dropped since peaking around the beginning of the recession in 2008. Student loan debt increased over this ten years and continues to go up.
The student loan debt burden here is staggering. Again, we have seen a steady increase from $300 billion to more than $1.2 trillion over ten years.

-- 1.8 million persons owe more than $100,000.

-- Two-thirds of college grads had about $25,000 of debt in 2010.

-- Given the dropout rate from college, you can imagine that many have student loan debt and no degree.

-- The result is a drag on the economy. Research shows that student loan debt is keeping many young people from becoming homeowners. It may be delaying the process of starting a family. Those with student debt generally have lower credit scores. One survey found that 40 percent of recent college grads has delayed a major purchase because of their student debt.
Another phenomenon we hear a lot about in the media: college grads that are UNDER-employed.

Too often, I think, our individualistic culture blames the young person – oh, he or she graduated in English Literature, so it’s their fault that they can’t find a job in their field of study. In fact, this is a result of much larger systemic problems – rooted in the four-year-college-for-all mentality.

-- The reality is that a lot of college grads are underemployed. One survey found that 46 percent reported themselves are being underemployed.

-- A definitive study by the Federal Reserve Bank of NY found that 56 percent of 22 year old college grads were underemployed. That was during the recession, but still there is something seriously wrong about that situation.
Here is specifically what the New York Fed had to say.

-- So they compare the recent rate of underemployment to the early 2000s and conclude that it has been getting more difficult to find a job that uses their degrees. And they find that one in three graduates hold a job that does not require a degree. The system is failing the graduates who are in this situation – and remember, many of them are in debt of tens of thousands of dollars.

To me, this is the most persuasive chart. This is from a February 2015 report by the Economic Policy Institute on long-term wage stagnation. Wages have stagnated across the U.S. economy since 1979.

The four-year-college-for-all narrative would have you believe that if you get that degree, you will do OK. But the figures do not bear that out – recently – and on a cumulative basis.

This chart goes from 2007 to 2014 – before the recession to afterwards. The top red line are graduates with advanced degrees, Masters and PhDs. Their cumulative change in real hourly wages stayed the same. Among colleges grads – the orange line – they had a 2 percent drop in their wages. And it goes down from there for persons with other levels of education. It is clear that, in recent years, in good times and bad, persons with a higher level of education did not make more money overall.


These studies and surveys paint an overall picture of a system that has failed young people. These findings have given momentum to an alternative perspective ...
The alternative is what I call “Multiple Career Pathways.” You will see variations of this in policy reports and journalistic accounts.

President Obama said it well in 2009, in his first State of the Union address:

“... tonight, I ask every American to commit to at least one year or more of higher education or career training. This can be community college or a four-year school; vocational training or an apprenticeship. But whatever the training may be, every American will need to get more than a high school diploma.”

Note that he extolls both four- and two-year colleges, and points to both vocational education and training, and training for a career or getting an apprenticeship.
Remember the simple four-year-college-for-all flow? Here is what the alternative looks like. It is more complex and provides more choices for students. There are more different paths.

A student starts out in the K-12 system, leading to high school graduation. If a student wishes to receive a certificate or specialized training, he or she decides whether to obtain a 2-year degree, in which case they go a two-year school, such as a community college and then into the workforce. For a certificate or job-specific training, they go into apprenticeship or company based training. If they wish to pursue a bachelor’s degree, they go into a four-year college. The diagram also depicts a blue line that goes from a community college education into the four-year degree route.

This diagram is from the PCAST report cited earlier.
The intellectual foundation for the multiple career pathways framework has been set by a number of notable reports, pictured here.

-- First is **Learning For Jobs** from the OECD in 2010. This is very comprehensive report, based on comparative data, which argues that Vocational Education and Training (VET) must include soft skills and competencies that prepare youth for post-secondary education and lifelong learning. It also calls for greater attention to career guidance, which should be upgraded into a profession.

-- Second is **Pathways to Prosperity** by the Harvard Graduate School of Education from 2011. This shows that four-year-college-for-all seems “doomed to fail.” It praises work-based learning as “the best way for the majority of young people to prepare for the world of work.” This report drew from the earlier OECD research and has been very influential in affecting policy and practice at the state level.

-- The next report is **Let’s Get Serious about Our Nation’s Human Capital**, from 2012. A lot of good work in this area has been done by the Center for American Progress (CAP), and this is one of a series of reports on the general subject of vocational training. It is directed at adult training and the federal workforce system. It calls for a hybrid system that combines postsecondary education with a labor market focus on workforce training.

-- Next is **Five Ways that Pay along the Way to the B.A.** This was published by Georgetown University in 2012 and written by Anthony Carnevale as the lead author. It is especially remarkable because Carnevale and Georgetown have been the major academic proponents of the four-year-college-for-all perspective. Here they acknowledge the value of CTE and the five ways: employer-based training; certifications; apprenticeship; postsecondary certificates; and associate degrees. The report finds that $524 billion is spent annually on these five pathways.

-- The fifth report is **Creating Pathways to Prosperity**, the final report from 2014 by the Graduate School of Education at Harvard. This is a follow-up to the earlier report. It summarizes a conference that has held and essentially kicked off a pathways to prosperity movement that is developing in states. Geri Scott may talk more about that, because they are working with Jobs for the Future…. All of these reports are worthwhile. If you read them, you will have a solid understanding of the background to the multiple career pathways framework.
2. Federal Government Policy Leadership

- $2 billion in federal grants to community colleges
- American Apprenticeship Initiative: $100 million in grants
- *Job-Driven Training* framework for federal programs
- WIOA: Integration into system ... sector partnerships ... career pathways ... work-based training ... workplace learning advisors

Support for this framework is evident in federal government workforce policy.

-- $2 billion has been pumped into community colleges through the TAACCCT grant program. Community colleges are part of the multiple career pathways system – but certainly not the only path.

-- A $90 million competition for grants from the American Apprenticeship Initiative has been active. The administration has promoted this $90 million as being tied to several initiatives, include Upskilling. The Office of Apprenticeship at USDOL also is being revitalized.

-- The Job Driven Training report, from July 2014, is a remarkable document – a guide to coordinating a vast array of programs according to unified principles.

-- And finally is the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act, the WIOA, which reflects the framework in a number of its aspects, notably in industry sector partnerships, a focus on career pathways, the use of work-based training, and the ability of workforce boards to use their federal funds to train workplace learning advisors.
Multiple career pathways approach also is being advanced by Foundation initiatives.

-- The three listed here are recent initiatives, ones that I am aware of and that involve unions, the AFL-CIO, and joint skill training partnerships. There are others that started before 2013 that have made a contribution, notably the National Fund for Workforce Solutions, a coalition of a number of foundations.

-- Since at least 2013, the Joyce Foundation has been devoting resources to promoting career pathways. They have funded union-management partnerships in health care and The Business Roundtable.

-- The Markle Foundation has a $50 million initiative to match low- and middle-skill workers to training and good jobs. Liz Shuler sits on the advisory board of the Rework America project. Their vision includes: “Americans have a multitude of ways to improve their skills throughout their lives.”

-- The Lumina Foundation is launching a national conversation on credentialing. It will include consultation with the constituencies of more than 30 organizations, including business groups and unions. Initial co-sponsors of the conversation include the AFL-CIO, the AFT, and North America’s Building Trades Unions.
Next are civil society organizations. This category includes new groups founded by social entrepreneurs, showing the great diversity and innovation that is associated with building out the multiple career pathways approach.

-- United Way is a huge entity, spread across the country, with substantial resources. Workforce development is part of their policy agenda. The AFL-CIO conducted a webinar for the United Way Community Services liaisons on the WIOA. Other training sessions will be held during 2015.

-- The Hope Street Group is a small non-profit that has assembled leaders and innovators – especially high tech entrepreneurs – to develop connections for a New American Skills system, that is intended to produce a more efficient Job Matching marketplace. They are looking to standardize the terminology employers use to name their jobs – and validate the actual competencies required for those jobs. The AFL-CIO is involved in their deliberations.

-- Bill Symonds was the chief author of Harvard’s Pathways to Prosperity report. He is forming a new organization, the Global Pathways Institute, to help build a pathways movement by bringing together employers and industry.

-- Bob Lerman is a professor at American University and researcher at the Urban Institute. His new organization seeks to make apprenticeship learning central to the US skill development system. He is highlighting innovative apprenticeship programs.

**4. Civil Society Organizations**

- **United Way Worldwide**: Workforce development as part of policy agenda
- **Hope Street Group**: New American Skills System & competency-based career path
- **Bill Symonds' Global Pathways Institute**: Create world-class pathways system through industry-education collaboration
- **Bob Lerman's American Institute for Innovative Apprenticeship**: Integrate apprenticeship learning into U.S. skill development system
There are many examples of business and union commitment to programs and activities that advance the Multiple Career Pathways framework.

-- A National Network of Business and Industry Associations has been established. There are no unions here and the organization includes the non-union sector of the building and construction industry. It is expanding awareness of work and learning pathways by considering a national communications campaign on competency-based education. Their competency-based apprenticeship model includes the creation of a “progressive wage schedule” for apprentices and the formation of Apprenticeship Advisory Committees in the workplace, which has the potential to reflect workers’ voice in the design and implementation process. Their overall strategy is to create a blueprint for students and employees to go from learning opportunities to good jobs.

-- The Manufacturing Institute of the National Association of Manufacturers has long promoted a skill certification system.

-- IBM has offered a national plan to expand CTE. They work with the AFT in NYC on a CTE school called P-TECH.

-- The Manufacturing Renaissance Council is a high-road partnership to rebuild manufacturing through collaboration between the labor movement, manufacturers, government, CBOs, and educators. It operates a small CTE school, Austin Polytechnical Academy, in Chicago that involves some 55 manufacturing employers. A national organization was formed in 2010 to replicate the Chicago experience in Detroit and other cities.

-- Of course, there is the existing system of joint registered apprenticeship programs in the building and construction trades. This system offers the highest quality skill training in the trades and is a job-driven system that is responsive to local labor market conditions. It includes more than 1,620 training facilities in the US and Canada. Every year the building trades unions and signatory contractors invest more than $1 billion in apprenticeship and journey-level training. This system is now engaged in the formation of numerous apprenticeship readiness programs across the country, in coordination with building trades councils, many of which use the Multi-Craft Core curriculum to introduce young people to the construction occupations.
The American Federation of Teachers has been deeply involved with Career and Technical Education for many years. The union represents CTE teachers. It advocates for greater resources to flow to CTE programs nationwide. And it has developed alliances with business and community organizations to improve CTE programs. AFT President Randi Weingarten is cognizant of the cracks in the four-year-college-for-all mentality and recognizes a “resurgence of interest” in rigorous CTE. Their special issue the American Educator journal (Fall 2014) reflects the union’s commitment to the multiple career pathways framework.

-- The AFT represents teachers in a network of 45 CTE schools in NYC which served more than 26,000 students in 2012. Five additional schools are scheduled to open in 2014. Performance in these CTE schools has exceeded other schools in NYC, with 70 percent of their students graduating. Public information shows that 35 percent of the graduates in the 2010 cohort also passed a technical assessment recognized by industry.

-- Another CTE school, the Toledo Technology Academy, is governed by a tripartite board of education, business and labor representatives, including two teachers from the Toledo Federation of Teachers. It is a career tech prep school that provides high level Academics and Engineering Science Technology to students preparing for college and the workplace. The TTA has about 170 students across four grade levels.

-- The Connecticut Technical High Schools System is a statewide network of 17 degree-granting technical high schools that serves 11,000 students in 38 occupational areas and more than 5,500 adults in apprenticeship and other programs. Fifty percent of their students go on to apprenticeship, employment or the military. Graduates of the CTHSS spoke about their experiences at the November 2014 CTE/Workforce Development Summit in Washington, DC.
6. CTE/Workforce Development Summit

- AFL-CIO and AFT jointly sponsored
- Labor: AFL-CIO officers, Building Trades, AFT President Randi Weingarten and IAM President Tom Buffenbarger
- Business: United Technologies, AT&T, Oracle, Adobe, Business Roundtable, Snap-on Tools
- Joint labor and business commitment to promote high-quality CTE system and multiple career pathways

-- That summit was jointly sponsored by the AFL-CIO at the AFT.

-- Labor leaders addressing the summit included top AFL-CIO officers, Federation President Richard Trumka and Secretary-Treasurer Liz Shuler, and North America’s Building Trades Unions President Sean McGarvey. AFT President Randi Weingarten voiced her support for Career and Technical Education schools. On the manufacturing side, International Association of Machinists (IAM) President Tom Buffenbarger talked about the importance of the apprenticeship system.

-- Business leaders appeared, including executives from United Technologies, AT&T, Oracle, Adobe Systems, the Business Roundtable. Snap-on Tools Chairman and CEO Nick Pinchuk argued that “the seminal issue of our day is the upskilling of the American workforce and the promotion of career and technical education.”

-- That summit demonstrated the growing support among business, labor and government leaders for the Multiple Career Pathways approach.
Nick Pinchuk of Snap-on Tools is probably the leading business advocate for career and technical education. He delayed his appearance at another event in order to speak at the summit and meet with labor leaders there.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-6TbzuP0JfQ
What are some of the next steps coming out of that summit?

-- Expanding the apprenticeship approach to other occupations and other industries holds great promise. We need to do that in a way that maintains quality of training and prepares young people with broad skills and careers.

-- The WIOA needs to be implemented in a manner that provides training for jobs with career pathways and builds industry sector partnerships that incorporate the voice of workers.

-- Unions are involved in a wide range of joint skill training partnerships, in multiple industries, that are little known and recognized. We will be working to identify those specific partnerships and document the good work they are doing.

-- It is widely understood that the career counseling and guidance function is underdeveloped and tends to push high school graduates into a four year college, without providing information on alternative routes to a good job. That needs to change.

-- The network that emerged from Harvard’s Pathways to Prosperity report and conference needs to be strengthened and extended to more states.