Future Workforce Development in Maine: The effects of sudden demographic, socioeconomic, and labor market change

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Future workforce development in Maine: The effects of sudden demographic, socioeconomic, and labor market change

Prepared by Paul L. Young
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Summary

The underpinnings of what is broadly called workforce development have not changed since the late 19th Century. They are still concepts primarily concerned with optimizing workers for maximal output, while attempting to instruct business owners and managers in their workplace responsibilities – responsibilities to both their organizations and their workers. Today the term ‘workforce development’ particularly addresses access and barriers to employment and necessary supports; comprising aspects of demographic shift, ethnicity, income/wealth inequality and poverty, education and training, globalization and automation, immigration, housing, social services, primary/mental healthcare and physical/mental disability, substance use, and aging. The term has come to represent a set of widely varying technical prescriptions for the nation’s numerous economic, social, and educational ills.

In Maine, such ailments are made more acute by a shrinking population that is the oldest and most racially homogeneous in the U. S., and by dramatic shifts in the state’s traditional economy, which has been based on exploiting its natural resources. Mill industries for pulp, paper, textiles, and shoe manufacturing, small-boat fishing, working waterfront, and seafood processing have disappeared, along with prime-age men and women to work them; replaced by a dominant services sector populated largely by unskilled, low-wage labor. Thus, workforce development in Maine also represents a vital component of state and community economic development, in traditional manufacturing and growing service industries, and the onrushing knowledge economy. This paper attempts to contextualize workforce development historically and to define what Maine’s diverse human capital requires in order to be successful in a knowledge economy. It also attempts to suggest paths to Maine’s future prosperity through targeted workforce development that does not rely on prime-working-age individuals,

Introduction

On May 8, 2017, consulting economist Charles Lawton presented his findings on Maine’s labor force to the Maine legislature’s Task Force on Maine’s 21st Century Economy and Workforce. Findings included the loss of 36,500 workers ages 25 to 64 and the addition of 26,500 workers ages 65 and older between 2014 and 2024. Lawton forecast another 4,700
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workers ages 16 to 24 added to Maine’s workforce in the same period.\(^1\) Lawton’s findings reinforce those of a 2016 White House report on the decline of prime-working-age males 25-54 in the U. S. labor force. Prime-age male labor force participation has declined steadily from its peak of 98 percent in 1954 to 82 percent in 2017,\(^2\) primarily among men with a high school diploma or less. Between 2001 and 2017 male labor force participation fell five percentage points, representing 30,000 prime-age men lost to the economy. Among the 34 member states of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development at the time of the study (now 36), the United States had the third lowest participation rate for prime-age males.\(^3\) Maine’s prime-age male labor force participation has conformed to this national trend.

In 1970, 99 percent of males with a high school diploma were employed in Maine. About 96 percent of men with more than a high school education were employed, along with 90 percent of those with no diploma. By the period 2010-2014, labor force participation of men who were high school graduates had dropped to 82 percent. Men with more than a high school education were better off; 92 percent of them were employed. Only 60 percent of men with no diploma were employed.\(^4\) In that 40-year period, Maine’s population had risen by 300,000 to 1.3 million and had become the second oldest in the country; a combination of in-migration, immigration, and generational succession. With an average age of 44.7 years and ethnicity 93.3 percent non-Hispanic white (down from 96.5 percent in 2000), Maine is now the oldest, whitest state in the nation. Total population grew by 0.6 percent between 2010 and 2016, when 14 of 16 counties reported more deaths than births. International and domestic migration are driving positive population change, which in 2017 counted 5,675 new Maine residents, including immigrants, refugees, and asylees.\(^5\) Because of Maine’s low birth rate and aging population, the labor force will include more than 100,000 people 65 and older between 2016 and 2026.

Total non-farm employment hit a record high in 2017, with 622,700 employed. Since 1990 the health services/education sector has nearly doubled, from 70,000 persons to 125,000 in 2016. In the same period, Maine’s manufacturing sector was reduced by nearly 50 percent, from 95,000

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\(^1\) Charles Lawton presentation to the Task Force on Maine’s 21\(^{st}\) Century Economy and Workforce. 8 May 2017. Augusta ME.


\(^3\) The Long-Term Decline in Prime-Age Male Labor Force Participation. (June 2016). Executive Office of the President of the United States.

\(^4\) Lawton, op. cit.

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persons to 50,000. In 1990, 38,000 people were employed in the professional/business services sector; that population rose to 65,000 by 2016. As a percentage of state GDP, financial services accounts for nearly a quarter, followed by trade, transportation and utilities at about 21 percent, and health services/education at 15 percent.6

Globalization and automation as factors in labor force participation

One in four Maine jobs – or 180,500 – is related to trade, according to Maine International Trade Center. Since 2009, jobs related to trade increased by 26 percent, while international container shipments from Maine increased 600 percent in the same period. Economic historian Kevin O’Rourke (2018) has defined globalization as “the integration of international markets for commodities, labor, and capital…[i. e.,] reductions in the costs of doing business internationally – of moving goods, people, or capital between countries or continents.”7 Citing research by Autor, Dorn, and Hanson (2013), O’Rourke suggests their work shows “that U. S. regions which were more heavily exposed to rising Chinese import competition between 1990 and 2007 experienced higher unemployment, lower labor participation, and lower wages.”8 Globalization, writes O’Rourke, can be linked “to both economic outcomes and political change.”9 Autor et al. write:

“In 1991, low-income countries accounted for just 9 percent of U. S. manufacturing imports. However, owing largely to China’s spectacular economic growth, the situation has changed markedly. In 2000, the low-income-country share of U. S. imports reached 15 percent and climbed to 28 percent by 2007, with China accounting for 89 percent of this growth. The share of total U. S. spending on Chinese goods rose from 0.6 percent in 1991 to 4.6 percent in 2007, with an inflection point in 2001 when China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO). Over the same period, the fraction of U. S. working-age population employed in manufacturing fell by a third, from 12.6 percent to 8.4 percent (Figure 1).”

6 Ibid.
9 Ibid., 21.
O’Rourke goes on to enumerate globalization events from the Middle Ages forward, characterized by technological advances and technology transfer, declining price gaps for commodities in long-distance markets, and more efficient, less expensive transport. Indeed, late 19th Century industrialization in the U. S. and Western Europe and European colonization in Asia and Africa were made possible in large part by steamships and railroads that reduced transportation costs, the telegraph which reduced the cost and duration of communications, and the rapid integration of markets for labor and capital. “By the end of the century, over one million Europeans were leaving the continent every year, and there were substantial outflows from China and India, as well. Foreign investments as a share of world GDP rose from 7% in 1870 to almost 20% on the eve of World War I (Hatton and Williamson 1998; Obstfeld and
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Taylor 2004).

Further, O’Rourke estimated that the resulting 24 percent increase in U. S. labor 1870-1910 reduced U. S. wages by 8 percent.

Just as late 19th Century industrialization involved machines performing routine, repetitive tasks previously performed by human labor, late 20th Century automation involved higher-order machines and robots operated by computers under algorithmic programming. Instead of steam-driven weaving machines in textile mills, late 20th Century machines automated robotic auto assembly and semiconductor manufacture, and large-scale global financial transactions. Like Maine’s mills, industries that could not incorporate these new technologies could not compete and simply disappeared, their labor dispersed to other, growing or stable industry sectors. In 2017 McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) studied the effects of automation on the economies, demographics, and workforces of 46 countries that account for 90 percent of world GDP, projecting these effects from 2016 to 2030. Among major findings:

- “Across all countries, the categories with the highest percentage job growth net of automation include health-care providers; professionals such as engineers, scientists, accountants, and analysts; IT professionals and other technology specialists; managers and executives, whose work cannot easily be replaced by machines; educators, especially in emerging economies with young populations; and “creatives,” a small but growing category of artists, performers, and entertainers who will be in demand as rising incomes create more demand for leisure and recreation. Builders and related professions will also grow, particularly in the step-up scenario that involves higher investment in infrastructure and buildings. Manual and service jobs in unpredictable environments will also grow, such as home health aides and gardeners.

- “Advanced economies may also see employment declines in occupations that are most susceptible to automation. These include office support occupations, such as record clerks, office assistants, and finance and accounting; some customer interaction jobs, such as hotel and travel workers, cashiers, and food service

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workers; and a wide range of jobs carried out in predictable settings, such as assembly line workers, dishwashers, food preparation workers, drivers, and agricultural and other equipment operators. Helping individuals transition from the declining occupations to growing ones will be a large-scale challenge.

- “China faces the largest number of workers needing to switch occupations – up to 100 million if automation is adopted rapidly, or 12 percent of the 2030 workforce – although this figure is relatively small compared with the huge shift in China out of agriculture in the past 25 years. For advanced economies, the share of the workforce that may need to learn new skills and find work in new occupations is much higher: up to one-third of the 2030 workforce in the United States and Germany, and nearly half in Japan.”

In all, MGI found that fewer than 5 percent of 800 occupations included in its study consisted of tasks that could be fully automated; but in approximately 60 percent of those occupations, one-third of work could be automated. Between 2016 and 2030, MGI estimates “as many as 375 million workers globally (14 percent of the global workforce) will likely need to transition to new occupational categories and learn new skills, in the event of rapid automation adoption.”

Historically, however, technological advances that displace workers in susceptible sectors produce more new jobs than the old ones they eliminate. MGI estimates that rising incomes and consumption may create 300-365 million new jobs as more than one billion people enter the ‘consuming class,’ primarily in emerging economies. Aging populations – forecast to add 300 million more people 65 years and older in 2030 than in 2014 – will produce 80-130 million support jobs in healthcare and associated occupations. Technology development/deployment will create 20-50 million new jobs globally by 2030. Infrastructure and building construction to fill ‘infrastructure gaps’ will require global investments averaging $3.3 trillion annually, producing at least 80 million jobs in architectural, construction, and related trades. Renewable energy and climate change investments – the Democratic Party’s Green New Deal – could account for another 10 million new jobs. And the ‘marketization’ of previously unpaid domestic

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13 Ibid., 9, 11.
14 Ibid., 1.
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work – childcare and early childhood education, cooking, and other domestic work – could add 50 to 90 million new, paid jobs by 2030.\textsuperscript{15}

\textit{Barriers to Maine’s workforce education and development}

For many years Mainers have discussed ‘the two Maines’ – the rural north and urban south – the economic differences between them and the educational and occupational opportunity deficits produced as a result. For example, the three city centers of Bangor, Lewiston-Auburn, and Portland-South Portland account for 70 percent of Maine GDP\textsuperscript{16} and the educational and employment opportunities that accompany such concentration of resources. The counties where these city centers are located – respectively Penobscot, Androscoggin, and Cumberland – are also the three youngest in the state.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 6-8.
\textsuperscript{16} Bureau of Economic Analysis. U. S. Department of Commerce. Portland metro alone accounts for 52 percent of Maine GDP.
“Geographically, American workers are increasingly sorting along educational lines. At the same time that American communities are desegregating racially, they are becoming more segregated in terms of schooling and earnings...More than traditional industries, the knowledge economy has an inherent tendency toward geographical agglomeration...The success of a city fosters more success, as communities that can attract skilled workers and good jobs tend to attract even more. Communities that fail to attract skilled workers lose further ground.”

According to Richard Bilodeau, Lecturer in Entrepreneurship in the School of Business, University of Southern Maine (USM), the cost of higher education in the U. S. is a barrier to growing labor supply, producing a ‘perpetual doom loop’ due to tuition, housing, and transportation costs, the length of education, and mounting student loans. “Much of what has to change involves education policy and collaboration with the business community to define needs,” Bilodeau said. “For example, in the German education system a student takes a year off, then takes a vocational test that determines what that person’s optimal job is. Germans are more content with their job choices and Germany finances a large portion of their education. In the United States, student loan debt exceeds consumer credit debt.”

Bilodeau also observed that Maine’s community college system is mismatched to the state’s labor markets and “haven’t done a good job scanning workforce needs.” Similarly, the

Sources: Amanda Rector, Maine Department of Administrative & Financial Services; U. S. Census Bureau 2017 Population Estimates.

18 Interview, 26 February 2018. University of Southern Maine.
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University of Maine System overall “is not positioned for an aging population. The system can’t keep up with the demand for nurses or scale up education for nurses.”

In Maine, 12 percent of the population was in poverty in 2017, including 14.3 percent of children under 18. And while the global percentage of children living in extreme poverty has been declining since 1990, 17 percent of U. S. children 0-17 are still living in poverty, with 45 percent of children eligible for free or reduced school lunch. For these children, high school completion rates are substantially lower. “In 2016, just 76 percent of economically disadvantaged students completed high school, compared to 93 percent of higher income students.” These numbers directly affect Maine’s college graduation rate, which has decreased from 50 percent in 2008 to 48 percent in 2015. Between 2013 and 2018 the number of Maine students enrolled in postsecondary education dropped nearly 20 percent, from 31,437 to...

Sources: Amanda Rector, Maine Department of Administrative & Financial Services; U. S. Census Bureau Population Estimates Program.

19 Significantly increased resources for nursing education and facilities was a major initiative of the successful Question 4 state referendum in November 2018 for $75 million in bond funding for the University of Maine System.
24 Ibid.
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25,696. If Maine students do not matriculate to college and obtain a degree, they are far less likely to increase lifetime earnings that have the potential to move families out of poverty.

Dr. Joseph McDonnell, Professor of Policy, Planning, and Management at USM’s Muskie School of Public Service, observed that fewer than 70 percent of Maine’s high school graduates are going on to college:

“You come from families that don’t have college education. Employers are complaining they’re not getting the quantity and quality of employees they need. You need something that gets employers and the educational community aligned. Employers want employees who are [cognitively] flexible, but have a skill set. Historically, vocational education wanted to train the masses for vocations. In the 21st Century it’s clear that route is too narrow. In the short term, labor shortages are going to get worse. In the long term, employers are being driven to automation.”

More troubling with regard to educational outcomes, a recent study demonstrates that “the inheritance of race rather than the inheritance of poverty has been the first-order determinant of racial disparities since emancipation [in 1863].” In 2015, 36 percent of African American children and 29 percent of Latinx children in the United States were living in poverty as compared to 12 percent of Non-Hispanic white children. A majority of all U. S. K-12 public school students are classed as ‘low-income.’
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Poverty and ethnicity determine whether such households will have access to quality education and are predictive of educational outcomes; ethnic minorities show lower levels of academic achievement than whites at all stages of preK-12 education. Poor students are less likely to attend college and only 14 percent of those who do attend graduate, compared to 60 percent of their higher-income peers.\(^{30}\)

In 2011, the first year of Gov. Paul LePage’s first term, his administration imposed a 5-year lifetime limit on Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), with an inadequate maximum benefit of $485 a month for a family of three. From that year to 2015 the number of Maine children living in deep poverty – household income of $10,000 or less – rose to 20,000, an increase eight times the national rate and more than twice the average for New England states. Only 6,900 of these children received TANF benefits in 2015. More detestable, LePage held back $155 million in federal TANF benefits appropriated for Maine families in poverty and deep poverty that is still unspent.\(^{31}\)

Poverty in Maine is a particular barrier to higher education and employment for persons with disabilities, who face frequent stigma and discrimination in employment. Maine Commission on Disability and Employment, established by the legislature in 1997 as a standing committee of the State Workforce Board, cited 2010-2014 data from Maine Center for Workforce and Research Information:

- Nearly 60 percent of working-age Mainers with a disability lived at or near poverty, compared to 27 percent of Mainers with no disability.
- 36 percent of persons with disabilities who were employed lived in or near poverty, compared to 21 percent of employed people without disabilities.


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- More than 10 percent of Maine’s working-age population receives Social Security disability benefits, ranking it 6th in the nation behind poor rural states with high unemployment – West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi.
- Access to transportation and vocational rehabilitation and employment services further limit educational/employment opportunities for Mainers with disabilities, especially in rural areas.\(^{32}\)

It is a backhanded tribute to the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act that in 2016, of more than 142 million employed Americans, 7.5 million of them – more than 5 percent – were workers with disabilities. Between 2013-2017, more than a third of Maine’s population of 107,000 people 16 and older with a disability were employed.\(^{33}\)

The Census Bureau reported that 2016 was the first increase in poverty in six years among people 65 and over.\(^{34}\) They remained in poverty longer, paid more for medical expenses, and fewer were able to avoid poverty through Social Security. Of Mainers 65 and older, 8.8 percent had incomes below the poverty line in the past 12 months in 2017 – unchanged from 2012, compared to all people in the state. Thirteen percent of Mainers had incomes below the poverty line in the past 12 months in 2017, versus 13.3 percent in 2012. Research has shown that people in poverty are likelier to report negative health outcomes, have no health insurance, pay more for needed medications, and use emergency healthcare services more often. The effects of poverty are even more acute among rural populations. The poorest quartile of rural families with children saw a 13 percent drop in real income between 2003 and 2014, with most of the decline due to rising income inequality.\(^{35}\)

**Roots of worker development: England’s Poor Law and workhouses\(^{36}\)**

Grounded in “Benthamite utilitarianism” – which called for expanded, more efficient central government in a realm of individualism toward the greatest social good – local property owners and magistrates served as guardians within a larger system of poor law unions under the

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New Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834; these were predominantly based in a city center or market town. In order to reduce local taxation, guardians applied ‘workhouse tests’ to indigent men and women for eligibility to live, work, and receive assistance in local workhouses. Candidates had to strip themselves of all assets before being admitted to workhouses. Able-bodied men and women were put to work at various labor until their circumstances improved and poor children and orphans were apprenticed to a trade. The law’s aim was to foster independence and self-reliance among people in extreme poverty.

By 1842, three years before its Great Famine began, Ireland contained 130 poor law unions, “with workhouses planned, being built or almost complete in most areas.”

Webb & Webb numbered rural English poor law unions at 371 by 1871. Government officials understood that people often were driven involuntarily into extreme poverty. Workhouses were at capacity and although the British Empire was at the apex of its wealth and colonial power, tax revenues could not pay for poor relief. British taxpayers’ rates had risen 16 percent since the 1860s, taxes that included a ‘poor rate’ for administration by local authorities. Hurren writes, 30 years after their amendment, the poor laws were being applied in English localities at guardians’ widely divergent discretion. Some seasonally unemployed farm laborers, for example, were allowed to work in the workhouse during the day in exchange for limited cash assistance. Others, in ill health or crisis, lived in workhouses and most received some form of cash assistance.

**American poor relief and the origin of ‘categorical’ state public assistance**

America’s state laws for relief of the poor were based on England’s poor law, although the need for their administration in the republic’s early years was limited. Families or private charities were expected to take care of indigent relations, not the local overseer of the poor. Any relief given was at bare minimum for survival and local poorhouses mixed the destitute with the mentally ill, intellectually disabled, and homeless children and adults. America, however, was growing quickly in population by the mid-19th Century, becoming a nation more urban than agricultural. Private charities for poor relief were active in the cities, but seldom in rural communities. By the turn of the century, ‘home relief’ – donations of food, clothing, and other

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38 Hurren, op cit.
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basic essentials – became the dominant form of public assistance. “Cash relief was seldom given, on the assumption that relief recipients were incompetent to handle their own affairs.”

With urbanization increasing, “It began to be generally recognized in the early 1900s that certain groups of needy persons were entitled to receive better care than was given under the poor laws. As a result, special legislation, usually referred to as categorical relief, was passed in a number of states. By 1929, 44 States had passed veterans’ relief laws; 43 States had enacted legislation providing for aid to dependent children in their own homes; 22 States had laws for aid to the blind; and 10 States had laws for assistance to the needy aged.” Private philanthropy supplemented these forms of ‘categorical relief.’

*The role of settlement houses in vocational development*

As conceived today, workforce development owes much of its expansion to the American settlement house movement of the 1880s and 1890s; indigent immigrants who had fled Eastern and Western Europe were offered basic services for their survival, including vocational training, job placement, skilled and unskilled supported work, and childcare for working parents. Between 1897 and 1910, during the height of the Gilded Age industrial era, the number of U. S. settlement houses increased from 74 to more than 400; famously among them University House and Christadora House in New York City, and Hull House in Chicago. Overall, settlement houses were as much experiments in sociological immersion as they were providers of direct services, in which students and affluent supporters came to understand the pressures of extreme poverty and the services required to raise families out of it.

The recognition of the need for skilled workers for the nation’s westward expansion and a burgeoning industrial economy did not begin with settlement houses, however. Beginning in 1853, New York City’s Children’s Aid Society taught academic and vocational skills to homeless children of the immigrant wave of the mid-19th Century. In 1854 the Society began recruiting families in eastern and midwestern states, and western territories to relocate these children – many times forcibly – placing them in farm and other homes for their spiritual, educational, and social edification. Sponsoring families, often in collusion with local politicians, frequently requested older children, who were used as free labor. Thus began the ‘baby train’ or

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40 Ibid.  
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‘mercy train’ movement (later called ‘orphan trains’) in which numerous social welfare organizations would relocate as many as 200,000 indigent urban children over the next 70 years, with sharply varying degrees of success.\footnote{Trammell, R. S. (2009). “Orphan Train Myths and Legal Reality. The Modern American. Spring 2009:3-13. Retrieved from: https://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/tma/vol5/iss2/3/} Just as settlement houses’ work with families in extreme poverty was often directed by religious denomination – for example, to educate or convert Catholic immigrants to Protestantism or vice versa – the relocation of children throughout the country showed strong religious preferences, according to the predilection of the responsible organization.

Many of the largest, most successful companies of the early 20th Century would adapt vocational, academic, and social welfare strategies developed by settlement houses as employee benefits, in order to increase productivity, employee satisfaction and retention, and to eliminate the influence of trade unions. This extension of benefits to employees came to be called ‘welfare work,’ one tactic employed by paternalistic ‘welfare capitalists’ to discourage unionism and collective bargaining.\footnote{Jacoby, S. (1997:13). Modern Manors: Welfare Capitalism Since the New Deal. Princeton University Press.}

Corporate welfare work programs were also influenced significantly by the religious ideals and social consciences of owners and managers. “Quaker businessmen started some of the earliest welfare experiments, as did employers imbued with mainline Protestantism’s “Social Gospel”.” One example, Gerard Swope, president of General Electric 1922-1940, had lived and worked with immigrant individuals and families ministered by Hull House in Chicago, an influential institution in the settlement house movement since its founding in 1889.\footnote{Ibid., 14, 18).}

Such religious partiality continues in today’s workplaces in the forms of regionalism, the expressed, contested right of employers to discriminate on the basis of faith, and the right to religious observance in the workplace in practice or dress.

**Scientific management: Labor-management cooperative workforce improvement**

In 1911, engineer and management consultant Frederick W. Taylor published his views on efficient labor-management practice in *Principles of Scientific Management*. Taylor’s work laid out methods for the systematic study of work in order to promote more efficient job performance; and the systematic study of management so that managers might better direct

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\footnote{Ibid., 14, 18).}
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workers in their jobs. In this study, Taylor formulated four “great, underlying principles of management:”

1. The Development of a True Science of Work
2. The Scientific Selection and Progressive Development of the Worker
3. The Bringing Together of the Science of Work and the Scientifically Selected and Trained Worker
4. The Constant and Intimate Cooperation of Management and Workers.

Two of these principles, foundational as they were in introducing scientific method to management and organizational research, were especially relevant in forming today’s workforce development sphere. First, Taylor held that management is responsible for developing workers’ capacity and skills that lead to advancement and higher wages. ‘Scientific’ selection of workers would “ensure that they possess the physical and intellectual qualities to enable them to achieve the output. Then they must be systematically trained to be “first class.”” Second, Taylor believed that “maximum prosperity for the employer, coupled with the maximum prosperity for each employee [who would have no limit to his earnings]” depended upon the employer guaranteeing continuing training and professional development throughout a worker’s career. Taylor’s scientific management principles created a profit-centered movement that would inspire generations of industrial psychologists, industrial engineers, and management consultants, notable among them industrial psychologist Lillian Gilbreth, industrialist Henry S. Dennison, and social scientist Mary Parker Follett.

Goodwill Industries: A modern-era workforce model for marginalized workers

In 1893 Rev. Edgar J. Helms, founder of Goodwill Industries, was a 30-year-old, newly ordained Methodist minister. The Methodist Church had dispatched him to Morgan Chapel in Boston’s South End to organize settlement houses among the city’s poorest families. Helms, who had investigated services provided by leading settlement houses in Germany and England, struggled to maintain Morgan Chapel and meet the costs of its services to the families it served.

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47 Ibid.
48 Barney & Griffin, op. cit.
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Faced with the failure of his mission and the inability to provide for his own family, he began to systematically assess his environment and the services poor families actually needed.

“For example, he saw that the women in his congregation whose husbands had abandoned them would lock their children in their tenements when they went to work,” wrote biographer Martin Wooster. “Rev. Helms found a safe place in his church where women could leave their babies during the day. This result is what became the first ‘day nursery’ – what we now call day care.”

Helms’s assessment made clear that people will donate goods when they will not or cannot donate money. He also understood that work is the essence of identity for most people and that, by providing people with opportunities to work, he was providing them something they valued far more than a donation. Work gave them self-respect and value in the society. Most important, it gave them a route out of poverty.

By 1902, when it was formally incorporated, Morgan Memorial Cooperative Industries and Stores had been operating loosely for seven years, collecting castoff clothing and goods, cleaning and refurbishing them for sale to the poor and the general public. Helms had created paid work for the unemployed around these functions – $4 a day or $5 in clothing vouchers – as well as a market for the goods they repaired and a model that endures to this day. Goodwill retail stores still account for the majority of the organization’s funding.

Morgan Memorial Cooperative Industries and Stores would become Goodwill Industries in 1915. Helms’s business model had been so successful that funds were available to rebuild the church in 1917. Two years later, Goodwill became a formal division of the Methodist Church, which expanded its operations nationally. By 1920 there were 15 Goodwill organizations in the U. S. Goodwill Industries would be an essential component in the Church’s international outreach until 1960. In a 1924 interview, Helms addressed the benefits of providing work to those who want it and questioned social scientists of the day who preferred to qualify persons for benefits on the basis of need.

During the worst years of the Great Depression, in 1934, Helms refocused Goodwill’s job training, placement, and rehabilitation on people with physical disabilities. Although the country was in the grip of a global financial catastrophe, the 1930s also saw chronic drought and dust storms in the Midwest destroy agricultural production. The organization had been largely

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50 Ibid.
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immune from these disasters as a mission of the Methodist Church that depended on donations of goods rather than money. Its new focus on rehabilitative, vocational services for persons with physical disabilities would drive its growth through the 20th Century; services that would eventually expand to include persons with developmental, behavioral, and neurophysiological disorders, along with full-line assessment, case management and community and residential supports.

Today human service workers might call Helms’s ethic of the personal and social value of work – for persons showing readiness to work – a critical piece of a client’s normalization and one of the guiding principles of person-centered psychosocial rehabilitation: self-determination and personal empowerment, focus on work and career development, and the human services worker’s assertive optimism that the client is capable of recovery, learning, and individual growth. All are necessary to the rehab goals of community integration and improvement of the client’s quality of life.

Twenty-six Goodwill Industries of Northern New England (GINNE) nonprofits serve communities in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. Through these organizations ten Goodwill Workforce Solutions (GWS) offices assess and place clients in training, education, and certification programs and employment. Neurehab and Neurotesting Services are available to clients and their families from facilities in Lewiston, Augusta and Portland. The Portland facility also houses community integration services for GINNE’s Deaf Services unit. GWS provides employers with such incentives as on-the-job training, in which GWS reimburses employers half the client’s wages for up to 12 weeks of training, compensating them for any productivity losses.

Corporate grantors enable Goodwill to address more global causes of unemployment. A 2014 $7.7 million grant from Walmart Foundation is funding the career, education, and financial goals of 12,250 women in 49 U. S. communities. The impetus for the award was Walmart’s recognition that only 26 percent of women who lost their jobs during the Great Recession of 2008 had returned to work. GWS expects two-thirds of the women receiving grant assistance will advance in their careers after returning to the workforce.

Other GWS programs include federal Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA) grants and a grant to upgrade skill levels of Maine workers. In addition, Goodwill retail stores pay for job-seeker and employer outreach and support through the Job Connection
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Program. With MDOL and its statewide CareerCenters, that effort provides computer labs and workshops for job seekers and GWS outreach to community partners and employers.

USDOL/Education & Training Administration’s $5 million, 5-year Technology Occupations Through Pathways Strategies (TOPS) grant, through MDOL’s regional workforce development boards and Maine Community College System’s Maine Quality Centers, pays 50 percent of a client’s wages, including 100 percent of on-the-job training over 12 weeks. Coastal Counties Workforce Inc. (CCWI), the workforce development board serving Waldo, Knox, Lincoln, Sagadahoc, Cumberland, and York counties, announced in its 2016 annual report that, through TOPS, “After 5 years, 449 individuals received mid- to high-level STEM [science, technology, engineering, math] occupational training involving nearly 80 companies…[resulting] in employment for 365 Mainers.”

These outcomes highlight partisan political barriers to Maine’s workforce development that have grown during Gov. Paul LePage’s two administrations. LePage refused $8.4 million in FY2018 USDOL funding that would have extended 2017 job training and workforce development services by the state’s three regional workforce development boards (which include Northeastern and Central/Western Maine Workforce Development Boards), on the ground that their services would be more efficiently centralized in Augusta, despite significant regional differences in workforce needs and direct services required. CCWI sued in federal district court for release of the funds, citing the state’s legal obligation to release federal funding within 30 days of its availability, and naming LePage and MDOL commissioner John Butera. In January 2018, the court ordered the state to release the funds, including $3 million to CCWI. According to a report on the decision by 50 States of Blue, a progressive news site, “CCWI stated in the lawsuit that 49,213 customers visited its career centers and associated offices last year. The organization assisted 564 workers with job placement at an average annual wage of $29,456, which it contends added approximately $16.7 million to Maine’s economy.”

Maine State Workforce Board staffs committees on employer apprenticeships and employer partner programs, veterans’ and women’s employment, persons with disabilities, and in-school and extracurricular programs for youth career development.

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**John Dewey’s war: Public education & occupational/vocational training**

While serving at the University of Chicago in the years immediately preceding the Great Depression, John Dewey and university president Robert Maynard Hutchins – both revered educational theorists – believed lifelong, cradle-to-grave liberal and occupational education to be prime underpinnings of democratic society and individual freedom. “The Chicago Laboratory Schools…[embodied] Dewey’s view that student learning, institutional reconstruction, and civic democracy are mutually constitutive;”"53 while Hutchins saw “universal learning as the highest goal of a democratic society.”54

DeFalco (2016) points out that Dewey incorporated a student’s moral and social consciousness into his definition of ‘vocational education,’ distinguishing it from strictly technical training for the ‘social efficiency’ espoused by Massachusetts commissioner of education David Snedden, an advocate for Taylor’s scientific management theory applied to education. “Vocational education is a topic that is connected with broader ethical and political questions about the education of students, the kind of society they will live in, and how the schools can be part of the answer.”55 In their ‘education for democracy,’ children need both liberal and vocational education. Education for democracy meant courses of study that taught children to make informed decisions according to scientific method, rather than “to fit the child to the job” according to the social efficiency model.56 According to House (1921), “the child was taught to accept the present social system with little or no criticism, and there was no connection between vocational training and social purposes.”57

Although he and Dewey agreed in the main regarding the importance of teaching morality, ethics, and scientific method in ‘occupational’ education, Hutchins also believed that a student-citizen in a democracy should be educated in the momentous moments and artifacts of Western civilization: Greek classics, the Great Books, and the discipline of intellectual training. “What is needed for free minds is discipline,” Hutchins wrote, “discipline which forms the habits which enable the mind to operate well. Nothing better can be said on this than the concise

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54 Ibid., 89.


56 Ibid., 55.

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statement of John Dewey. ‘The discipline,’ he said, ‘that is identical with trained power, is also
identical with freedom.” 58 Where the two disagreed publicly was on “the philosophical basis
for defending democracy.” Petty though it seems today, each thought the other’s approach a
slippery slope to fascism.

According to Labaree (2010), Snedden has had the last word. He describes a 1977
academic journal’s dissection of a 1915 exchange between Dewey and Snedden in The New
Republic on vocational education, which by 1977 had come to be called ‘career education.’ 59
Dewey had argued that Snedden’s [authoritarian] view of ‘social economy,’ which called for the
“rank and file” to be educated to be “producers” for “utilizers,” was “narrow trade training” that
would lead to “social predestination.” Labaree writes that Dewey won The New Republic debate
and his educational philosophy fits post-industrial academic education practice neatly.

More important, Snedden’s views were embraced by the federal government in the
Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 (aka, National Vocational Education Act), which established federal
support for vocational education; and by a National Education Association (NEA) report the next
year, Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education. The Act and the NEA report both endorsed
important elements of Snedden’s ‘social economy.’ Labaree writes, “But if Dewey won the
debate, it was Snedden who set the broader aims of American education in the twentieth
century…[Social economy] promised to use education to promote economic productivity. It
offered a way to integrate immigrants and keep the peace in a complex industrial society through
a mixture of targeted programs to promote vocational opportunity and a differentiated structure
to promote social control.” 60

The New Deal and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration

Established in May 1933 with an appropriation of $500 million earmarked for emergency
grants to the states, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) “was the beginning of
a form of partnership arrangement between the Federal Government and the States and local
governments in meeting the unemployment relief problem…” 61 In providing relief benefits to

58 Levine, op. cit., 75.
60 Ibid., 168, 181.
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different categories of people in need – e. g., the aged, white collar workers, and unskilled workers – FERA attempted to develop programs to suit their special needs:

“For the employable persons on relief rolls, work programs were developed. A large-scale direct relief program was operated for those who were unable to work or for whom public work could not be provided. A rural rehabilitation program was created to assist some of the rural destitute. In addition, such special activities as transient relief, emergency education, and college student aid were inaugurated…The work relief projects set up in the FERA period were intended to conserve the skills, work habits, and morale of the able-bodied unemployed through work suited as far as possible to their abilities [emphasis added] and of value to their communities.”

62

By November 1933, 11 million Americans were unemployed. In order to augment the work of FERA and the new Public Works Administration through the winter of 1933-34, the Roosevelt administration created the Federal Civil Works Administration (CWA) to contract large-scale construction and maintenance projects. While FERA still made grants to the states, workers on FERA projects were transferred to CWA, which had offices in all states. The two agencies operated in tandem and generally under the same personnel. By mid-January 1934, more than 4 million people were working on CWA projects originated by counties, cities, and towns. Projects included more than 250,000 miles of road construction and repair; improvement and construction of 60,000 public buildings, of which 30,000 were schools; and countless local white collar projects for monitoring weather, municipal planning, surveying, and mapping.

63

MDOL’s report, Maine Workforce Outlook 2014 to 2024, places great emphasis on its forecast that 88 percent of job openings in the period will be replacements due to attrition, not new openings due to growth. Of these jobs, two-thirds will be in low-level occupations requiring a high school diploma or less, compared to 75 percent of STEM jobs which will require at least an associate degree. Highest average wages – which include salaries for highly educated professionals – will be in healthcare occupations; highest actual wages will be in non-managerial STEM occupations in transport industries.

Maine Workforce Outlook 2014 to 202465

62 Ibid., 3.
63 Ibid., 4.
64 Ibid., 34, 45.
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**Economic & demographic implications of Maine’s aging population**

Median age in the U. S. in 1970 was 28.1 years. Between 1970 and 2016, U. S. median age rose 9.8 years to 37.9 years. In Maine, median age in 1970 mirrored that of the nation, but increased 15.6 years to 44.2 in 2014, and to 44.7 years in 2017 – a total rise of 16.1 years. Baby Boomers born 1946 to 1964 began turning 65 in 2011, while the decline in birth rates in Maine was greater than in the U. S. overall, “but especially among whites who no longer maintain replacement fertility rates.”

In addition, “Prime-age Mainers who dropped out of the labor force have been dying in larger numbers every year for the last decade and a half. Opioid overdose deaths in Maine have greatly increased over the last 15 years – up by 273% since 2010… Centers for Disease Control and Prevention data show that among 25- to 54-year-old Mainers, between 2000 and 2015, suicide rates increased 45%, drug-related accidental deaths (e.g. overdoses) increased 577%, and deaths from drug- and alcohol-related illnesses (e.g. liver failure) increased 185%.”

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67 Ibid., 13; National Center for Health Statistics, 2014.
Future workforce development in Maine

Millennials born 1977 to 1995, who are now 23 to 41 years and number 84 million nationally, comprise the largest prime-age working group in the U. S.; yet the employment-to-population ratio for Maine workers 25-29 years is 78 percent; for those 30-34 years 79 percent; and those 35-44 years 80 percent. According to Breece, Mills, and Gabe, prime-age Maine workers 25-54 will show a net labor force participation deficit of approximately 20,000 workers between 2012 and 2022. During the same period, workers 65-74 years will fill about 40,000 jobs, of which approximately 28,000 will be replacement and new positions, alleviating some area labor shortages. Maine Office of Policy and Management (OPM) forecasts that Maine’s population will remain relatively stable at about 1.3 million through 2025, after which the cohort 65 and older will have increased by 101,000 to 350,000 residents. The number of residents 16-64, however, will decline by 98,000 to a total 755,000 people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Requirement</th>
<th>Average Employment</th>
<th>Percent of Total</th>
<th>Change in Employment</th>
<th>Average Annual Openings</th>
<th>2015 Average Wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>2024</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>2024</td>
<td>Net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>661,444</td>
<td>666,763</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>5,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal educational credential</td>
<td>182,269</td>
<td>185,802</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
<td>3,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school diploma or equivalent</td>
<td>240,177</td>
<td>237,385</td>
<td>36.3%</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
<td>-2,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college, no degree</td>
<td>18,011</td>
<td>16,602</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>-1,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postsecondary non-degree award</td>
<td>49,391</td>
<td>51,070</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>1,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate's degree</td>
<td>14,477</td>
<td>14,701</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
<td>126,832</td>
<td>129,123</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>2,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's degree</td>
<td>12,154</td>
<td>12,925</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral or professional degree</td>
<td>18,133</td>
<td>19,155</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>1,022</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“The working-age-to-senior ratio is expected to decline from an already low 3.4 in 2015 to 2.2 in 2030.” In other words, 2.2 working taxpayers – less than half of 2000’s 4.9 workers – will be paying for entitlements for older Mainers while local labor shortages are exacerbated.

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70 Ibid.; Breece et al., op. cit., 16, 20.
71 Breece et al., op. cit., 15.
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“The ratio of working-age people to seniors in Maine is lower than the U.S. average in every county.”

Breece et al. project the highest employment growth 2012-2022 in healthcare/social assistance at about 13 percent, as well as one of the highest proportions of employees 55 and older at 25 percent. Although Maine’s manufacturing sector employees 55 and older make up about 27 percent of those industries, manufacturing jobs will decline by about 10 percent 2012-2022; as will education/public administration, which at 34 percent, employs the greatest number of people 55 and older.73

The roles of immigration and in-migration in Maine’s economic prosperity

Since 1790, three years after the early states ratified the Constitution, the United States has enacted 41 public laws and executive orders limiting immigration. The industrial revolution in the United States that began in the first quarter of the 19th Century – and stretched well into the early 20th Century – saw the greatest unchallenged immigration ever seen here – primarily from Eastern and Western Europe, Asia, and Mexico. In the 100 years between 1821 and 1920, nearly 35 million immigrants legally entered the country, comprising nearly 15 percent of U. S. population by 1870.

In 1850, more than half of 8.2 million workers age 10 and older – or 4.5 million – were engaged in agriculture. The total number of American workers – native-born and immigrant – then included 2 million slaves. By 1900, agricultural workers accounted for 40 percent of all workers, or 11.7 million of 29 million workers. In contrast, workers in manufacturing industries were 14.5 percent of America’s workforce in 1850; by 1900, they were a fifth of 41 million workers and, by 1920, 27 percent of 42 million workers. Agricultural workers had dropped to 26 percent of the workforce by 1920.74 With an ample supply of inexpensive immigrant labor, technological innovation that improved industrial productivity, and rising capital stock, the United States had become the world’s most powerful industrial economy. Immediately following World War I, Congress passed the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, which limited European migration to three percent of specified populations, as counted in the 1910 census. Despite a justifiable fear that the deluge of émigrés from countries ravaged by the war

73 Breece et al., op. cit., 18.
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would depress American workers’ wages, industrial demand was voracious for cheap foreign labor who would work and live in conditions that today would be considered at best unsafe and at worst life-threatening. Industrial necessity ignored the broad infrastructural, social, institutional, and financial inequities produced by this tide of immigration, and broader national socioeconomic consequences that were seen most clearly at the local level in the form of generational poverty, inadequate sanitation, lack of access to fresh food and water, inadequate housing, childcare for single working mothers, and children’s access to education and/or occupational training.

It is not hyperbole to say, what slavery was to the success of early colonists’ farms and plantations, immigrant labor was to the rise of the United States as a global industrial power, and is now to the nation’s and Maine’s continued productivity and prosperity. Between 1960 and 2000, ethnic native-born and immigrant minorities accounted for half the total population increase in the United States, due to younger populations, higher birth rates, and lower death rates than non-Hispanic whites.\textsuperscript{75}

\textbf{Working Age-to-Senior Ratios 2015 to 2030}

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2030</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Androscoggin</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penobscot</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennebec</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somerset</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagadahoc</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waldo</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aroostook</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hancock</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knox</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piscataquis</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The ratio is derived by dividing population of people age 16 to 64 by that of those 66 and over.
Sources: Breece, Mills & Gabe; U. S. Census Bureau Population Projections.

Nonetheless, a generation later, in October 2018, U. S. Department of Homeland Security published a proposed rulemaking in the Federal Register regarding immigrants’ Inadmissibility on Public Charge Grounds. That is, the agency will determine “whether an alien is inadmissible to the United States under section 212(a)(4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) because he or she is likely at any time to become a public charge…Moreover, DHS proposes to require all aliens seeking an extension of stay or change of status to demonstrate that they have not received, are not currently receiving, nor are likely to receive, public benefits as defined in the proposed rule.”76

In contrast, Portland’s Helping Individuals Regain Employment (HIRE) program is one of the City’s most successful, funded 100 percent from its general assistance budget. Between May 2017 and May 2018, 662 immigrant ‘New Mainers’ were processed for general assistance. Of these, 326 were referred to English language literacy programs and 298 became employed in full-time jobs. Nationally, 9.3 percent of immigrant households with children received some form of assistance in 2015, versus 15 percent of native-born households.

76 Federal Register, 10 October 2018:51114.
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Similarly, New Mainer Resource Center (NMRC), a program offered through Portland Adult Education:

“supports Maine’s economic development by meeting employers’ demands for a skilled and culturally diverse workforce. NMRC provides services to help foreign-trained, skilled professionals tackle some of the barriers preventing them from entering the Maine workforce outlined by Catholic Charities. They seek to accomplish this by providing continuing education professional skills courses, intensive job-preparedness training, networking, and workshop opportunities. Job-preparedness courses focus on English classes related to specific professions and sectors: workplace culture, computer literacy classes, job search, resume preparation, and interviewing preparedness courses. For more skilled new immigrants, NMRC offers a skilled professionals program, which offers guidance and intensive case management, assistance with any credentialing or professional licensing requirements, and job search and networking opportunities. NMRC served 566 individuals in 2017; of that number, 80 percent, or 453 individuals, secured employment.”77

Barriers to labor market participation

Catholic Charities Office of Maine Refugee Services is Maine’s only refugee/asylee resettlement program dedicated to helping those seeking a new life in America become independent, productive members of their communities. Director Carollee Lindsey identified five significant barriers for New Mainers:78

- **Language:** All stakeholders associated with the resettlement program agree that language is the biggest barrier for skilled and non-skilled workers. Southern Maine Community College now offers ESOL-to-IT training and certification for New Mainers. Portland Adult Education is serving more than 3,000 ESL students, with another 1,500 students taking classes in Lewiston.

- **Transportation:** Due to the cost of purchasing a vehicle many immigrants and refugees find themselves limited to jobs they can either walk to or find along public transportation routes, which are limited and unreliable.


78 Ibid.
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- **Cultural differences**: According to Lindsey, “Immigrants and refugees who grew up in cultures that have different values, like putting high significance on humility, struggle to sell themselves to employers who are expecting applicants to brag about themselves.”

- **Recognition of foreign credentials**: The costs and time of translating and verifying credentials or degrees from foreign countries are prohibitive for employers.

- **Discrimination**: Employers have a tendency to judge immigrant applicants as an inferior group. This is textbook discrimination on the basis of race and/or national origin.  

**The employer experience**

Ready Seafood Company is a family-owned lobster processing firm on Portland’s working waterfront that has hired workers from both Portland’s HIRE program and Catholic Charities. The company employs about 150 workers, of whom about half are New Mainers. Chief operating officer Brian Skoczenski\(^80\) said he began to notice the change in Ready’s workforce and applicants in 2015; then “two years ago [2016] I could visually see the variety of candidates coming through the door. They had language and religious issues. How can I integrate someone with language difficulties and give them mobility in the company? We became more well-rounded – a softer company.”

Skoczenski said the firm began “playing to employees’ strengths and weaknesses” in 2017, placing them in positions where they were likeliest to succeed, and where veteran workers could mentor them. “If it hadn’t been for New Mainers, we wouldn’t have succeeded as a company,” Skoczenski said. “We’re never going to have a job force issue. We’re not competing with anyone for talent. If I needed an electrician, I could find someone with a four-year degree and move him up to head of maintenance making $100K.”

With a new 52,000-sf facility going up in Saco, Ready Seafood is scaling up its workforce, requiring 300 new employees. It purchased a five-unit building in Old Orchard Beach to provide workforce housing for three families and two individuals. Skoczenski said other waterfront employers still resist hiring New Mainers, due to English-language deficits and employers’ cultural biases. “There’s no movement on this at all. Every time we’ve tried to work with someone, we always hear that they don’t have enough people to handle the problem; that we have to be caseworkers. I’m trying to get other companies talking about it. It’s not going to

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\(^{80}\) Interview 2 May 2018. Ready Seafood Co. Portland ME.
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take 14 people with PhDs; this is just common sense. It’s not just a housing issue or an employment issue.

“The way we’re bringing [employers] in, we’re breaking them down,” Skoczenski said. “Trust is the most important thing.”

The City of Portland’s Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) is a key member of the Greater Portland Workforce Initiative, a group of 20 public, private, nonprofit, and philanthropic organizations centered on United Way that are collectively addressing immigrant and refugee resettlement, employment, and cultural integration. OEO director Julia Trujillo81 has become the City of Portland’s point person in workforce development issues, particularly in her liaison with area employers.

“There are not only challenges in hiring immigrants, but also a huge brain waste problem that doesn’t consider prior experience, education, or career advancement,” Trujillo said. “There’s a huge taboo. People are uncomfortable talking about race, about immigrant status – so it’s easier to say simply not to hire that person. They don’t find a safe place, even within themselves, to talk about these issues. If employers understood the depth of the problem and the urgent challenge, there would be a Code Red going out.” Trujillo said she also sees significant duplication of services among agencies working with immigrants; a lack of communication between them about the resources each offers.

Ryan Wallace82 directs the Center for Business and Economic Research at the USM’s Muskie School. He believes the definition of ‘workforce development’ is now unclear, “focused on workers’ skills as part of economic development, innovation, and knowledge acquisition. The focus is now on the entire pipeline for people in Maine, not out-of-staters,” Wallace said, “and the services provided by workforce development boards and academic institutions. That includes reengaging people displaced by the economy.”

Wallace said successful workforce development depends on several factors:

- The ‘nimbleness’ of the workforce development system to respond to changing industry and employer needs
- Awareness of and responsiveness to changes in occupational skill demands
- Incorporating changes in skill demands into academic programming, including internships and apprenticeships

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81 Interview 2 May 2018. City Hall, Portland ME.
82 Interview 27 February 2018. Muskie School of Public Service. University of Southern Maine.
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- Ongoing dialogue and engagement with employers in order to assess their needs and connect them with people prepared for their industries, reducing skill mismatch.

“Market forces and inefficiencies can outweigh the solutions to problems you’re trying to correct.” Wallace said. “Some market forces no policy solutions can correct, like global competition and legacy industries.” Low unemployment means labor shortages, Wallace noted; consequently, Maine must be able to show where long-run economic opportunities exist in the state.

**Immigration’s effect on jobs and wages**

According to a 1997 report by the National Academy of Sciences, “At the most basic level, immigration increases the supply of labor in the economy. More labor means more goods and services being produced, so that national output (GDP) rises…In the context of immigration, where…many immigrants are unskilled laborers, the strong presumption is that immigrants are substitutes for domestic unskilled labor. Therefore, an increase in the number of immigrants will generally decrease the wages of domestic unskilled workers.”

At the same time, domestic workers who are *complements* to unskilled immigrant labor – e. g., supervisory and higher-skilled domestic labor – will experience higher wages/income.

Highly skilled immigrant workers, especially those in STEM industries, accounted for 16 percent of U. S. workforce with a bachelor’s degree and 29 percent of this workforce’s growth 1995-2008. STEM occupations account for approximately 60 percent of successful H-1B visa applications. From 2000-2005, 40 percent of H-1B visa recipients came from India and 10 percent from China. Ninety percent of H-1B visa workers are younger than 40. The Harvard study found a strong correlation between a firm’s expansion of young, skilled immigrant labor and expansions elsewhere in its skilled workforce, estimating that a 10 percent increase in young, skilled immigrant labor correlated with a 6 percent increase in the firm’s total skilled workforce.

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84 Ibid., 137.
86 Ibid., 17.
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In addition, in 2011 immigrants created 550 new businesses monthly per 100,000 population, against 270 new business startups for native-born entrepreneurs. More recently, due to the Trump administration’s hardening of its position on immigration, expanded local and state law enforcement’s authority to investigate and enforce immigration violations has laid ground for prejudicial prosecutions. According to a February 2018 report by Pew Research Center, after eight years of decline from the first year of the Obama presidency, ICE immigration arrests rose 42 percent between Donald Trump’s inauguration Jan. 20, 2017 and Sept. 30, 2017, the end of the federal fiscal year. Ironically, U. S. Customs and Border Protection’s more than 310,00 illegal immigration arrests in 2017 are the lowest it has seen in 45 years and 25 percent below those in 2016, although they are more than twice the 143,000 arrests made in 2017 by ICE.

Whether intended or unintended, a consequence has been that “immigrant businesses have experienced a disruption in economic activity and immigrants report greater exploitation by employers and landlords. These are social and economic concerns relevant to the entire community, not just immigrants.” Nationally, immigrants make about $32,000 per year, less than U. S.-born workers, who earn about $45,000 per year.

Notable in light of the current political climate is the City of Portland’s enactment of Ordinance No. 2-21 in January 2010, which requires in part: “Unless otherwise required by law or by court order, no city police officer or employee shall inquire into the immigration status of any person, or engage in activities for the purpose of ascertaining the immigration status of any person.”

New Mainers: A profile

According to census figures, Maine is home to 47,556 immigrants (foreign-born individuals) living primarily in Portland-South Portland metro, Lewiston-Auburn metro, and Bangor, and

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comprising 3.6 percent of the state’s population in 2017. These three city centers also account for 70 percent of Maine GDP, drawing educated, skilled immigrant workers through the ‘agglomeration effect’ described by Moretti. Immigration to Maine in 2016 also prevented a state population deficit due to more deaths than births in 14 of 16 counties. In 2017, all 16 Maine counties reported positive immigrant in-migration.

As a measure of how critical Maine government believes is the issue of immigrant in-migration, in April 2017 state Senator Roger Katz of Kennebec County’s 15th District introduced LD 1492, “An Act to Attract, Educate and Retrain New Mainers to Strengthen the Workforce.” The Act proposed a total of $1.87 billion over FY2018 and FY2019 to create state and local support infrastructure for Maine’s immigrants: an Office of New Mainers within the Executive; vocation-specific English language and workforce training through the Department of Education; and grants for local community planning support and expansion of local English language adult education programs. Unfortunately, the ambitious, proactive LD 1492 was amended to provide only $390,000 to these programs through FY20-21 and “died on adjournment” of the Senate Education and Cultural Affairs Committee on September 13, 2018.

Half the state’s New Mainers – about 24,300 – live in Portland-South Portland metro, where they represent nearly five percent of both the population and employed labor force and six percent of STEM workers. They demonstrate a level of educational attainment exceeding both Maine and national averages:

- 37 percent of Portland metro immigrants have a bachelor’s degree, compared to 30 percent of adult Mainers and 20 percent of all American adults.
- Among adults 25 and older, 12.2 percent of Portland-area immigrants have obtained master’s and doctoral degrees, compared to 10.7 percent of native Mainers and approximately 11 percent of all Americans.

Moreover, “immigrants living in the Portland Metro Area make significant economic contributions, from the federal, state and local, Medicare, and Social Security taxes they pay, to the spending power they have in the local economy, to the integral fields they work in. It can be said that this growing cohort of Maine’s labor force is key in the state’s economic development.

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Mainers From Away Have Been Crucial to Slowing Maine's Demographic Slide


going forward. In 2016, immigrants earned income totaling $678.7 million on which they paid $133 million in federal taxes, and $62 million in state and local taxes. Portland’s immigrant population accounted for $57.3 million in Social Security payroll taxes, and $14.7 million to Medicare. After taxes, immigrants were left with a total of $521.3 million in spending power, which they reinvested in the local Portland Metro economy, thus creating higher demand for such goods and services.

Juvenile and adult reentry for workforce development

Defining late adolescents’ service needs: For practical purposes, as they encounter the adult world of postsecondary education and work, late adolescents 16 to 19 years old can be labeled ‘young adults.’ Their neurological and developmental maturity cannot be easily distinguished from that of traditional young adults 18 to 24, even though an 18-year-old’s worldview is cognitively far different from a 16-year-old’s.

Recent research suggests that young (or emerging) adults may be “a distinct developmental group with heightened impulsive behavior, risk taking, and poor decision

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making,” which is also disconnected from education and jobs.96 Twenty percent of this age group was out of school and unemployed in 2013, the majority of them African American and Latino.97 In 2017, 27 percent of U. S. young adults 16-24 were unemployed and 20 percent of young Mainers in that age group were unemployed. In addition, more than 42 percent nationally – or 16.3 million people – were not enrolled in school.98

A population at high risk of arrest

In 2013 young adults were 10 percent of the general population but accounted for 30 percent of arrests for both serious and non-serious crimes.99 More than 2 million juveniles are arrested every year.100 Since 2013, juvenile arrests have decreased 7 percent, from 666,263 to 620,264 in 2017.101 Nearly 70 percent of females and 60 percent of males present with a psychiatric disorder other than a conduct disorder. More than 50 percent of all detained youth present with two or more disorders, yet only 15 percent receive treatment.102

Clearly, in addition to integrated primary care and mental health treatment, this age group requires most urgently services that promote educational skills and attainment, occupational development, and activities that deter impulsivity that may lead to criminal acts and arrest. Such services also must include ongoing, intensive case management and mentoring to minimize stigma and educational, employment, and social barriers to these young adults’ success.

Just as ‘scaffolding’ provides preschoolers with manageable tasks and hands-on instruction,103 services to young adults must be gauged and delivered according to their abilities and preferences as much as to their needs.

103 Berk, op. cit., 182-183.
Mentoring: An essential social function

One key aspect of young adult development that has not generated sufficient attention is their lack of communication and connection with older, helping adults. Traditionally, adult family members, teachers, and other ‘generative’ authority figures guided adolescents emerging into adulthood in their educational and occupational choices and tasks. These older adults served an important function in socializing young adults to the higher orders of adult responsibilities. This semiformal communication is rare today, due to family fragmentation, authority figures’ loss of credibility with young adults, and the ready availability of all types of information through the Internet, including diagnostic and self-help platforms that allow client anonymity.

This paper asserts that mentoring is an essential social function in introducing young adults to the worlds of work and higher education, as well as a source of positive support as they acquire new knowledge and skills. In fact, it is a significant factor in how positively or negatively young adults see themselves.104

Enlisting as mentors older adult professionals from schools, private sector employers, social welfare agencies, and mental health providers reinforces interaction with and guidance in the progress of young adults receiving services. Day-to-day these interactions will form an important part of a young adult’s individualized service plan, supervised by a case manager. These mentoring professionals will be fundamental members of the young adult’s service team.

Defining young adult offenders’ reentry needs

1. Stage-based education and employment training: According to their developmental stages, young adults must receive intensive, long-term engagement in individualized, strengths-based education and workforce development, with minimal barriers to participation and weekly-to-monthly monitoring and progress assessment.

Research into vocational rehabilitation programs provided by mental health services found that predictors of positive vocational outcomes were not characteristics of individuals, but of programs. They further found that “vocational rehabilitation should be an integral part of the mental health rehabilitation process.”105

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Case management must ensure that such supportive services as periodic assessment, basic skills training, transportation, childcare, mentoring professionals, GED tutoring, materials and tools, and low-barrier opportunities for supported or competitive employment are also provided. Southern Maine Youth Transition Network provides just such services to young adults 16 to 24 in Cumberland and York Counties. “As one of 21 national Aspen Institute Opportunity Youth Incentive Fund sites, and one of only four rural sites, the Southern Maine Youth Transition Network (SMYTN) seeks to build the conditions for collective impact so youth have the relationships, skills, and opportunities needed for success as they transition into adulthood. SMYTN seeks to remove barriers and create opportunities to connect Maine’s 16-24 year-olds to education and careers.”

2. Continuity of care: As young adults age out of protective services – e.g., high school and primary healthcare coverage – they are at higher risk of leaving school, being uninsured, being homeless, and being arrested. Programs must ensure that existing coverage continues while the young adult participates in services, and that such coverage is expanded or initiated when appropriate to include access to other needed assistance.

3. Mental health and substance use assessment, treatment, and recovery services: More than 60 percent of youth and young adults involved in the juvenile justice system meet diagnostic criteria for psychiatric disorders, as do 5 percent in the general population. More than half believe that their disorder will just go away or resolve itself; nearly a third of males and 40 percent of females are unsure of the right person or place to obtain mental healthcare. Programs must engage young adult clients in developmentally appropriate modalities that address their disorders and substance use in long-term therapy. Cognitive behavioral therapies delivered over at least six months and engaging family members have been found effective in treating young adults for co-occurring substance use and serious mental illness and impulsivity leading to criminal behavior.

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108 Abram et al., op. cit., 2.
109 Abram et al., op. cit., 4-5.
Programs also must reach out affirmatively to young adults, both to educate them about the prevalence of mental illnesses in their cohort and to disseminate information about its services and service partners. Such outreach would include interagency referrals, guidance counselor referrals, hospital ED referrals, street outreach, outreach via social media most used by young adults, PSAs, speaking engagements at high schools and juvenile detention facilities, and referrals generated by National Alliance on Mental Illness’s (NAMI’s) Family-to-Family support groups.

4. **Community-centered, family-centered social and recreational interactions**: Programs must provide social and recreational alternatives that: a) re-engage young adults with their families, who are their primary supports; b) re-engage them with their larger community; e.g., employer-sponsored events and community events based on young adults’ skills, interests, and concerns. Young adults will come to see themselves as valued members of a larger, normative, supportive community, rather than as isolated members of peer-centered subgroups.

5. **Intensive person-centered case management**: Arguably the most important component of multi-service delivery, collaborative person-centered case management is critical to the success of a young adult’s individualized service plan. Case managers assist clients in resolving multiple, simultaneous life problems by improving their competence to resolve these issues themselves. Case management also helps clients build more effective support networks and coordinates the activities of those networks’ service providers. Research has shown conclusively that effective case management is crucial to improved outcomes in a reentry/recovery model. A review of 75 case management studies showed, where case management was reduced or withdrawn (e.g., time-limited length of services provided), clients’ levels of functioning were diminished.\(^\text{111}\)

**Defining adult offenders’ reentry needs**

Every state offers some form of reentry support to juvenile and adult offenders returning to their communities. Through appropriations for the Second Chance Act of 2007, 19 federal agencies also offer funding to states, local governments, tribal governments, academic

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institutions and other nonprofits for evidence-base reentry programming for an average 600,000 released inmates a year. In May 2018, for example, U. S. Department of Justice’s Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), accepted applications for its Second Chance Act Comprehensive Community-Based Adult Reentry Program. The Request For Applications reads:

“Under this solicitation, BJA is seeking applications to implement or expand on reentry programs that demonstrate strong partnerships with corrections, parole, probation, law enforcement, and other reentry service providers. These partnerships should enhance efforts to meet the needs of individuals at medium- to high-risk to reoffend, as determined by validated criminogenic risk assessments. This includes ensuring cognitive behavioral programming is in place pre-release, whether by the lead applicant or a partnering agency.”

Between 2013 and 2017 the number of adults arrested rose 14 percent, from 6.5 million to 7.4 million.112 Offenders’ basic needs for successful community reintegration are the same as young adults’:

- Stage-based education and employment training
- Continuity of care
- Mental health and substance use assessment, treatment, and recovery services
- Community-centered, family-centered social and recreational interactions
- Intensive person-centered case management.

However, a majority of adult offenders faces a more complex set of simultaneous issues upon release:

- More than half the inmates of state and federal correctional facilities in 2007 were parents of 1.7 million minor children, who represented 2.3 percent of the general population under 18. Since 1991, the number of children with a mother in prison rose 131 percent and the number of children with a father in prison rose 77 percent.113

- Forty percent of prison and jail inmates lack a high school diploma or GED.114 Maine state legislators will hold a hearing in May 2019 on LD 1415, An Act To Provide

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Additional Deductions from a Sentence of Imprisonment for Completion of Education, Mental Health Treatment and Substance Abuse Treatment Programs. Sponsored by Representative Rachel Talbot Ross of Portland, this legislation is proposed by Maine Prisoner Advocacy Coalition.

- Prevalence of serious mental illnesses is two to four times higher in prisons than in the general population."^{115}"
- Seventy-five percent of offenders reentering their communities have a history of substance use. Seventy percent of prisoners with mental illnesses also have a co-occurring substance use disorder."^{116}

“Success [in reentry] is defined as being discharged from parole by three years after release,” according to Stephen Bahr of Brigham Young University."^{117} “Those who succeed on parole are more likely to have taken a substance abuse class while in prison and on release tend to spend more time in enjoyable activities with friends.” In addition, Bahr’s research suggests that successful reentry requires that an offender be employed full-time, which gives the offender greater self-efficacy and determination to avoid substances and substance-using peers.

Programs therefore must address and minimize stressors and barriers to successful community reintegration by:

- Offering support to offenders’ families and children through such evidence-based strategies as mentoring and support groups, as well as such newer therapeutic models as Forgiveness Therapy."^{118}"
- Offering accelerated educational assessment with GED classes and intensive occupational and workforce development
- Facilitating coordination of primary care and mental healthcare services for integrated, simultaneous treatment of co-occurring serious mental health disorders and chronic substance use.
- Providing supported or competitive employment through community employers

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- Stable housing and stable supported or competitive employment for reentering offenders as quickly as possible after release are the most critical factors in discouraging reoffending and recidivism.

**Conclusions & recommendations**

The sheer multiplicity of workforce development efforts nationally and in Maine speaks to the multiple, simultaneous economic, demographic, and social issues that inhibit their full realization. Such workforce development factors as labor force participation, occupational/vocational assessment and education, employer needs assessment and outreach, and the role of academic institutions in preparing students for the workplace are largely local and regional in scope; requiring highly directed, problem-specific coordination among governmental agencies, NGOs, colleges and universities, and nonprofits providing services for education, full employment, human support services, and person-centered case management. Long-run global barriers, such as generational poverty, demographic labor force displacement, disability, and workplace discrimination on the basis of race/ethnicity, sex, religion, and national origin must be recognized as elements that discourage workforce development and treated as local/regional needs demand. For example, Maine’s rural populations experience deeper levels of poverty and more limited access to support services than those in city centers. Rural towns and municipalities, therefore, must coordinate delivery of workforce and support services just as they share the costs of first-response and interlocal civic services. Numerous state and federal funding sources encourage this type of collaboration through grants for regional/interlocal development of shared economic development, transportation, first-response, and human services resources.

Educational attainment is a critical component in lifting families out of poverty and raising lifetime incomes. Higher education institutions must assert their local/regional standing by deeper K-12 outreach. A recent university-wide email from USM Provost Jeannine Diddle Uzzi included this invitation to faculty:

“Faculty, did you know that you can facilitate a dual enrollment course with a high school teacher? There is widespread interest in decreasing barriers between K-12 systems and post-secondary education, and educators at all levels are beginning to talk about a K-16 student experience. One new trend in higher education is to create more
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porous barriers between K-12 schools and institutions of higher education through programs like early college, programs that bring high school students to campus to take classes alongside our undergraduates. Dual enrollment is a similar arrangement in which high school teachers deliver university credit directly to high school students in the high schools. They do this by working with university faculty to ensure that their syllabi, learning outcomes, and class rigor are consistent with university courses. In a dual enrollment class, high school students earn USM credit while still in high school. If you would like to partner with a high school teacher to offer USM classes to high school students, compensation is available to you per the AFUM bargaining agreement.”

Further, K-12 outreach must include pathways to occupational assessment, training appropriate to students’ capabilities and preferences, and targeted workforce development calibrated to both students’ educational attainment and skills and employers’ needs. Dean Uzzi’s appeal to USM faculty is one component in a university-wide, long-term initiative defining “an intentional and explicit approach to economic and cultural development, recognizing the critical role of Maine’s public metropolitan university in helping the state realize its potential.”

This paper emphasizes that higher education institutions’ outreach to K-12 students must begin long before high school; colleges and universities must drill down to early elementary grades in order to improve students’ cognitive-affective development and long-term educational outcomes, and ensure that they enter person-specific institutional curricular and career pipelines.

As one example whose results can be easily replicated, the Susan L. Curtis Foundation (SLC), Portland, sponsors youth development programs from third grade through high school graduation. Children who have experienced trauma and environmental factors that inhibit their development are referred to SLC by their schools and are first exposed to SLC’s residential camp, located in Oxford County. They must commit to at least two weeks’ stay, with older children in residence at least four weeks. Executive director Melissa Cilley said SLC makes a ‘multi-year investment’ in participating children, with 60-70 percent retention.

In 2017, ‘Camp Susan Curtis Youth’ numbered 463 from all 16 Maine counties, with a 99.8 percent high school graduation rate for those in the program at least four years, compared to 76 percent statewide. Eighty-three percent of students who went on to postsecondary education

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120 Interview 1 May 2018. Susan L. Curtis Foundation. Portland ME.
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(including 2- and 4- year colleges, the military, and certification programs) continued their education, compared to 46 percent statewide. SLC also offers graduating students three scholarships toward college expenses.

Graduating participants are required to complete a set of competencies. “Academic, social, and extracurricular performance all improved,” Cilley said, “and generalized to the family environment. The program is designed not to lose kids. Kids do individual and group reflection, building responsibility, self-confidence, skill development, interpersonal skills, wellness and nutrition, environmental stewardship, and learn to manage money.” With a ‘Campus to Career’ program component partnered with approximately 20 local/regional employers, “Our kids are also more likely to stay in Maine,” Cilley said.

Successful workforce development also must be able to replicate Goodwill Industries’ and regional workforce development boards’ expansion of training, retraining, and employment opportunities for previously marginalized populations: retired workers 65 and older, persons with disabilities, young and prime-age adults in the justice system, persons in poverty, and skilled foreign-born workers in STEM occupations who may or may not have U. S.-equivalent degrees or certifications. Academic institutions must also include these populations in their definitions of community outreach and employer needs assessment. Numerous grant awards exist for workforce diversification and inclusion based on program participants’ status. Finally, state government – the Executive, Department of Economic and Community Development, Department of Labor, Department of Education, and Department of Health & Human Services – must provide sustainable incentives for product and process innovation and new businesses, rather than seek to control them through taxation and overregulation; as well as expand funding for targeted regional workforce development in the face of continuing labor shortages.

Eighty-seven percent of Maine households own computers, for example, but only 78 percent are able to access broadband services;\(^\text{121}\) leaving 122,000 households unable to participate in distance learning – an integral piece of new knowledge economics. In 2019, the City of Sanford ME will begin building out a 10-100 GB regional broadband network – SanfordNet – which will rival in performance The Gig in Chattanooga TN. This is knowledge industry infrastructure in the making, certain to attract technology industries, knowledge

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workers, and entrepreneurs, just as renewable solar and wind energy generation have produced new jobs in these new, green industries. Maine’s executive, legislators, and regulatory authorities must educate themselves in the workings of these new paradigms, which may stimulate them to envision Maine’s potential in rapidly emerging sectors of an international economy, and the state’s obligation to Mainers to ensure their fullest participation in them.

Workforce development resources

U. S. Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration
https://www.doleta.gov/

O*NET Online
https://www.onetonline.org/

Maine Department of Labor Center for Workforce Research and Information
https://www.maine.gov/labor/cwri/

Maine State Workforce Board
https://www.maine.gov/swb/

Northeastern Workforce Development Board (serving Aroostook, Hancock, Penobscot, Piscataquis, and Washington Counties)
http://www.northeasternwdb.org/

Central Western Maine Workforce Development Board (serving Kennebec, Somerset, Androscoggin, Oxford, and Franklin Counties)
http://cwmwdb.org/

Coastal Counties Workforce Inc. (serving York, Cumberland, Sagadahoc, Lincoln, Waldo, and Knox Counties)
http://www.coastalcounties.org/

Midcoast Regional Development Authority
http://mrra.us/redevelopment/workforce-training/

The Fedcap Group
http://www.fedcap.org/

TechHire Maine
http://www.projectlogin.com/techhire-maine

Goodwill Industries of Northern New England Workforce Solutions
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https://goodwillnne.org/jobs/

Greater Portland Workforce Initiative
http://www.unitedwaygp.org/greater-portland-workforce-initiative/

Tree Street Youth, Lewiston ME
https://treestreetyouth.org/

IntWork (specializing in recruiting/placing STEM professionals)
https://www.intwork.co/

Maine Can Do (assists employers in preventing and responding to workplace sexual harassment)
http://www.mecando.org/

Catholic Charities of Maine
https://www.ccmaine.org/

City of Portland Office of Economic Opportunity
https://www.portlandmaine.gov/2108/Office-of-Economic-Opportunity

Susan L. Curtis Foundation
https://www.susancurtis.org/

Maine Youth Transition Collaborative/Southern Maine Youth Transition Network
https://www.maineyJTC.org/southern-maine-youth-transition-network-smytn/

New Mainer Resource Center
https://nmrcmaine.org/

U. S. Department of Justice Bureau of Justice Assistance
https://bjatta.bja.ojp.gov/tags/workforce-development
## Future workforce development in Maine

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<td>BATH</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>UPS SOLUTIONS</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>1,001 to 1,500</td>
<td>Couriers and express delivery services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>SPURWINK SERVICES INC</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>1,001 to 1,500</td>
<td>Residential mental and substance abuse care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>PENOBSCOT BAY MEDICAL CENTER</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>General medical and surgical hospitals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>AROOSTOOK MEDICAL CENTER, THE EMHS</td>
<td>BREWER</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>General medical and surgical hospitals</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>ATHENAHEALTH INC</td>
<td>BELFAST</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Office administrative services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>BONNEY STAFFING CENTER INC</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Office administrative services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>WEX LLC</td>
<td>SOUTH PORTLAND</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Financial transaction processing and clearing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>BANK OF AMERICA NA</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Commercial banking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>COLBY COLLEGE</td>
<td>WATERVILLE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Colleges and universities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>BATES COLLEGE</td>
<td>LEWISTON</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Colleges and universities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>T MOBILE USA INC</td>
<td>OAKLAND</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Telemarketing and other contact centers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>SWEETSER</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Residential mental and substance abuse care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>WAYFAIR MAINE LLC</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Telemarketing and other contact centers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>BANGOR SAVINGS BANK</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Savings institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>PERRIER GROUP-POLAND SPRING</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Bottled water manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>NEW BALANCE ATHLETIC SHOE INC</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
<td>Footwear manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Future workforce development in Maine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Employment Range</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>MARTINS POINT HEALTH CARE INC</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>C N BROWN CO</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>CENTRAL MAINE POWER CO</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>MANPOWER</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>MARDENS INC</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>TYLER TECHNOLOGIES INC</td>
<td>STATEWIDE</td>
<td>500 to 1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All other outpatient care centers
Fuel dealers
Electric power distribution
Temporary help services
Department Stores
Computer systems design services

Source: Maine Department of Labor, Center for Workforce Research and Information
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USDA Economic Research Service.