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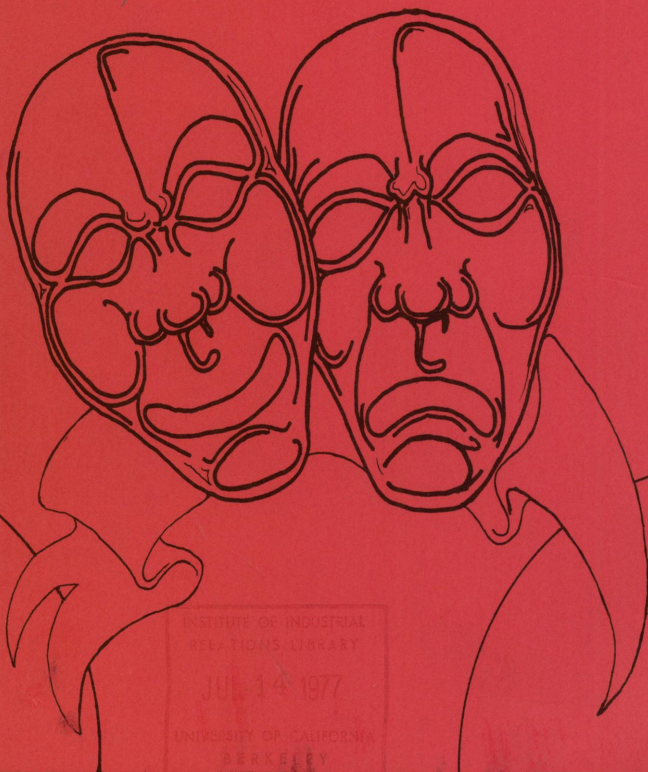
CREATIVE CAREERS

MINORITIES IN THE ARTS

by Paul Bullock

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS • UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

1977



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PREFACE

This study is the culmination of a three-year project whose origins and purposes reflect both the personal and professional interests of the author. As a specialist in human resource development, I have long been interested in exploring the ways in which America's youth--especially, minority youngsters--choose and pursue careers. As a friend and associate of scores of young people in the black and brown communities of Los Angeles, I have consistently been impressed by the range and depth of their involvements in fields which are broadly artistic in nature or relate in varying degrees to the arts--music, drama, dance, art, communications, and other forms of entertainment. I have concluded that there are linkages between these interests, on the premise that the acknowledged richness of minority cultures and the demonstrated creativity of many inner-city teenagers are logical bases upon which to build future careers.

This is, in a sense, a considerable departure from tradition: the demands of the prevailing labor market, not the interests of the individual, have dictated the choice of a career, with the result that millions of Americans are in jobs which they find unfulfilling and for which they are ill-fitted. A more imaginative, and ultimately more realistic, system of career-building would start with the individual, with his or her strengths and skills and temperament. The result would be a happier and more productive labor force.

In arguing that the process of career development should start with individuals who constitute the potential labor *supply* rather than with market *demand*, I am not at all contending that the configuration of the labor market is irrelevant. To the contrary, a major portion of this study examines the demand side of the artistic market, taking full account of the economic malaise and pervasive unemployment

that burden many of the arts. Such considerations, as I suggest again in Chapter I, are essential in light of a common and persistent belief that the creative fields offer limited prospects for job creation.

Although I am well aware of these economic restraints upon career development in the arts, I nevertheless assert that the interests of young people in such fields deserve concrete recognition in the educational, guidance, and training processes. Aside from the obvious advantages in terms of stronger personal motivation and gratification, there are other arguments in behalf of this approach:

(1) The arts in the United States are strongly affected by social policy, and there is evidence that governmental support, at federal, state, and local levels, will expand in coming years (see Chapters II and IV of this report). In combination with strong affirmative-action programs, this can have a positive impact upon the artistic labor market generally and the employment of minorities in particular.

(2) Improvements in education (see Chapter V) could raise the general level of artistic appreciation and thereby strengthen the consumer market. This, too, would be translated into an enhanced demand for artists, in both the non-profit and profitmaking sectors of the economy.

(3) Perhaps of greatest importance, many creative skills are transferable within and among industries and occupations. Even if the minority youngster does not ultimately pursue an artistic career as such, his or her interests and aptitudes might be applicable in other fields. Partly for this reason, I have defined *art* broadly, encompassing popular entertainment as well as the so-called "high culture." I have also given attention to crafts and trades in which some aspects of creative talent are potentially of value: set and costume design in the theater and motion pictures, photography,

architecture and drafting, radio and television communications, commercial art and illustration, as just a few examples. I have suggested ways in which the public schools could improve and extend the processes by which artistic strengths can be identified and linked specifically with realistic career development. The burgeoning "neighborhood arts" programs have an added role to perform in this area.

In the course of this study, I have conducted scores of interviews with union and management officials, artists, representatives of arts organizations, educators and counselors, and others much too numerous to identify individually. To all of them collectively, I extend my thanks for the hours spent in educating me on the many complex issues involved. I owe particular appreciation to John Kreidler, my research associate in the early phases of the project who has subsequently had a rare opportunity, as the director of Alameda County's Neighborhood Arts Program, to apply many of the ideas we discussed, and to Felicitas Hinman, principal editor on the Institute's staff who again has edited my prose with great skill and sympathy. My secretaries during the writing period, Linda Reitman and Lorrie Mengrone, have efficiently typed the manuscript. Marna McCormick, also of the Institute staff, gave valuable advice on the design of this book. A grant from the Institute's Manpower Research Center supported a part of the research.

As I have done in the past, I have collaborated with a number of talented and intelligent youngsters from the minority communities of Los Angeles, who assisted me in the interviewing and advised me on their own experiences in the schools and in the labor market. They represent a highly visible confirmation of my thesis that these communities contain reservoirs of creative talent. I am, therefore, especially indebted to Richard Arrambid, Arturo Chaparro, Alfred Jackson, Michael Mathis, Javier Muniz, Mary Patterson, and Gary Pope.

A very special role in this project has been performed by my friend, Chazz Nelson. Only nineteen at the time of this writing, he is a self-taught artist who has contributed the cartoons and the cover illustration to this book. As a lifelong resident of south central Los Angeles, he attended inner-city schools, but received marginal help and guidance in the fields of his interest and talent. He left high school, before graduating, to attend Los Angeles City College, where he now majors in art and studies subjects ranging from psychology to literature. In the light of the book's thesis and subject matter, I considered it especially appropriate for him to contribute the art work. The imaginative ideas and designs are entirely his own, some of them initially conceived when he was sixteen (at the time of our first meeting). Again, they illustrate, in a very literal sense, a creative skill which deserves greater recognition in our educational and economic systems.

Needless to say, all views expressed and recommendations made in this book are exclusively my own, and no individual or organization identified herein bears any responsibility whatsoever for them.

Paul Bullock
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March, 1977

-CONTENTS-

I.	THE ECONOMICS OF THE CREATIVE FIELDS	1
II.	GOVERNMENTAL SUPPORT OF THE ARTS	50
III.	EMPLOYMENT, LABOR RELATIONS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION	82
IV.	NEIGHBORHOOD ARTS PROGRAMS	131
V.	CAREER EDUCATION IN THE ARTS THE LOS ANGELES EXPERIENCE	153
VI.	CONCLUSIONS	165

NOTES 193

APPENDICES 203

I

THE ECONOMICS OF THE CREATIVE FIELDS

The creative fields traditionally have been regarded as unlikely or unfavorable prospects for job development. Often characterized by high levels of unemployment or underemployment, and subject to the unpredictable whims of public taste, careers in music, art, drama and other aspects of the theatrical arts, dance, graphic arts, and writing have largely been ignored by policymakers concerned with the development of training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged young people in the inner cities. This pervasive neglect persists despite evidence that many black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican youngsters, among others, possess creative potential in these or related fields.

While the negative generalizations suggested above have an element of historical and contemporary truth, they should not be treated as insuperable barriers to economic or educational progress. Trends in both the public and private sectors augur further changes in the nature and extent of general support for the arts, and, even today, segments of the creative fields enjoy high levels of popular acceptance. For many of the reasons outlined in the introduction to this study, it makes sense in terms of social policy to recognize and build upon the talents which already exist among youngsters in the ghettos and barrios, rather than to attempt continually to force them into occupational molds for which they may be unmotivated or otherwise ill-suited.

Although a degree of capriciousness and unpredictability is inherent in the economics of *any* creative field, experience and projections vary widely among the fields. At one extreme, in a sense, are live drama and dance--fields characterized by a limited and essentially "elitist" market and a relative nontransferability of skills. At the other extreme are movies and television, which have a broad popular market for much of their product and encompass a

diversity of talents in both their creative and technical aspects. Music, art, and writing are in an intermediate position economically: artistic skill is applicable to a wide range of occupations (though art per se is rarely "popular"); writing facility, too, has varying uses, some of which have a popular appeal; and music, in at least some of its forms, has an extensive market which carries a potential for further development with improvements in music education and new audience exposure.

By nature, of course, the creative fields are labor-intensive. Productivity and cost are controllable only within narrow limits, since the number and quality of performers and artists are fixed by the requirements of the production itself. The fields in which performances normally are presented "live" (symphonies, opera, dance, and stage drama, in particular) are further inhibited by the fact that seating capacity restricts the size of audiences, while operating costs climb steadily as a consequence of inflation, union agreements, and other factors. Organizational management can only rarely benefit from technological innovation as a cost-saving device, although certain forms of entertainment, such as films and music, can achieve economies through large-scale reproduction of performances. From both esthetic and employment viewpoints, however, live performances remain preferable to "canned music" or TV reruns.

In their classic study of the economics of the performing arts, Professors William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen have made the point that productivity, as measured by output per manhour, is virtually inelastic in fields such as theater, opera, music, and dance, and that *any* increase in wages or other performance costs must therefore be reflected in an increase in total cost. With operating income fixed by seating capacity, elasticity of audience demand in response to a rise in ticket prices, and other factors, few performance organizations can expect to cover all costs with revenues from the boxoffice. In consequence, there emerges what Baumol and

Bowen describe as an "income gap" and what a more recent Ford Foundation study calls an "earnings gap"---the amount of private and/or public contributions required to equal the difference between total cost and earnings.

The nonprofit corporation dominates the live performance fields: "Almost all professional performances of symphonic and operatic music, of ballet and modern dance, and many of the noteworthy drama productions in theaters all over the United States are made available through nonprofit corporations." Of course, the experience in the more "popular" fields is quite different: film and record companies and night clubs are profitmaking enterprises. In the United States, public and private subsidies have largely been limited to the nonprofit sector; in other countries, such as Great Britain, the motion picture industry has received governmental subsidies in various forms. Hollywood unions and producers continue to press for corresponding assistance (at least, the imposition of penalties on films imported into the United States from countries which subsidize), but it is not likely that the industry will obtain significant aid from governmental sources in the near future.

In one form or another, the future direction--perhaps even the survival--of the nonprofit creative organization will remain closely linked with trends in public policy. An extensive consideration of some of these issues may be found in Chapter II of this report, particularly in relation to the question of governmental subventions or other measures of direct and indirect support for the arts. The following evaluations of the economics of American culture are based on the premise that the form and degree of governmental assistance remain essentially as they are today (except where otherwise indicated in the text).

The Live Performing Arts

Almost by definition, the live performing arts (theater, symphonies, operas, ballet, and modern dance) are economically

vulnerable in an aggravated degree. With few exceptions, their performances usually take place in theaters with limited seating capacities, attended by audiences whose tastes in artistic matters tend to be specialized and uncommonly sophisticated. Ironically, one of the greatest virtues of a performer or performing group in the creative fields--adherence to high standards of quality in performance and production--is also a short-run economic liability, because only rarely can cultural organizations "sell" a lower-quality product to their customers or mislead and miseducate consumers through the more typical forms of advertising and market manipulation.

Further, as noted before, production costs in the live performing arts are not readily reducible. Although there has been much grumbling about the assumed impact of "feather-bedding" and other union practices which raise labor costs, there is no evidence that these contribute or have contributed importantly to the prevailing economic malaise in the arts; indeed, it would appear that many artists accept sub-standard incomes and thereby "subsidize" the organizations which employ them.

The massive Ford Foundation study--*The Finances of the Performing Arts* (1974)--reaches essentially the same conclusion as did Baumol and Bowen in their earlier work: management in the labor-intensive performing arts has only a very limited capacity to control costs.^{3/}

The clear implication of the regularity of expenditure patterns is that it is difficult for managers of performing arts groups to make large changes in them. Within the limits imposed by the complex set of factors that affect the costs of labor and goods in the economy as a whole, management can choose the overall budget level at which to operate provided it can produce or find the income required there. But at any given budget level, the kinds of needs and their costs are relatively

fixed. Although there are variations from organization to organization, they are variations around a mean determined by the nature of each performing art, a factor over which management has relatively little control. Overall budget size is determined by artistic quality, kind and scope of repertoire, number of productions, length of season, and the like. Once it is determined, so also to a large extent are the components of expenditure and the limits beyond which management cannot vary these components in keeping costs to a minimum.

The labor-cost component varies somewhat among the forms of live performing arts, partly due to differences in employee compensation and partly to variations in the degrees of labor intensiveness. According to the findings of the Ford Foundation study, musicians usually receive higher minimum union wage scales than do actors, singers, or dancers. More importantly, symphonic music requires less expenditure for scenery and costumes than do opera and theater, and musical performance thus tends to be proportionately more labor-intensive. Very little can be inferred, however, concerning the *average annual earnings* of various performers, because of variations in regularity of employment over a full year.⁴

Given the relative inflexibilities present on both the cost and demand sides of the live performing arts, there is little prospect that current operating revenues can be sufficient to cover costs for the performing arts *as a whole*, particularly if standards of artistic quality are to be maintained. For all such organizations surveyed, the Ford Foundation study projects a 1980-81 "earnings gap," in constant dollars, of \$335 millions at the upper limit and \$95 millions at the lower limit (with the probability that the more pessimistic projection is also more realistic). What this suggests is that local nongovernmental contributions must also expand markedly to offset some of the growing "earnings gap," but even with the most optimistic projections

there will still remain a gap of substantial magnitude, to be filled (if at all) by governmental and foundation subsidies.

The "earnings gap" projected by the Ford Foundation study is expressed in constant 1970-71 dollars, thus making no allowance for inflation trends. The study group has also issued projections based on varying assumptions about future inflation rates and degree of foundation or other support. Projecting a 1980-81 earnings gap on the assumption of a seven percent annual inflation rate, the study estimates its size at \$335 million for those organizations surveyed. Assuming that total local nongovernmental contributions would amount to \$150 million at that time, about \$185 million would have to be raised from other sources to fill the remaining gap. The projected \$335 million gap at this inflation rate is precisely the same as the upper-limit gap in *constant* 1970-71 dollars.

The study group is not sanguine about the prospects for significant increases in arts funding outside the governmental sector. "Thus, of the sources that filled the remaining gap in 1970-71, only government sources would appear to have much potential for increased funding. This is illustrated by the fact that the federal government has already increased the budget of the National Endowment for the Arts to four times its 1970-71 size." However, it suggests that in absolute terms "the bulk of the burden of support of performing arts organizations would still presumably remain with the private local sector."

Throughout its report, the Ford Foundation group warns that its assumptions and projections are subject to possible error and differing interpretations, and that they should not automatically be treated as predictions. Also, in a footnote, the study offers an interesting and perhaps relevant observation: "Given the present age structure and life expectancy of the population of the United States, the consuming arts public may be expected to grow in number. This, along with the growth in the gross national product, may provide some offset to the

TABLE I

TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES AND INCOME, 1970-71
(in thousands of dollars)*

	Theater (27)	Symphony (91)	Ballet (9)	Modern Dance (8)	Opera Including Metropolitan (31)	Opera Excluding Metropolitan (30)
Operating Expenditures	\$19,617	\$82,830	\$13,897	\$2,270	\$38,743	\$19,130
Earned Income	12,980	41,923	8,515	1,605	26,320	10,934
Unearned Income	6,591	37,544	5,512	743	13,429	9,342
Total Operating Income	19,571	79,467	14,028	2,347	39,749	20,275
Earnings Gap (Net After Earned Income)	(6,637)	(40,907)	(5,382)	(666)	(12,423)	(8,197)
Net After Total Operat- ing Income	(46)	(3,363)	131	77	1,006	1,145
Corpus Principal Transferred to Operations	101	2,486	0	0	74	74
Net After Operating Income and Corpus Transfers	56	(877)	131	77	1,080	1,219

* The number of organizations is given in parentheses as part of the heading of each column.

General Source for Tables I through XIII: *The Finances of the Performing Arts*, Volumes I and II, (New York: Ford Foundation, 1974).

TABLE II

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES, 1970-71

	Theater (27)	Opera (31)	Symphony (91)	Ballet (9)	Modern Dance (8)
Total Performing Artists Salaries/Fees	21	35	53	31	29
Total Artistic Salaries/Fees	33	45	61	41	41
Total Nonartistic Salaries/Fees	16	11	11	10	9
Total Salaries/Fees/Fringe Benefits	62	66	77	62	56
Total Nonsalary Production Costs	12	13	6	16	30
Total Nonsalary Costs	38	34	23	38	44
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE III

OCCUPATION OF EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY EARNINGS IN 1969

	ALL EARNERS	EARNERS WORKED 50-52 WEEKS
<u>UNITED STATES</u>		
<u>Total</u>		
<u>Males 16 & Over</u>		
<u>Architects</u>	\$ 7,610	\$ 8,517
W, A, & E*	13,447	14,159
	9,444	10,898
<u>Females 16 & Over</u>		
<u>W, A, & E</u>	3,649	4,715
Actors & Dancers	4,187	6,120
Authors, Eds., Reporters	3,975	6,154
	5,476	6,839
<u>Negro</u>		
<u>Males 16 & Over</u>		
<u>Architects</u>	5,194	5,937
W, A, & E	10,433	11,604
	6,589	7,983
<u>Females 16 & Over</u>		
<u>W, A, & E</u>	3,008	3,812
Actors & Dancers	4,728	6,192
Authors, Eds., Reporters	4,120	4,821
	6,251	7,713
<u>Spanish Language-Spanish Surname</u>		
<u>Males 16 & Over</u>		
<u>Architects</u>	6,039	7,000
W, A, & E	11,898	12,514
	7,959	9,396
<u>Females 16 & Over</u>		
<u>W, A, & E</u>	3,241	4,307
Actors & Dancers	3,967	5,622
Authors, Eds., Reporters	4,436	5,346
	4,385	6,399

* Writers, Artists & Entertainers

TABLE IV

OCCUPATION OF EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE

	YEAR LAST WORKED OF EXPERIENCED WORKERS NOT IN LABOR FORCE		
	1960-63	1964-68	1969-70
<u>UNITED STATES</u>			
Total			
<u>Males 16 & Over</u>			
Architects	1,201,049	2,859,835	5,235,411
W, A, & E*	639	1,678	2,330
	6,087	17,917	52,602
<u>Females 16 & Over</u>			
W, A, & E	2,640,694	6,683,349	7,978,728
Actors & Dancers	15,624	42,317	67,675
Authors, Eds., & Reporters	908	3,339	6,125
	4,784	11,557	12,759

* Writers, Artists & Entertainers

TABLE V

1980-81 TREND VALUES: ALL ORGANIZATIONS*
(in millions of constant 1970-71 dollars)

	Total Expenditures	Earnings Gap	Total Local Nongovernment Contributions	Remaining Gap
1970-71 Actual	138	62	36	26
1980-81 Trend Value**	275	180	80	100
1980-81 Plausible Range**				
Lower	180	95	50	45
Upper	415	335	135	200

* Excluding Metropolitan Opera

** 1970-71 figures are rounded to nearest \$1 million. Projected figures are rounded to nearest \$5 million.

TABLE VI

1980-81 TREND VALUES AT DIFFERENT INFLATION RATES: ALL ORGANIZATIONS*
(in millions of dollars)

	Total Expenditures	Earnings Gap	Total Local Nongovernment Contributions	Remaining Gap
1970-71 Actual	138	62	36	26
1980-81 Trend Values at Annual Inflation Rate of:**				
4.5 per cent	435	285	125	160
7 per cent	510	335	150	185
10 per cent	620	405	180	225

* Excluding Metropolitan Opera.

** Ranges omitted for convenience. Trend values are rounded to nearest \$5 million.

growth in earnings and remaining gaps in the form of increased earned income. However, to a considerable extent this is already taken into account in the extrapolations, since these trends in population and gross national product were occurring during the survey period. It may also be noted that increasing audiences affect earnings gaps positively only as long as houses have unoccupied seats or the performances can be presented on television or marketed as video cassettes. If demand exceeds capacity to the extent that performance seasons are lengthened, earnings gaps may be expected to increase because of the difference between ticket income and performance expenses." 5/

The Ford Foundation study primarily encompasses the larger or better-known performing arts companies throughout the nation--166 in number (for statistical purposes, the Metropolitan Opera was excluded from many of the tabulations because its unusual size would unduly bias the results). There are, of course, many hundreds of smaller or lesser-known companies which were not included, but it seems probable that their economic condition is even more precarious than is the case with the larger ones. Many of these smaller organizations function with a part-time or volunteer staff, but despite these difficulties they have proliferated in some cities. In Greater Los Angeles alone, there are about 80 "little theaters," making this city one of the major areas of theatrical concentration.

In an effort to explore the finances of arts organizations in the Los Angeles community, we circulated a questionnaire to approximately fifty of them in 1974. Responses were insufficient in number to provide a valid sampling, but the results nevertheless suggest some tentative conclusions. There were 18 responses, but some respondents gave little information because of smallness of size and the presence of a purely volunteer staff. By category of organization, the breakdown of responses is as follows:

Theater	-	8
Fine Arts	~	6
Concert hall music		2
Combined fine arts and graphics	-	1
Dance	-	1

The typical organization has only a small full-time staff; indeed, many respondents indicated that theirs was a one-person operation or functioned entirely with volunteers and/or temporary contract personnel. Of the six *performing* arts organizations (three theaters, two concert music companies, and one dance company) which responded with information on revenues and costs, both musical groups and two of the three theaters reported substantial assistance from private contributions and governmental grants. Two of the three theaters, all of them small in size, report no regular payrolls: they function entirely or primarily with the help of volunteers or personnel on short-term contracts. The other theater and the dance company depend essentially upon operating revenues to cover the cost of maintaining their small complements of artistic and staff personnel. (Other parts of the survey, related specifically to questions of employment, will be discussed in Chapter III of this report.)

The conclusion suggested by both the Ford Foundation survey and our own questionnaire is that job development is especially difficult in the live performing arts *under prevailing economic conditions*, and that even with significant increases in contributions from private and public sources, most of the established organizations in this field can do little more than maintain the status quo. This does not take into account, however, the possibility that changes in public taste, amount of leisure time, and/or broad economic circumstances could substantially expand the audience and, therefore, the potentialities for new employment. Nor does

the economic constraint described above necessarily preclude the use of live drama, dance, and music as educational and training and motivational tools in the public schools. It should also be emphasized that "popular" music, either in live performance or recorded form, and filmed or televised drama remain profitable fields. Some of these considerations are examined more fully in the concluding chapter.

Motion Pictures and Television

In 1957, Irving Bernstein, of the staff of the UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations, published a major study of employment and related problems in the motion picture industry, *Hollywood at the Crossroads: An Economic Study of the Motion Picture Industry* (the author of this present report was research assistant on the Bernstein project). As the title would suggest, the findings of the Bernstein study were, on the whole, dismally pessimistic. Boom times for the movies had reached their peak in 1946, and the industry had experienced a recession ever since. In the period immediately after World War II, about 90 million Americans attended the movies weekly; by 1956, that average had fallen to about 46.5 million, or half of the 1946 figure. To add to Hollywood's problems, a high proportion of the movies shown had been shot in foreign countries. Bernstein concluded that the era of regular movie attendance as an American family habit was gone forever--the victim of changes in cultural and recreational patterns wrought by television, suburbanization, and many other factors.

Bernstein was right: the movies have never regained their past affluence, and there is no prospect that they ever will. Nevertheless, in recent years the industry has enjoyed a noticeable resurgence in activity, again due to a complex diversity of circumstances. Box office grosses approximating \$1.6 billion made 1974 the second largest

grossing year in history, topped only by 1946. The highest earning movies--such as "The Sting" with about \$68.5 million in domestic theater rentals and "The Exorcist" with \$66.3 million--sometimes produced sufficient income by themselves to assure profits for the studios that produced them. Box office revenues for the first nine months of 1975 were 13½ percent above the figure for the corresponding 1974 period.6/

Over the past five years, so-called "blockbuster" movies have helped pull formerly ailing studios back into the profit column. "Love Story" and "The Godfather" (I and II), for example, gave Paramount a strong boost. And MGM's "That's Entertainment," undoubtedly helped by the wave of nostalgia engulfing much of the public, has been so successful that studio executives have even resumed theatrical film-making, albeit on a limited scale, after having substantially abandoned it in favor of massive real-estate operations.

Among the various Hollywood studios which survive today, Universal unquestionably represents the biggest success story. Associated with the powerful Music Corporation of America (MCA), Universal has shrewdly combined both theatrical and television movie-making with the profitable operation of studio tours and an amusement center. While there remain a few stars--primarily, male actors like Robert Redford, Jack Nicholson, Paul Newman, and Steve McQueen--whose presence in a motion picture almost assures box office success, the emphasis in Hollywood has tended to shift to the creative or the clever producer-director, such as Francis Ford Coppola (of "Godfather"); Irwin Allen, the so-called "king of the disaster movies"; and Robert Altman (of "Nashville"), who has an intuitive sense of what the public wants in the movie theater today. Perhaps the most astounding sociological phenomenon is the popularity of the movie which is designed to frighten and even terrify its audience: "The Exorcist" and "The Towering Inferno" are recent examples, and in 1975 the Universal production of Peter Benchley's novel "Jaws" became the biggest box office draw of all time--over \$130 million in rentals as of late September.7/

As Bernstein pointed out in his earlier study, the movie audiences have always been diverse, but the multiplicity of "special" target groups for movie makers is perhaps more obvious today than ever before. Some producers have managed to carve out of the total movie audience some unique or identifiable specializations: the Disney studios continue to turn out "family" pictures; Irwin Allen, as noted before, specializes in disaster spectacles; Mel Brooks and Woody Allen make satirical comedies with broad sociological overtones; and a young actor-director-writer named Tom Laughlin has successfully defied the critics with his "Billy Jack" box office smashes, directing his appeal to teenagers and young adults. More controversial is the emergence of the "porno" film from the stag party into the regular movie theater: on some days, the segregated space in the *Los Angeles Times*' entertainment section devoted to "X" rated movies approximates that advertising the more "legitimate" films.

Of particular significance, perhaps, is the development of a genre of films directed primarily to black audiences. Encouraged by the financial success of Melvin Van Peebles' "Sweet Sweetback's Badass Song" (which in 1971 became one of the most lucrative movies ever made by an independent producer), Hollywood studios rushed into production scores of movies featuring black performers and plots based on inner-city ghetto life--or, at least, Hollywood's *perception* of the ghettos. With their emphasis on narcotics, street hustling, violence and brutality, and the gorier aspects of ghetto living, most of these pictures have been labeled "blaxploitation" films in the industry's parlance, and possibly their only substantive value lies in their positive impact on the employment of black actors and actresses. While this new trend has benefited a few blacks "behind the camera," such as directors Gordon Parks, Sr. and Jr., and screenwriter Lonnie Elder III, most of the so-called "black" movies are still produced, directed, and written by whites and the technical crews remain almost as lily-white as ever. Renee Ward writes in the *Los Angeles Times*,

In the past five years, according to figures maintained by Variety, movies in which blacks were principally featured grossed more than \$450 million at the box office, a sizable and forceful figure by any measure. But creative control--and profits--remained with whites. Of the approximately 200 movies made during the five year boom, few had any sort of significant input from blacks in their making.... [In 1975] only one-third of the 24 [black-oriented] movies were either written, produced, or directed by blacks.*

In a few cases, successful black performers have moved into production roles. Sidney Poitier, who directed "Uptown Staurday Night" and its sequel "Let's Do It Again," and now produces his own films, has made some headway in employment of blacks off screen as well as on. Even those few black film producers in the industry, however, normally must seek independent financing (Poitier and Motown's Barry Gordy are exceptions). So far, the most prominent result of "blaxploitation" has been the emergence of some sports heroes as new stars: e.g., former football players Jim Brown and Fred Williamson and karate champion Jim Kelly.

One of the more encouraging aspects of recent movie industry experience is the growing production of movies made especially for television. In the 1950s and 1960s, the major studios seemed to concentrate on the block sale of their older and more popular theatrical films to the television networks and to some local stations. This, of course, produced a substantial "one-shot" income to the majors, some of which (like RKO) subsequently vanished completely from the moviemaking business. More recently, studios such as Universal, MGM, and Twentieth Century-Fox have progressed in the production both of feature-length movies for television showing and of TV comedy and dramatic series.

Ironically, the motion picture industry has long experienced a counter-cyclical pattern: even at the depth of the Great Depression of the 1930s, the industry was profitable.

*"'The Crossover' Goes Beyond Blaxploitation," Calendar Section, Dec. 28, 1975, p. 26.

It should perhaps be added that, in some cases, individual performers were almost single-handedly responsible for the survival of their studios in the 1930s, for example, Mae West at Paramount and Deanna Durbin at Universal. Indeed, one of the largest studios--Twentieth Century-Fox--was formed in precisely that period. In times of depression, the public seeks escape and relief from the cascading economic burdens, and the movies remain (even in this era of inflation) an accessible source of entertainment. The box office records set in 1974 and 1975, both recession years, are dramatic proof of this.

The risks in movie making, of course, remain considerable, and the mortality rate of TV series is notorious. Although theater grosses may currently be high, production and distribution costs also have risen and competition from foreign sources, including the so-called "runaway" film produced by Americans in other countries, continues to threaten domestic employment (though apparently not to the degree observed by Bernstein in his 1957 study). On the other side of the coin, television, like the movies, has now discovered a vast and hitherto untapped audience for productions using black performers, and regular series such as "Sanford and Son," "Good Times," "The Jeffersons"--a spinoff from the top-rated "All in the Family" series--and "Soul Train" are popular and highly rated shows. Similarly, this new development in television has not yet been accompanied by a concomitant expansion in the employment of black writers, directors and technicians. (This issue, again, is considered more fully in Chapter III.)

Nothing in recent movie-going experience, however, suggests any resumption of older habits; relatively few adult Americans now go to the movies regularly and habitually. The lure of television remains strong, and most theater-goers are highly selective in the films they see. But the comparative decline in the "star system" may have aided producers in one important respect: successful pictures can be made without the presence of a highly expensive star cast. Some recent successes which lack established "big-name" stars are Altman's "Nashville,"

"Walking Tall (I and II)," "The Exorcist," and Brooks' "Blazing Saddles." Perhaps the most heartening and encouraging event in recent Hollywood history is the financial success of American International's "Cooley High," a critically acclaimed and deeply moving film performed, directed, and written by blacks, which had already grossed over \$12 million by the end of 1975.

Increasingly, the American public chooses movies for theme and content, rather than on the basis of familiarity and fame of individual performers. This has enabled some creative producer-directors to use talented but relatively unknown actors and actresses in key roles. Many of the older stars, such as John Wayne, have organized their own production companies, for tax and other reasons, and some of them still can command generous salaries and profit-participation payments from studios that produce pictures in which they appear, but no longer is it essential to have a William Holden or a Cary Grant in the cast as a guarantee of monetary success. This can open up new paths of opportunity for young performers and other creative artists, a prospect which will be explored more thoroughly in later chapters of this report.

Night Clubs and "Pop" Concerts

Unlike the live performing arts discussed earlier in this chapter, the musical performances considered here are capable of generating impressive income for their producers without private subsidy or governmental subvention. Like movies and television, however, the risks also are considerable, and public response can be capricious and unpredictable at times. Audiences for so-called "popular" music predominantly are young, and their tastes often whimsical and mercurial. Performers of dubious artistic merit may be enthusiastically received, while others of more talent and interest are ignored. Teenagers, in particular, are notoriously faddish in their enthusiasm, influenced by the opinions of their peers and resistant to the views of their elders. Young

people constitute the largest proportion of "pop" record buyers and concert audiences, and they tend to appreciate only those performers who are close in age to themselves.

A partial exception to these generalizations lies in the field of jazz, which in a sense is neither classical nor popular music (it has been aptly described as "America's classical music"). While there is a substantial youthful audience for jazz, it is largely black in composition and most of the whites, along with many blacks, prefer forms of music which are commonly labeled "rock" (and are adjudged by critics, and by the author, as esthetically inferior to jazz).^{*} The presentation of jazz in night clubs generates frequent problems in reaching youthful audiences who, in California, are legally barred from clubs which sell alcoholic beverages and do not serve food. There are, of course, no similar restrictions upon their attendance at concerts, but, at least for many jazz groups, the large auditorium is far less suitable than the small club for high quality of performance and for the audience rapport which is an integral element of the total musical experience.

One recent liberalization of California's alcoholic beverage control laws facilitates the employment of young musicians in clubs which serve liquor. Formerly barred from performing in such clubs, persons ages 18 to 21 may now perform, either instrumentally or vocally, if no alcohol is consumed on the bandstand or in any area of the club where the minor musicians normally congregate between performances. (California Business and Professions Code, Sect. 25663.5, effective March 4, 1972.) One further step would be helpful, in economic terms: reduction of the legal minimum drinking age from 21 to 18. For most purposes in California, the legal age for adulthood has already been set at 18, but legislation extending that provision to the consumption of alcoholic beverages has been blocked. Club owners can admit and serve minors without restriction where only soft

^{*} Generally speaking, there are noticeable differences between "rock" as performed by white groups and "rock" as performed by blacks. The latter is usually an extension of the music formerly labeled "rhythm and blues," while the former is a mixture of "popular" musical elements and is characterized by the use of heavily amplified guitars.

drinks are sold, but revenues from alcohol sales constitute a major portion of profits for most clubs in which live entertainment is presented. In those instances where the entertainment offered appeals strongly to youthful audiences, reduction in the legal drinking age should noticeably expand the market.

Even if the lowering of the drinking age is further delayed, a logical and (seemingly) readily achievable intermediate step is indicated. Under existing law in California, minors are barred from *entering* any club which serves alcohol and no food; clubs which offer a menu are labeled "restaurants" and can admit anyone regardless of age, although those under the age of 21 cannot legally be served an alcoholic beverage. This law is an anomaly and an anachronism, apparently a holdover from previous eras when "saloons" were considered dens of iniquity in which the mere sight of adults drinking (and not eating) would corrupt young people. Realistically, only a small minority of jazz club audiences order food in the later evening when performances normally are presented, having attended principally for the purpose of hearing music and drinking. A modification of this outmoded law, allowing minors to attend any club even though they still cannot be served hard drinks, would benefit club owners and professional musicians by expanding the jazz and rock audiences, and teenagers by exposing them to a greater diversity of musical forms presented "live" and under ideal auditory conditions.

By far the largest component of total cost of operating a Class A union club in Greater Los Angeles is the expense of hiring performers. For any such club which features high-quality professional jazz talent, the cost of a small combo (in 1975) can range from \$1500 to \$4500 for a six-night engagement and of a full orchestra from \$1000 to \$2000 for a single night's performance--the exact amount depending upon the relative drawing power of the musical groups. Revenues come (in about equal proportions, according to one club owner) primarily from two sources: admission charges at the door, and sales of drinks. Small clubs generally are non-union, pay performers much less, but seldom charge admission fees. 8/

In the jazz and rock fields, the drawing power of a performer can be directly related to the popularity of a recent record album or series of hit "singles." The current appeal of a popular artist will assure large audiences, but such artists also are costly and some of the more successful ones will virtually retire from night club performing and will appear only in concert. The more famous performers can earn a much greater income from a single concert than from an entire week of performances in a club. The profitability of a club depends mainly upon the acumen and luck of the "talent buyer," who usually must book far in advance of a group's appearance and must judge its pulling power at that time relative to its cost. If he is particularly shrewd or lucky, he will contract for the performance of a combo or a vocalist who will release a hit record just prior to the club appearance.

Concert promotion carries similar risks, although a promoter who can contract with well-known rock stars is virtually assured of a profit. An added risk for the rock concert producer, recently spotlighted in Los Angeles, is the belief in some quarters that rock audiences are excessively rowdy and, perhaps, even riot-prone. When the Police Department itself shares this view, as it apparently does locally, this can lead both to political conflict and to burdensome "security" costs. While there is no doubt that marijuana smoking is common at such concerts, and that there are occasional instances of unruly or inebriated behavior on the part of some concertgoers, on balance the evidence suggests that the dangers inherent in such presentations are vastly exaggerated by the critics. Indeed, it would appear that the congregation of large numbers of teenagers at concerts is healthier from a social viewpoint than their dispersion on the streets.

Jazz audiences, of course, are diversified in terms of age, race, educational backgrounds, and so forth (the nature of various audiences is examined more fully later in this chapter). On the average, they tend to be somewhat older than the rock audiences, though the age and racial composition will vary considerably according to the reputation of specific performers.

Some musicians defy category and appeal to wide audiences in both the jazz and "pop" fields (for example, Stevie Wonder; Blood, Sweat and Tears; Marvin Gaye; and the late Jimi Hendrix), with some of them managing even to win critical acceptance at the same time. Such depth and diversity of appeal are, naturally, the answer to a concert producer's prayer. It may be significant, for our purposes, to note that many of these successful performers (such as Stevie Wonder) started their careers while still in their teens.

The Record Industry

Like its counterparts (movies, TV, and concerts) in the "pop" field, the recording industry is characterized by a combination of high risk and high profit, heavily vulnerable to the whims and caprices of taste in a predominantly youthful market. The biggest moneymakers tend to be in the "pop rock" category, with a few stars such as Elton John, David Bowie, and Neil Sedaka earning astronomical incomes for themselves and for their record companies. While there is some cross-over between the markets, the audiences for "rock" tend to be voluntarily segregated by race: some artists appeal primarily to blacks, while others are popular mainly among whites. The only black-owned major record company--Motown, founded in Detroit by Barry Gordy, Jr.--has become so profitable that it has expanded its operations into motion picture production. Its first movie venture, a film biography of Billie Holiday called "Lady Sings the Blues," became one of the leading financial successes of 1973.

Similar to the motion picture industry, record companies confront a highly segmented market. The semi-official chronicler of the record industry--*Billboard* magazine--classifies its listing of top-selling records by categories such as "jazz," "soul," "country," "the hot 100," and so on. (Ironically, some of the best-selling records in the "soul" category are made by a white group with the tongue-in-cheek label of the "Average White Band," composed of musicians from

Scotland who have managed to duplicate perfectly the sound of "soul.") So-called "country and western" music, associated in the public mind with Nashville and its durable "Grand Ole Opry" of radio and concert, enjoys wide popularity throughout the South and West and among many resettled older persons in large cities (this traditionally white-oriented music now has a highly popular black performer--Charlie Pride). Young blacks are an extensive and enthusiastic audience for the "soul" records of James Brown, Al Green, Stevie Wonder (who recently negotiated a \$13 million contract with Motown--the largest in history), Marvin Gaye, Smokey Robinson, Gladys Knight and the Pips, Aretha Franklin, and many others. A smaller but dedicated audience exists for jazz, with some instrumentalists such as saxophonist Grover Washington Jr. and pianist Herbie Hancock even succeeding in infiltrating the "pop" market. Many older Americans continue to prefer the "vintage" dance music of Lawrence Welk or the classics and semi-classics, and the nostalgia craze is strengthening the appeal of the remaining big bands, such as those led by Harry James and Woody Herman or the Glenn Miller orchestra in its reconstituted form. The Latin communities in both the East and the West constitute a large and growing market for records featuring a Latin beat. The long-established companies, such as Columbia and RCA, maintain catalogues which seek to appeal to each of these submarkets, whereas others often will specialize in one or another of the categories.

The record industry is commercially the largest of the "pop art" forms: in 1972, for example, the total national retail sales of records and tapes, amounting to \$2 billion, exceeded movie theater boxoffice receipts by about half a billion dollars, and this does *not* include income from live concerts, some of which are produced by record companies. As noted in *Newsweek*: "Columbia record labels provided CBS with 33 per cent of its net profits in 1972--even after paying the inflated expense accounts of those fired as a result of the payola scandal. And the three record companies of the Warner Communications conglomerate racked up profits after taxes...of \$23.8 million, compared with \$15.8 million earned by Warner's entire film and feature division. In less than a decade pop music has become America's most commercially successful art form." 9/

Total record sales remained strong in 1975 at a dollar volume of \$2,266,000,000 (approximately 3 percent over 1974). These figures reflect the impact of inflation, as the actual number of records sold had dropped somewhat. Profits are comparably impressive: for example, the record division of Warner Communications reported unprecedented pretax income in the fourth quarter of 1975, with revenues up fifteen percent over the corresponding 1974 quarter. Some industry executives foresaw a \$3 billion gross sales income in the near future.^{10/}

Clearly, demographic trends will sharply affect the market. While marketing appeals in the past have been aimed primarily at the young (age 15 to 25) buyers, coming shifts in the age distribution of the population will make the 25 to 45 age market more important. By the mid-1980's adults will become the major target for record manufacturers. A 1975-76 survey commissioned by the National Association of Record Merchandisers (NARM) found that purchases of LP (long playing) records are positively correlated with education, and that the average college graduate attends 4.6 concerts per year compared to an attendance average of only .6 yearly among high-school dropouts. Almost half of those in the 25-45 age group reported that they then bought more records than five years earlier. About 62 percent of total record buyers glean their record preferences from radio listening.^{11/}

The effect of demographic changes upon the nature of record output must remain somewhat speculative. Much depends upon the racial, sex, and marital composition of the population. Whites tend to prefer "pop" and "country and western" music, while blacks primarily buy "soul" and "jazz" records and Latins represent a growing audience for "salsa" (a combination of Latin, jazz, and rock music). The NARM survey indicates that single persons average twice as many purchases as do those who are married, and that men buy significantly more than do women. As suggested elsewhere in this report, a changing population mix can induce changes in life styles which may influence the record market.

TABLE VII

TOTAL PER CENT EXPOSED DURING PAST YEAR BY INCOME

	Movie	Theater	Musical	Jazz	Symphony	Opera	Ballet
Up to \$7,500	47	7	8	17	4	2	3
\$7,500 to \$15,000	72	14	15	24	8	3	3
\$15,000 to \$25,000	83	25	28	32	16	6	6
\$25,000 and Over	83	38	44	36	28	13	13

Source for Tables VII-XIII: Eric Marder survey for the Ford Foundation, Volume II, op. cit.

TABLE VIII

TOTAL PER CENT EXPOSED DURING PAST YEAR BY EDUCATION

	Movie	Theater	Musical	Jazz	Symphony	Opera	Ballet
Some High School	57	7	9	20	5	2	2
High School Graduate	71	12	15	22	5	5	2
Some College	81	23	25	35	14	6	7
College Graduate	81	39	39	31	26	11	13

TABLE IX

TOTAL PER CENT EXPOSED DURING PAST YEAR BY OCCUPATION

	Movie	Theater	Musical	Jazz	Symphony	Opera	Ballet
Executive-Manual	75	24	27	26	14	6	4
Professional	83	28	25	33	18	5	9
Teaching	84	35	36	28	27	10	11
Student	93	17	19	49	15	6	6
Housewife	59	13	15	14	7	3	3
White Collar	75	19	23	28	11	4	5
Blue Collar	63	10	11	20	4	1	2
Retired	37	9	11	8	7	4	4

TABLE X

INCOME COMPOSITION OF AUDIENCES OF FOUR PERFORMING ARTS

	Theater	Symphony	Opera	Ballet
Up to \$7,500	13%	12%	15%	20%
\$7,500 to \$15,000	40	37	34	32
\$15,000 to \$25,000	33	34	32	30
\$25,000 and Over	14	17	19	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XI

EDUCATIONAL COMPOSITION OF AUDIENCES OF FOUR PERFORMING ARTS

	Theater	Symphony	Opera	Ballet
Some High School	18%	21%	20%	18%
High School Graduate	26	18	18	16
Some College	23	24	24	26
College Graduate	33	37	38	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XII

TOTAL PER CENT EXPOSED DURING PAST YEAR BY AGE

	Movie	Theater	Musical	Jazz	Symphony	Opera	Ballet
Under 20	93	14	17	48	13	5	5
20-29	88	18	21	41	11	4	5
30-39	77	17	19	23	10	3	4
40-49	60	16	18	15	9	4	3
50 and Over	42	13	14	7	7	4	4

TABLE XIII

ATTENDANCE AT FOUR ARTS BY ATTENDANCE AT JAZZ, ROCK OR FOLK MUSIC
AMONG THOSE UNDER 20

	Per cent Attending Four Arts Among Those Who	
	Attended Jazz, Rock or Folk	Did Not Attend Jazz, Rock or Folk
Theater	19%	8%
Symphony	16	10
Opera	6	3
Ballet	7	4
Any of the Four	31	19

The Visual and Graphic Arts

The visual and graphic arts are relatively less definable in terms of an *industry*; in fact, they tend to be spread occupationally over a wide range of industries. Museums and art galleries are, of course, centers of employment for artists, but the total amount of work thus generated is small and usually limited to a handful of recognized professionals. Probably the major sources of potential employment are those design occupations identified in the 1974-75 edition of the U.S. Department of Labor's *Occupational Outlook Handbook*:

Architects;
Commercial artists;
Displaymen;
Floral designers;
Industrial designers;
Interior designers;
Landscape architects
Photographers;
Urban planners.

The employment prognosis given by the *Handbook* is favorable for these occupations: "Job opportunities in design occupations are expected to increase through the mid-1980's, because personal income and population are growing and the more affluent public is becoming more design conscious." ^{12/} Of equal importance, from our perspective, is the *range* of the design occupations. Some of them, like architecture and landscape architecture, are high-level professional occupations requiring advanced university study and state licenses; others, such as industrial design and commercial art, usually are well paid and require considerable creative talent, but do not necessarily entail college training and licensing; and still others, like retail display work and photography, encompass a wide diversity of entry-level positions, many of them accessible to those having no more than a high-school diploma.

Furthermore, these occupations are heavily concentrated in industries which have a high growth potential: services, government, wholesale and retail trade, and, to a lesser extent, durable goods manufacturing and building construction. One short-run qualification must be added: "tight money" and high interest rate policies can depress the housing industry and slow the growth in demand for architectural services. In the light of long-run needs for housing construction in both the residential and commercial sectors, however, it seems likely that architects, draftsmen, and interior designers will continue to prosper.

Nor does this exhaust the list of occupations which can utilize artistic skill. Clothing and costume design, sign painting, set design for the movies and the theater, cartography, ceramics, technical illustration, cartoon work, advertising layout, and art instruction are but a few of the other fields drawn from the *Classified Index of Occupations and Industries* published by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, all of which demand creative talent (sometimes in company with mechanical knowledge or manual dexterity). Clearly, the presence of artistic aptitude in ghettos and barrios, however crude a form it may take (such as imaginative graffiti on walls), suggests the basis for wide-ranging career development.

Communications

The communications fields, characterized by the use and application of literary or verbal skills, currently offer limited opportunities for job development. Work in radio and TV broadcasting, technical writing, journalism, and similar occupational areas is, typically, well paid for a relatively small number of highly qualified professionals. The *Occupational Outlook Handbook* projects moderate growth in employment through the mid-1980s, with competition for entry-level jobs intense in most of these fields. In journalism, novices often get their early experience in writing for a school newspaper, and then move to a spot on

TABLE XIV

EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED DESIGN AND COMMUNICATIONS OCCUPATIONS

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Approximate Employment (1972)</u>	<u>Employment Projection (through the mid-1980s)</u>
Architects	37,000 (licensed)	Favorable.
Commercial Artists	60,000	Favorable for highly trained, but with only moderate increase in jobs overall. Varies according to specialization. Intense competition for entry-level work.
Displaymen (retail trade)	33,000	Moderate employment growth.
Floral Designers	30,000	Strong growth.
Industrial Designers	10,000	Slow but steady growth in employment.
Interior Designers	18,000 (full-time)	Moderate employment growth, with strong competition for entry-level.
Landscape Architects	12,000	Strong growth.

TABLE XIV (Cont'd.)

Photographers	77,000	Moderate to strong growth, with demand dependent on qualifications.
Urban Planners	12,000	Strong growth in employment of college graduates in this field.
Newspaper Reporters	39,000	Favorable for very well-qualified.
Radio and Television Announcers	17,000 (full-time)	Moderate growth, with keen competition for entry-level.
Technical Writers	20,000	Moderate growth, with keen competition.

Source: *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, 1974-75 Edition, U.S. Department of Labor, pp. 586-615.

the news or feature staff of a small-town or suburban newspaper. Similarly, beginners in radio and television broadcasting normally start on the smaller stations, and with appropriate experience and exposure, move eventually to more lucrative jobs with networks or the larger local stations.

Writing skill, however, is applicable to a wide range of occupations, including many of those listed in the professional and managerial ranks. Like most creative work, full-time writing is a highly risky and unpredictable vocation which brings high incomes and security only to a relatively few persons with the right balance of luck and talent. In combination with other skills--financial, mechanical, research, teaching, etc., on the other hand, writing facility can be a major occupational asset.

In addition, there is a growing demand for the services of minorities and women in the communications fields, particularly in various aspects of broadcasting and journalism. With a long-standing underrepresentation of blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans (among others) in precisely these fields, and a rising sensitivity of management to the existence of an impressive "minority" market, qualified minority job applicants are in demand. The implications of this fact in terms of employment and affirmative-action policies are considered in Chapter III of this report.

The Audience for the Arts

The economic prospects for the arts--particularly, the performing arts--depend primarily upon the size and nature of audiences. If the findings of recent audience studies are a reliable guide, increases in the level of income and education bode well for the future of the performing arts: the audiences for ballet, modern dance, opera, symphonic music, and live theater tend to be well-educated and relatively affluent. Of course, audiences for the more "popular"

arts are much more diverse, though usually characterized by youthfulness and a greater ethnic spread than is typical of the audiences in other fields. Surveys commissioned by the Ford Foundation and by the New York and California arts agencies suggest that interest in certain of the cultural forms crosses age, educational, racial, and economic lines, with strong support coming from young people generally.

Studying the performing arts audiences in terms of age, Professors Baumol and Bowen conclude that: "These figures tell us that the audience at a typical performance is far younger than the urban population as a whole, and that the older the age group, the smaller is its relative representation in a typical audience. Consequently, older people (those over 60) are the scarcest members of the audience in relation to their numbers in the urban population of the United States. In a word, audiences are young. With the proportion of the nation's population in the younger age brackets growing rather rapidly, this fact may be quite significant."^{13/}

Turning to a consideration of the educational levels of performing arts audience, they conclude "that the audience is composed of *exceedingly* well-educated persons. Less than 3 percent of the males and females did not graduate from high school, as compared to the more than 50 percent of the U.S. urban population 25 years and over who did not do so. At the other end of the spectrum, over 55 per cent of the males attending performances did some work beyond college--an educational level attained by only 5 per cent of the urban population. Almost one third of the women in the audience did some graduate work, as compared with 2 per cent of the female urban population who did so."^{14/}

Similarly, Baumol and Bowen find that the median family income is exceptionally high among those attending arts events, and that these characteristics tend to be generally consistent among audiences for the several art forms. "The most remarkable thing is that audiences from art form to art

form are *very* similar. They all show a median age in the middle 30's; over 60 per cent of the audience for each art form consists of people in the professions (and this finding holds for both sexes); all exhibit an extremely high level of education, with 50 per cent of the males having gone to graduate school and 50 per cent of the females having at least completed college; and there is a consistently high level of income, in no case involving a median under \$11,000." 15/

Perhaps of greater significance, from our viewpoint, are the results of audience surveys made by Eric Marder Associates in twelve major cities throughout the country (the survey was conducted by telephone in the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, Atlanta, Houston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle); commissioned by the Ford Foundation, the Marder study is quite recent (published in 1974) and includes for comparative purposes the fields of jazz-rock-folk, movies, and musical theater, as well as the dramatic theater, symphony, ballet and opera forms also examined by Baumol and Bowen about eight years earlier. Lacking any motivation for biasing the results, and conducted professionally with appropriate verification of responses, this survey both confirms some of the key Baumol-Bowen findings and adds important new information and insights.

For example, the Marder study again emphasizes the *youth* component and orientation of arts audiences, but makes it clear, in addition, that youthful interest in artistic performances covers the full spectrum of cultural forms. Indeed, the percentage of attendance at any of the arts events listed (theater, opera, symphony, ballet, movies, musicals, and jazz-rock-folk) was consistently higher for the under-20 group than for the over-50, demonstrating that young people are attracted to *both* the "popular" and "classical" arts. Except for opera and ballet, where the percentages are small anyway, the percentages of exposure to artistic performances tend to decline for each of the age groups above the age of 29. Noting the high popularity of jazz-rock-folk among young people generally, the authors of the Ford Foundation report add some more startling observations:

The fact that jazz, rock, and folk music clearly belongs to the young people does not necessarily represent a turning away by the young from the arts cherished by their elders. In every instance, except for plays and musicals, the percentage attending the arts among the young was equal to or larger, and in some instances much larger, than the corresponding percentages among older people. For example, 13 per cent of the young people attended a symphony last year. The comparable figures were 11 per cent for those in their twenties, ten per cent for those in their thirties, nine per cent for those in their forties, and seven per cent for those fifty and over. For opera and ballet, too, the attendance among the young was larger than for any of the other age groups. In addition, the percentage of young people who played records of symphony and opera in their homes was as large or larger than the corresponding percentages for the older age groups

The data confirm in a striking way that attending jazz, rock or folk music is not inconsistent with attending performances of the classic arts. In fact, the opposite is the case. Young people who attended performances of jazz or folk music were more likely to attend plays, symphonies, operas, and ballets. Moreover, the young people who attended jazz, rock or folk music attended every one of the classic arts to a greater extent than did the general population. Nineteen per cent of the young jazz-rock-folk attenders attended the theater (compared to 16 per cent in the general population); 16 per cent attended symphonies (compared to 10 per cent in the general population); six per cent attended operas (compared to three per cent in the general population); six per cent attended ballets (compared to three per cent in the general population); seven per cent attended opera (compared to four per cent in the general population); and 31 per cent attended at least one of the four classic arts (compared to 23 per cent in the general population). Thus, it would not be fair to say that the young have substituted the popular for the traditional arts, but rather that they are generally more alert, more receptive, and that they are maintaining an interest in the traditional arts in addition to their interest in the popular music.^{16/}

The Marder studies of relationships between income and educational levels and arts attendance broadly confirm the findings of Baumol and Bowen.

To begin with, the data provide a striking confirmation that the people who attend are indeed disproportionately well-to-do and well educated. Attendance increases directly with income and is heavily concentrated among the upper-income strata A comparable relationship exists between attendance and education. The rate of attendance at theaters, symphonies, operas, and ballets among college graduates was more than five times as large as that among the low-education people (less than high school graduate). Again, this was also true for musicals and to a lesser degree for the popular arts: jazz, rock or folk music, and movies for which the rate of attending among college graduates was roughly one and one-half times as large as the rate of attending among the low education people.^{17/}

A closer examination of the data reveals that education, rather than income, is the key determinant of degree of attendance at cultural events. While there are differences between both the high- and low-income groups and the high- and low-education groups in frequency of attendance at the theater, symphony, opera, ballet, and musicals, the educational differences are consistently more striking than those involving income. For attenders at jazz-rock-folk performances and movies, education and income affect attendance only when *both* are at low levels, in which case the frequency is much lower.^{18/}

Among the various cultural forms which were tested in terms of audience attitudes, the category of jazz-rock-folk tends to show the most favorable ratings. "On the average, the respondents want (like) jazz, rock or folk music most, a movie or musical or play next, the symphony next, and

finally the ballet and opera.^{19/} The reasons for the high rating given to jazz-rock-folk seem to fall mainly into two classes: (1) the informal and relaxing atmosphere in which such music is presented, and (2) the intrinsic quality of the music, which induces spontaneous enjoyment and emotional response. Ballet and opera, on the other hand, are associated in the minds of respondents with greater stiffness and formality, and identified to some degree as the special favorites of the rich.^{20/}

Inquiring into possible changes in economic or environmental circumstances which might promote greater attendance at each of the performing events, the survey finds that changes in advertising, selective distribution of free or discount tickets, and other methods could be used to reduce the highly formal and "elitist" image of some of the performing arts, but that, at least in certain instances, an increased informality may offend some of those who *now* attend operatic, symphonic, or ballet performances. The ease or difficulty of getting tickets and the location of performances in relation to driving distances and parking problems also were explored as potential determinants of frequency of attendance, with the conclusion that improvements in each of these categories could promote greater audience interest but that there are costs associated with decentralization of performances which may largely offset the gains.^{21/}

Finally, the Marder survey explored audience attitudes that might affect the elasticity of demand for performance tickets in relation to varying prices suggested (with the question phrased so that a *good* seat location could be presumed to be available at each indicated ticket price.^{22/} Despite this phrasing of the question, most respondents still shied away from the least expensive tickets, which apparently connoted an unfavorable location of seats or inferior quality of performance attended. For the somewhat more expensive tickets suggested, the demand curve tends to be inelastic up to a price of \$5 per ticket (in other words, within this

range the ticket prices do not seem to determine whether or not the respondent is interested in attending the performance). There are some variations, however:

There was some indication for each of the four arts [opera, symphony, ballet, and theater] that potential attendance may peak around \$5 and may drop somewhat at \$2.50 or \$1.25, to rise again at less than \$1.00. Such fluctuations could come about as a result of countervailing forces; the distance for the lower price among some people, counteracted by the increasing attractiveness of the very low price to others. By and large, however, the variations among the four lower price levels were minor. For that reason, the average of the four lower price levels (\$5, \$2.50, \$1.25 and less than \$1.00) was used as a base line of 100 per cent, and potential attendance at the remaining price levels was expressed in relation to that base line.

For each of the four arts, estimated potential attendance dropped by 20 per cent to 30 per cent as the price was increased from \$5 to \$10 per ticket. It dropped by 35 per cent to 45 per cent as the price was increased from \$5 to \$20 per ticket.

The results of the Louis Harris poll in California, announced in April of 1975, generally are consistent with those emerging from the Marder-Ford Foundation survey. Interest in and support for the arts appear to be extraordinarily high among those questioned: "Almost nine in ten people (88 per cent) agreed on the importance of arts and cultural activities being on a level with such essential services as libraries, schools and parks, and a relatively equal 86 per cent feel that their state is a better place in which to live because of the existence of museums and theater and music performances.²³⁷ This means that, on the basis of the survey findings, about 12 million Californians hold positive attitudes towards the arts.

Although these percentages exceed the proportions of Californians who actually *attend* arts events regularly, there is also considerable evidence that large numbers would prefer to attend and participate in cultural affairs more often than they now do. About 51 per cent of those surveyed think it is desirable to have more creative activities available for participation, and the percentages rise as high as 72 per cent among 18-24 year olds and 76 per cent among blacks.^{24/}

Professors Baumol and Bowen have speculated that a taste for the arts may be "instilled by early experiences," but they note the lack of strong evidence to support such a hypothesis. The findings of the Harris survey in California offer supportive proof, showing that early childhood exposure to the arts is significantly related to recent attendance among those questioned:

Exposure to the performing arts as a child is undoubtedly a very important factor as to whether or not a person is now a consumer of the performing arts. As with museums, the much higher percentages of younger people than older people who attended as children--even taking into account that part of this may be due to memory differences--indicates an expanding audience in the future for the performing arts in California. Again, however, the precaution should be noted that this is not an isolated factor.^{25/}

Perhaps of greatest importance, from our standpoint, is the finding that many Californians favor *more* exposure to the arts for children, and that this attitude is especially strong among minorities. "Fifty-six per cent of the Spanish speaking and a high of 70 per cent of blacks believe children do not have enough opportunities to attend the performing arts, compared with 39 per cent of whites."^{26/} Furthermore, overwhelming majorities of Californians support the teaching of arts in school, as part of the regular for-credit curriculum: for example, 86 per cent believe that musical instrumental performance should be taught as a credit course.^{27/}

Attendance at theatrical or classical music performances is relatively low among some groups of the population: the Spanish speaking, those with incomes under \$5,000, and (especially) those with less than a high school education. In general, blacks are strongly supportive of the performing arts, particularly dance and popular concert music, and have a deeper response to culture than have the whites. "Blacks describe culture as something coming out of self, whereas whites describe it as something out there which they witness. Blacks are more likely than whites to consider themselves performing arts attenders, especially at dance performances. Sixty-seven per cent of blacks said they do go at least sometimes to the theater, classical music,²⁸ or dance performances, compared with 63 per cent of whites."

The major impediments to greater attendance at arts events are the perceived cost of tickets, as well as babysitting and other associated expenses, inaccessibility of cultural facilities, and, to some extent among older people and certain others, a reluctance to travel to particular areas at night.²⁹ Location and availability of performances, of course, represent a far greater problem for residents of the Central Valley than for the citizens of Los Angeles or San Francisco. Residents of San Francisco are more culturally active than are those living elsewhere in the state.

A critically important aspect of the Harris survey is the identification of strongly expressed needs for cultural presentations in local neighborhoods and areas. "Demographically the most significant differences in responses were between racial and ethnic groups, with blacks emphatically more likely to feel that there should be more presentations of arts and cultural events. In fact, at least three out of every five blacks surveyed felt there should be more presentations of each type of arts and cultural event except popular music performances, and a majority of 53³⁰ per cent of blacks felt there should be more of these."

Lee C. Garrison, Jr. and Christina Vogl Kaali-Nagy, in their study of users and nonusers of the Los Angeles Music Center among UCLA extension students, find that frequency

of attendance at the Center is not clearly associated with demographic characteristics per se (except that women seem to attend more often than men), and that the frequent attenders, representing the "relatively small group" that accounts for the greatest single proportion of ticket sales at the Center, also attend most of the other out-of-the-house events; they watch television, play cards,⁵¹⁹ or visit Disneyland significantly *less* than do nonusers. — What this suggests is that the life styles of members of the cultural audience encompass the desire and capacity to leave the house frequently in order to attend musical, dance, or theatrical performances, while the nonattenders are more likely to spend the time at home or, on those less frequent occasions when they do leave home, at the movies or a sports event.

There are disagreements among the experts as to whether there really has been a "cultural explosion" in recent years. Baumol and Bowen find the evidence unconvincing on this score, although they speculate that the number of young people attracted to the performing arts may have permanently increased and that this will lead to a long-run expansion of the arts audience. The facts at hand, together with what we can reasonably infer from experience and observation, suggest the following pattern of attendance at performing arts events:

(1) Teenagers form a major, and almost universal, audience for the "pop" arts, in both live and recorded or filmed form, and a noticeable segment of the teenage population also attends the "less popular" performances such as jazz and dance concerts, symphonies, and so forth. Music, indeed, represents a vital part of the average teenager's life, around which much of his or her total activity centers.

(2) For young adults in their twenties, much of this interest and activity persists in the years preceding and just after marriage, but declines perceptibly thereafter as the process of homebuilding and childraising consumes more of the time and resources of the married couples. Rental and mortgage costs, educational expenses for children and

associated monetary problems severely constrict the amount of time that can be allocated to concert, theater, or night club expenses. In many instances, each journey away from home represents a special "occasion," because babysitting must be arranged and paid for, tickets purchased in advance (often in coordination with other couples), and transportation planned. Until the children reach their teens and become customers on their own, proportionately little of the family income is directed toward the performing arts.

(3) Even after the children have completed their schooling and left the household, parents may fail to resume attendance at arts events in a proportion similar to that experienced during their teenage period. By this time, of course, problems of health, transportation, finances, and so on may limit the mobility of older adults, and even among those who have the time and inclination to leave the house more frequently, there may be a tendency to look backward instead of forward and to indulge in a nostalgia for the music and other art forms that were familiar in earlier times. Not infrequently, parents are alienated from the cultural preferences of their children, harking back to the now-perceived halcyon days of their own youth and forgetting that their own musical tastes of that period might have been similarly derided by *their* elders. In any case, their extended absence from the performing arts, aside from those viewed on TV or (to a lesser degree) heard on radio or records, limits their awareness of and perhaps their capacity to absorb new happenings. This hardly offers the best setting for progress and innovation in the various art forms.

The higher-income groups, naturally, confront fewer of the economic restraints on attendance at arts events, and this undoubtedly is part of the explanation for the heavy percentage of well-to-do persons among the audiences. If lower-income families are to be able to participate in the arts experience in greater proportions, clearly the arts must be made more accessible to them in both economic and physical terms.

The relative youthfulness of the major audience for the arts raises certain questions about the future, considering the declining birth rate in the 1970s. If this decline is more than a temporary and passing phenomenon, it means that the proportion of older people in the total population will rise significantly in the last decades of this century and into the twenty-first century. On the basis of what we now know about the age composition of cultural audiences, the increases in average age should affect attendance adversely, *unless the lower birth rate affects the life style of Americans in ways which encourage greater support for the arts.* At the least, any rise in the number and proportion of unmarried persons and childless couples in the population translates into more time and resources available at the household level for cultural activities. Further, a reduction in the number of children in the typical household means lower childraising costs, less outlay for babysitters and schools, and longer periods for enjoyment of attractions or experiences outside the "family" setting. This could imply that attendance at both traditional and "expansion" arts events might then become more of a lifetime than a youth experience. Both the quantity and the quality of cultural audiences would be enhanced under such conditions.

In the meantime, producers of artistic performances and other events would do well to heed the advice of Professor Michael Granfield and aim special marketing appeals at the various segments of the population which currently constitute the total performing arts audience. This may even involve some measure of "price discrimination," whereby groups such as students and senior citizens receive discount tickets and the more affluent customers get certain privileges in return for paying higher prices. Such segmented appeals must be accompanied by efforts to shift the entire demand curve to the right, so that the total audience becomes greater over the range of ticket prices.^{32/} If our thesis is accurate, better education (particularly, in the public schools) of all Americans in the arts will pay this kind of long-term dividend.

II

GOVERNMENTAL SUPPORT OF THE ARTS

To many economists, the notion of a governmental subsidy to the arts is unappealing and unpalatable. In their conception, the arts, like any other enterprise, should be governed by the competitive marketplace where only the "fittest" will survive. The consumer, in deciding how to spend his or her income, determines both the type and quantity of "art" produced. Government, according to this line of reasoning, must never use taxpayers' money to subsidize enterprises which they are unwilling to support voluntarily as consumers.

Aside from more general arguments against this approach, there are compelling reasons why the "marketplace" criterion should not be rigidly applied to the arts. Application of a strictly monetary standard of value to artistic endeavor would mean virtually the disappearance of that quality of individualistic innovation which is central to art in whatever form. It would, in effect, reduce "art" to the packaging of commercial products with prospects for short-run profit. Many of the more permanent social values of art would be forever lost, to both present and future generations, if its entire production were made dependent upon the necessarily limited and self-serving economic calculus of private businessmen.

Creative talent, of course, is a uniquely perishable form of "human capital." Inseparable from the individual who possesses it, it may not be readily marketable in large quantities and productivity may be closely tied to personal whims and needs. The characteristics of a successful businessman are not always those of a good artist, and the individualism and independence of the artist often may conflict with the demands of modern profitmaking business. As the historical record demonstrates, neither the monetary nor social value of an artistic achievement may be recognized in the artist's lifetime. This is especially true in the case of the artistic innovator, who typically is well in advance not merely of popular taste but, also, of the norms of his cultural peers. Left to the vagaries of the competitive market, he could not survive.

For these and other reasons, the arts in America have traditionally been subsidized from *some* source. Borrowing in part from the European aristocratic and royal tradition of providing financial support for at least a favored few among the artists, wealthy families have funded libraries, museums, symphony orchestras, dance companies, and other cultural institutions. Thus, the Rockefellers, Carnegies, Guggenheims, Mellons, Harrimans, and others were early contributors to "culture," directly and through foundations they created, and enactment of the federal income tax in 1913 may have enhanced such charity by making it tax-deductible. In California, the names of prominent well-to-do families--Chandler, Hearst, Getty, Zellerbach, Pauley, Ahmanson, Taper, Bing--adorn art collections, museums, concert halls and theaters, libraries, university buildings, and other public and private institutions. None of this runs counter to the "conventional wisdom," because the rich, having acquired their wealth through the private competitive market, presumably are entitled to spend it in any way they choose.

At the polar extreme from this privately subsidized culture are the commercial arts--movies, radio and TV, popular music, and even some parts of live theater. Appealing primarily to a mass market rather than to an elite, these "pop arts" reflect the tastes of the prevailing marketplace. Some artists, such as George Gershwin and Leonard Bernstein in music, have managed to be successful at a number of cultural levels, and sometimes a shift in either the popular or the intellectual tastes will "elevate" or "downgrade" an art form.

Jazz, for example, has on occasion been regarded as "popular" music and, in other periods, as a unique cultural expression which is of limited mass appeal. These historical cycles reflect, in large measure, the status of jazz as a product of *black* culture. Developed and nurtured by blacks in places like New Orleans and Memphis, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, "jazz" was appropriated

by white musicians such as Paul Whiteman and transformed during the Roaring Twenties into a commercialized music which bore only the most superficial resemblance to the authentic form. Even when the "swing" period of the 1930s popularized a music which was closer to real jazz, whites continued to reap most of the rewards. Although some black musicians--such as Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Louis Armstrong, Lionel Hampton, and Ella Fitzgerald--achieved a measure of general recognition and success (always less, however, than their white counterparts), much of the recorded music produced by blacks, until well into the 1940s, was segregated by record stores in a special category entitled "race records."

Neither jazz nor any other form of "people's art" has enjoyed much patronage from affluent whites (there have been exceptions such as John Hammond, scion of a wealthy family who helped to popularize musicians like Count Basie). Widely acclaimed as America's singularly authentic cultural achievement, jazz has received less financial support from either public or private sources than has music of European origin.

In fact, with the exception of municipal libraries and museums, "art" in general never received governmental assistance until the mid-thirties, when the work relief program of the Roosevelt Administration spawned a number of federal arts projects. For the first time, actors and actresses, musicians, composers, writers, and artists were put on a governmental payroll as part of a "people's art."^{1/}

The Federal Theater Project of the WPA (Works Progress Administration, the government's major work relief agency) was not established as a "people's theater," although in a certain sense that was what it became. The idea behind it was simple and straightforward: unemployed Americans should be given useful work, instead of relief checks, and the work should, wherever possible, be related to their interests and abilities. In 1935, there were many thousands of unemployed artists, and WPA administrator Harry Hopkins, with full support from the President and from Mrs. Roosevelt, determined

to make use of their skills in a Federal Theater Project, a Federal Writers' Project, and art and music projects. For the directorship of the Federal Theater Project, Hopkins chose Hallie Flanagan, a veteran of experimental theaters at Grinnell and Vassar Colleges, and she remained its articulate spokesman until the project's termination in 1939.

Flanagan developed a plan for regional theaters throughout the country, functioning independently and innovatively within a general design and administration from Washington. Many were skeptical about her ambitious proposals: some prominent producers and critics publicly asserted that plays of professional quality could not be staged by people on relief. The same criticisms, of course, were directed at the writing, art, and music projects, although the theater project usually was the most visible and, therefore, the most vulnerable. Flanagan describes the artistic philosophy behind the Federal Theater:^{2/}

The artistic policy was based on three beliefs: first, that unemployed theater people wanted to work and that millions of Americans would enjoy the results of this work, if it could be offered free or at prices they could pay; second, that the people on our rolls should be regarded not as relief cases but as professional workers competent to carry out an ambitious nationwide program; and third, that any theater sponsored by the government of the United States should do no plays of a cheap or vulgar nature but only such plays as the government could stand behind in a planned theater program national in scope, regional in emphasis, and democratic in allowing each local unit freedom under these general principles.

Washington did not dictate individual plays, leaving such choice to the various directors, with, however, the suggestions of emphasis on new American plays, classical plays, children's plays, and a special program for Negro companies.

The employment policies of the Federal Theater were consistent with the basic purpose and function of the WPA. Flanagan's plan was to put approximately 10,000 theater people back to work as quickly as possible, in a program based on the following principles which she described in August of 1935:^{3/}

1. That the re-employment of theater people now on relief rolls is the primary aim.
2. That this re-employment shall be in theater enterprises offering dramatic entertainment either free or at low cost.
3. That whenever possible regional theaters developing native plays and original methods of production shall be encouraged.
4. That the W.P.A. will pay:
 - a. Labor costs of unemployed people enrolled on the project at the wage stated by the local W.P.A. administration.
 - b. Superintendence cost, on the average of one person not on relief rolls to twenty who are, at a small wage.
 - c. A small percentage (not to exceed 10%) of labor costs for production costs, depending on the nature of the project.
5. That if the sponsoring organization is a public enterprise, or a non-profit-making co-operative, or can be incorporated as such, any funds made by admissions may accrue to the project.

The major thrust of the Federal Theater's programming was innovation and experimentation. Flanagan herself contributed the idea for a new type of theatrical production focusing on

some current event or issue; she called it the "Living Newspaper," and three of the most successful plays in this series were *Power*, *One Third of a Nation* (on housing), and *Triple-A Plowed Under* (on agriculture). Although none of these productions was Communistic, as the more vociferous critics charged, each one was liberal and pro-New Deal in focus and the political content antagonized conservative congressmen and senators. A frequent target of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Federal Theater received the coup de grâce in 1939, after a bitter congressional debate in which legislators such as Everett Dirksen of Illinois titillated fellow congressmen by referring to the allegedly "salacious" content of plays which they had never seen.

In truth, many of the Federal Theater's productions were innovative or modernized versions of classic plays, or of previous Broadway shows, or of musicals produced especially for the project. Perhaps the most daring program was the Negro Theater Project, based primarily in Harlem and dedicated to the presentation of productions with dignity and quality far surpassing anything yet attempted. The commercial theater had treated blacks (at that time, the word "Negro" was much preferred to "black") as objects of satire, stereotyping, and condescension. For the first time, a major theater presented black actors and actresses in non-stereotyped roles.

John Houseman, a foreign-born white who was and remains a distinguished producer, actor, and writer, became the professional head of the Negro Theater, and he enlisted into the project a 20-year-old theatrical genius named Orson Welles. Welles directed an all-black version of *Macbeth*, which starred brilliant performers like Canada Lee and Jack Carter and was enthusiastically received in Harlem and throughout the country. Other productions followed (an adaptation of the Broadway hit *The Show Off* and a musical called *The Swing Mikado*, among others), most of them artistically successful. Many of the Federal Theater casts were integrated, and blacks were even employed as stagehands and as electricians or other skilled craftsmen, although they were barred from such jobs in the commercial theater.

The partnership of Houseman, Welles, and Flanagan brought forth some of the most imaginative theatrical productions ever staged in America and gave exposure to an array of new performers (in addition to Welles himself): Joseph Cotton, Charles Coburn, Hiram Sherman, Norman Lloyd, Howard DaSilva, Will Geer (now a star of a hit TV series, called *The Waltons*), Canada Lee, Dooley Wilson (later to perform the role of "Sam" in the acclaimed movie *Casablanca*), Arlene Francis, and dozens more. Composers and conductors for Federal Theater productions included Virgil Thomson, Marc Blitzstein (whose musical *The Cradle Will Rock* was one of the project's most praised and controversial presentations), Harold Rome (who wrote the music for the popular *Sing for Your Supper*), and orchestra conductor and arranger Lehman Engel. Many of the Federal Theater's performers, musicians, producers, and writers formed the nucleus of the Mercury Theater which Houseman and Welles organized after their departure from the WPA in 1937 (Welles and his Mercury Theater troupe found success in three separate media--stage, radio, motion pictures; Welles himself doubled as the voice of radio's *The Shadow* and was to achieve lasting cinematic fame in 1940 with his first movie, *Citizen Kane*).

For the first time the rich cultural resources of America's blacks were tapped: among the Federal Theater's musicians were Eubie Blake and Leonard dePaur and, among its writers were Countee Cullen and Carlton Moss. Scores of blacks, of course, served other key functions in the project. The distinguished poet, Langston Hughes, was employed on the WPA Writers' Project, as was a young relief recipient named Richard Wright. Wright, assigned initially to the Illinois "State Guide" project, completed two novels--*Uncle Tom's Children* and *Native Son*--while earning approximately \$24 a week on the WPA.^{4/}

By every applicable standard, the WPA cultural programs were a resounding success. The Federal Theater employed thousands of unemployed men and women, at an average wage of about \$20 a week, and its productions were seen by more than thirty million Americans during the period 1935-39. Every region was

served by a theatrical project focused upon its unique needs and interests, and dramatic innovators, such as Welles, were given opportunity to experiment. Ticket prices and production locations were arranged so as to make the WPA performances available to millions of people who were otherwise unable to attend live theater. In like measure, other WPA cultural projects brought art, sculpture, music, and literature to diverse communities in every region and nurtured talents such as writers Studs Terkel and Nelson Algren and artist Ben Shahn.

A major achievement of the WPA was its ability to establish reasonably satisfactory relationships with unions and professional organizations in the creative fields. It made conscious efforts not to undermine established labor standards in unionized private enterprise, and when the question of Federal Theater's termination was debated in 1939, Actors' Equity and the Screen Actors Guild, among others, rallied to its support.

Since the Federal Theater remained a work relief project, much of its effectiveness had to depend upon the maintenance of an appropriate balance between professionals not on relief and the unemployed. Combining as it did the aspects of a "people's theater" and a job development program, the project had mixed goals and it was important that the experienced professionals be able to establish a rapport with less knowledgeable performers and technicians. Fortunately, talent and experience were available: John Houseman, already a noted director on the Broadway stage, took a job with the WPA for \$50 a week, and later described the experience as one of the most productive of his career.

Hallie Flanagan saw the Federal Theater, abortive as it was, as the forerunner of a new form of American theater. In her book, *Arena*, she spelled out the essential principles of this venture:^{5/}

The Federal Theatre at its best was working toward an art in which each region and eventually each state would have its unique, indigenous dramatic expression,

its company housed in a building reflecting its own landscape and regional materials, producing plays of its past and present, its own rhythm of speech and its native design, in an essentially American pattern.

Such a nationwide theatre requires government subsidy, since for its fullest development it is beyond the scope of purely private enterprise; nor are the complexities of theatre operations under government control over a nationwide area too arduous.... Quite aside from their primary and most important function, that of enabling people to live decently and happily by the practice of their profession, these public theatres indicated certain things which no one knew when Federal Theatre started: that the government could operate theatres, sign leases, pay royalties, raise curtains, and take in admissions; and that millions of Americans want to go to the theatre if it can be brought geographically and financially within their range. These public theatres explored sources of native American life and used this material in regional American drama. They launched a nationwide theatre for our own Negro race. They gave added emphasis to the theatre for children and to religious drama. They explored, though only in an exploratory way, new uses for theatre talents in the fields of education, therapeutics, diagnosis, social, and community work. They gave opportunity to hundreds of dramatists, actors, composers, designers. They created new plays and did them in new ways and left a mark, as critics have repeatedly pointed out, on the dramatic pattern of our age.

Flanagan's hopes for a permanent national theater have never been realized. With the demise of the Federal Theater in 1939 and the coming of World War II, interest in governmental support for the arts vanished and remained dormant during the post-war Truman and Eisenhower Administrations. With the advent of the Kennedy Administration in 1961, the personal style and tastes of the new President and his

associates helped create a more favorable atmosphere for the arts, but this concern was not reflected in concrete legislative and executive action until 1965, under the Administration of Lyndon Johnson. At that time Congress enacted the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, establishing the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities, and the National Council on the Arts. The first chairperson of the NEA was Roger L. Stevens, who resigned in 1969 to become director of the Kennedy Center of the Arts in Washington, D.C. Appointed in his place was the current chairperson, Nancy Hanks, whose previous experience and background were with the extensive arts program in the State of New York. She is widely regarded as an able and enthusiastic advocate of the arts, and under her leadership, federal appropriations for support of cultural programs have multiplied. While the Nixon Administration sought to curtail appropriations for most other domestic programs, federal support for the National Endowment of the Arts grew steadily and significantly. In fiscal 1966, when the program first started in the Johnson Administration, the total appropriation for NEA amounted to \$2,534,308; in fiscal 1974, the total had risen to approximately \$60,775,000. In that overall period, about \$200 million in federal funds and private donations to NEA were obligated. Under the Nixon Administration alone, total NEA appropriations rose about 800 percent.⁶⁷ (For fiscal 1977, ex-President Ford had requested funding of \$87 million for the NEA.)

Concentrating mainly upon relatively small grants to a variety of cultural organizations and individuals, the NEA operates in a number of fields: architecture and environmental arts, dance, music, theater, visual arts, education, literature, museums, and special programs. Perhaps the most immediately relevant program is the Expansion Arts Program, which focuses on community-based projects in urban, suburban, and rural areas throughout the country and emphasizes experimentation and innovation. Because many of the neighborhood arts programs funded by NEA are located in minority communities

and are directed to youth, they have a particular relevance to the purposes of this study. Among the Los Angeles-based organizations which received NEA "Expansion Arts" grants in 1973 were the Inner City Cultural Center, Mafundi Institute, Watts Writers Workshop, and Performing Arts Society of Los Angeles (ironically, the former director of PASLA became the program director for the Expansion Arts Program itself). The Avalon-Carver Community Center, in south Los Angeles, received a grant under the NEA's jazz program.

Indicative of the importance and growth of Expansion Arts, the NEA allocation for this program increased from \$1 million in fiscal 1972 to \$2.4 million in fiscal 1973. Grants are designed to match local funds for community-based projects in professional instruction and training, arts exposure, neighborhood arts services, and special summer programs, along with support to community cultural centers. Matching grants are limited to \$50,000 for community cultural centers, neighborhood arts services or arts exposure programs, to \$30,000 for instruction and training, and to \$20,000 for special summer projects.

Many of the NEA grants go to state arts' agencies, which have proliferated since the state of New York established a relatively well-financed Council on the Arts in the early 1960s. By 1973, all fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, and Samoa had such agencies. California's agency--the California Arts Commission--was established in 1963 by the state legislature, under the leadership of then Speaker of the Assembly Jesse Unruh, and received an initial appropriation of \$50,000. Composed largely of wealthy patrons of the arts and political appointees (one of Governor Ronald Reagan's early appointments to the Commission was his wife, a former screen actress), the Commission was under constant attack because of underrepresentation of artists and performers, minorities, professional guilds and unions, and community arts groups. Its executive director in 1974 and early 1975, James D. Forward, was a businessman with no previous experience in

arts administration or the arts themselves. In 1974 and 1975 sessions of the legislature, bills were introduced to change the composition of the Commission (and, in one case, to abolish it), but they were rendered moot by the decision of Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr. not to request an extension of the CAC's life and to press, instead, for creation of a new body.^{7/} (These developments are discussed more fully below.)

State support for the arts increased markedly in 1973, when State Senator Arlen Gregorio secured the passage of legislation which raised the CAC appropriation from \$247,181 to \$1,025,000. With unanimous passage in the Senate and only one dissenting vote in the Assembly, the bill received Governor Reagan's signature on October 2, 1973. For the first time, an extensive matching grants program became possible, with funds going to a variety of arts organizations throughout the state. For the initial year of its existence, funding was concentrated upon special projects proposed by eligible nonprofit groups (which Senator Gregorio describes as the original intent of his bill), while in fiscal 1974-75 the CAC divided its grants between project support and direct subsidies for operating and administrative expenses of arts organizations. In July of 1974, Governor Reagan reduced the legislature's proposed CAC appropriation of \$2 million to the level of \$1 million.

An examination of the California Arts Commission grants to 135 arts organizations, announced in November of 1974, suggests that an excessive proportion of funding from this source went to "Establishment" institutions and groups which have a minimal (or nonexistent) relationship with lower-income neighborhoods.^{8/} Although the overwhelming majority of CAC grants for this round went to urban areas, it would appear that no more than approximately two dozen were directed primarily to minority communities, of which only about half a dozen were of any immediate value to low-income neighborhoods. Ironically, this seems to be especially true in the field of music, where there is a significant potential for innovative programs in areas such as jazz. On the surface, at least 48

of the institutions receiving grants in the music field appear to be involved primarily in symphonic, operatic, or chamber music, many of these grants going directly to symphony associations. The one grant related most directly to the Watts community went to the Watts Community Symphony Orchestra, a highly commendable and deserving group but representative of only one narrow aspect of the vast cultural contributions which Watts residents are capable of making. This would indicate that the Commission and its staff and advisors may have been excessively oriented in the direction of support for established classical music organizations.

Even where CAC grants have gone to groups with an ethnic orientation (e.g., the Inner City Cultural Center or the East/West Players, both in Los Angeles), it cannot be assumed that the recipient organization primarily serves a low-income community. This observation is not intended in any way to minimize or denigrate the value of such an organization, but merely to suggest that relatively little state support has yet been directed to those institutions based in the areas of greatest economic need.

In determining the distribution of grants to applicants, the California Arts Commission used an advisory panel system similar to the procedures already followed by the National Endowment of the Arts and the New York State Council on the Arts. This system has come under attack from the Joint Committee on the Arts of the California State Legislature, established in May of 1974 and chaired by Senator Gregorio (other members are Assemblyman Richard Alatorre, vice chairman; Assemblyman Dixon Arnett; and Senator George Zenovich). In a report issued in February of 1975, the committee criticized the reliance upon such professional panels and called for a deemphasis on centralized decisionmaking. Asserting that the panel system puts too much power in the hands of too few people (some of whom may be connected with organizations which are eligible for grants), Senator Gregorio and the committee's staff sought a procedural decentralization which, essentially,

would allow the "marketplace" to determine the allocation of governmental funds. They opposed the making of grants for the purpose of meeting regular operating and administrative expenses of arts organizations. The conclusions and recommendations contained in the report reflect these anti-subsidy views:^{9/}

1. The state should play a greatly increased role in encouraging the artistic and cultural life of its citizens.
2. The state's main goal in doing so should be to foster the interest of its people in being participants in the arts, both as artists and as audience. It should do so by concentrating on people; encouraging artists and raising the arts consciousness of its citizens.
3. In encouraging its people in the arts, the state should use methods which minimize its role in judging artistic quality and value. We believe the state should use funding mechanisms which disperse decision-making, rather than leaving such power with a small group of people at the state level, as is presently done.

Therefore, we recommend *in concept* a spectrum of programs, some new, some tried elsewhere, which emphasizes the needs of our people, as artists and as arts consumers:

1. A state touring program for the performing, visual and literary arts.
2. Audience development through a discount ticket voucher program.
3. Commissions to visual artists to create public works for cities, arts centers, arts councils, and museums; similar commissions to performing, creative and literary artists to make presentations in public parks and other public places.

4. An artists-in-education program.
5. A structured, goal-oriented and limited project grants program.
6. A technical assistance program to aid arts organizations.

We also recommend that the agency charged with carrying out these programs:

1. Have a clearly defined administrative and policy-making role.
2. Be sensitive to the community by having:
 - (a) A broad membership base;
 - (b) The duty to act as an ombudsman;
 - (c) Open and accessible meetings.
3. Have a professionally compensated executive director.
4. Consider locating its principal office in Los Angeles or San Francisco, rather than Sacramento.

The major recommendations of the report were incorporated in S.B. 484, introduced by Senator Gregorio, which proposed an appropriation of \$4,250,000 for a new California Arts Development Council for an 18-month period during the next two fiscal years, from January, 1976, through June, 1977. By category of funding, the committee recommended that appropriations be broken down over a two-year period as follows:

Touring program ("A touring program for the performing, visual and literary arts which will partially reimburse local sponsors for presenting arts events of their choice in their local communities. Such events might include touring plays, musicals, operas, symphonies and other musical events, poetry readings and arts exhibitions") -- \$750,000

Audience development fund ("A pilot ticket voucher program roughly similar to New York City's Theatre Development Fund--now also being tried in Buffalo and planned for Boston--a system for encouragement of audience expansion through subsidization of tickets") -- \$300,000

Commissions to visual, literary, creative and performing artists -- \$750,000

A structured and limited project grants program (with protections against the use of funds for regular organizational expenses and against conflicts of interest, and with requirements for matching local contributions in most cases) -- \$800,000

Technical assistance program (including consulting and "ombudsman" services, sometimes on a matching basis) -- \$ 60,000

Artists-in-Education (with provision for the funding of contracts negotiated through local schools "with required input from parents, students, classroom teachers and citizens, to purchase for their schools the services of artists and arts organizations") -- \$11,000,000

Commission administrative costs -- \$800,000

The net result of these recommendations, if adopted, would have been to limit severely the powers of the California Arts Development Council. Indeed, in two prominent cases--the Touring Program and the Audience Development Program--the report proposed that administration be vested in a private non-profit corporation which would contract with the Council. The Joint Committee's report is replete with strictures against "big government" and warnings against bureaucratic decision-making as a substitute for the "marketplace." Although the committee generally endorses the principle of state support for the arts, much of its report could have been written by Chicago's neoclassical economist, Milton Friedman.

Inevitably, the report became the target of strong criticism, particularly from the representatives of arts organizations (a discontent which the committee staff attributed largely to their self-interest). Critics regarded the current views of Gregorio and of the committee's staff as a potentially disastrous retreat from the position, presumably established in the original Gregorio legislation, that state government should offer direct financial support to arts groups. At two public hearings of the Joint Committee in December of 1974, the first in Palo Alto and the second in Los Angeles, witnesses and other participants overwhelmingly opposed the new "decentralized" approach.^{16/} A common opinion expressed was that the committee's fears about the "dangers" inherent in government subsidies to the arts are baseless: the experiences with the National Endowment on the Arts and the New York State Council on the Arts, and with subsidy programs in other countries (there has been argument between the committee and its critics over the question of whether there is some favoritism in Great Britain), fail to confirm that subsidies lead either to censorship or political-institutional favoritism. The essence of the critics' counterargument is that the arts clearly deserve public support (a point not disputed by the committee) and that there is no reason to believe, on the basis of the evidence, that the judgment of artistic professionals regarding the allocation of grant funds cannot be

trusted. Gordon Davidson, artistic director of the Center Theatre Group-Mark Taper Forum, is a vigorous opponent of the committee's recommendations:¹¹⁷

Theater, painting, music and the others simply are not mass media.

Federal and state arts patronage, though very young, has started making a pleasant, uplifting cultural experience accessible to a much broader audience than in the past--black, brown, young, poor. Performing arts centers, museums have risen in deserts and ghettos. But now that we all get to go to the theater, what are we going to see? Although the artists' product is taken for granted, the structure encourages artists to compete, not to collaborate. It encourages the forced cultivation, the fast judgment, often in advance, of a success or a failure. Yet there is really no such thing as failure as applied to an art; there is only search. The Gregorio proposal, I fear, fails to take this into account and can only intensify the unhealthy aspects of our current situation.

We are constantly justifying, and selling, our social relevance and subsidiary virtues and Sen. Gregorio would force us to do more of the same. But the basic truth is that a state, a nation, a world without means of self-expression on the deepest and most fluent level will eat itself alive.

It must be determined--and there are ways of doing so--where the money is likely to be of most use in the preservation and conservation of artistic resources, and that is where it must go. We must not only train the young but also pursue our own development. It is the responsibility of those practicing professionals in the arts, the ones who regularly entertain, to maintain their art's momentum, or it will stop entirely.

It is not our job to please the greatest number of people the greatest number of times. That is the job of such mass media as television, which lives by its Nielson ratings. What those of us in the arts live by is the pursuit of the highest possible achievement rather than the largest possible audience. The enlightened patron--whether public or private--takes into account the needs and goals of the artist as well as the tastes of the public.

It is, of course, a difficult balance to strike, and it cannot be done by democratic vote. Rather, the choice must be made by responsible people with a broad knowledge of the arts. At some point they must say: Yes, this is of value, this body of work is worthy of support. Such an approach is not elitist, not selfish, not arbitrary, for in the end both the artist and the audience will gain--which means the whole of society.

Behind the dispute between the committee and its critics is a fundamental philosophical clash. Does government have the right to subsidize any enterprise which cannot sustain itself in the "competitive marketplace?" While paying verbal homage to the principle, the committee denied it in practice by recommending support primarily to the consumers of art or, to an even more limited extent, to individual artists (in the form of commissions). In its summary, the committee gave its reasoning.^{12/}

Since we do not wish to put government in the position of telling people what is good for them, we do not believe government should promote any particular artists or art forms, but should encourage wide involvement with the arts. We hope that, after some time, our citizens will voluntarily and on their own initiative participate more in the arts, support the arts through more frequent attendance and increased philanthropy. But our role, we believe, should be to encourage them, not to insist they experience what

we think is good for them. When the public is truly responsive to the arts, our programs will become superfluous.

Naturally, there are disadvantages to artists and arts organizations' dependence on the marketplace for support. Many people believe the public does not always make "wise" decisions, and the perspective of history frequently shows us that artists with a great deal to contribute were ignored in favor of "lesser" artists. Or at least some people's subjective judgments are that the marketplace may often favor the lesser over the greater.

But the committee makes no claim that the marketplace produces utopian results. It is merely preferable to the other practicable alternative: to concentrate the power to determine the economic fate of artists and arts organizations in the hands of a few people chosen by the state. Even if the arts community could find a consensus that certain artists and arts groups excel and are therefore worthy of support, we would oppose that method of determination. We think a properly informed and encouraged public is capable of finding out and deciding what is good for it. Concentrated power is so easily abused in the political process!

What this reasoning seems to ignore is the fact that a rigid application of the "marketplace" principle undercuts the entire case for *any* governmental support for the arts. If the "consumer" is to choose the type and amount of art he or she wants, why not leave the existing marketplace undisturbed? The case for some form of state support rests precisely upon the opposite position: that, in fact, social policy in America regularly and beneficently departs from a strict adherence to "marketplace" dogma. From Social Security to financial aid for railroads and aircraft manufacturers, from free public education to health care, from assistance to the

handicapped to minimum wage legislation, there are thousands of long-established governmental "interferences" with the so-called free market.

Professors Baumol and Bowen, both of them economists, agree that the arts may deserve exemption from the usual competitive market test, on a number of grounds: (1) strict application of such a test would effectively deprive the poor of any opportunity even to develop an understanding of and taste for the arts; (2) it may be important to expose young people, in particular, to artistic experiences; and (3) at least in some degree, the arts represent "public goods" which confer broad social benefits (directly and indirectly) upon everyone. Baumol and Bowen add that governmental support for the arts might also be justified by the need to preserve artistic beauty and achievement for the enjoyment of *future* generations.^{13/} Thus they conclude:

If one agrees that the performing arts confer general benefits on the community as a whole, in the manner described above or in other ways, he must conclude that in part, and perhaps in large part, the arts are public goods whose benefits demonstrably exceed the receipts one can hope to collect at the box office. It is a long-standing tenet of economics that if the wishes and interests of the public are to be followed in the allocation of the nation's resources, this is the ultimate ground on which governmental expenditures must find their justification. Government must provide funds only where the market has no way to charge for all the benefits offered by an activity. When such a case arises, failure of the government to provide funds may constitute a very false economy--a misallocation of the community's resources, and a failure to implement the desires of the public. In such circumstances, government outlays are no manifestation of boondoggling bureaucracy, no evidence of creeping socialism, but a response to one of the needs of the society at large.^{14/}

Philosophical "libertarians" protest that a taxpayer should not be forced, however indirectly, to contribute to the support of art which he or she dislikes. By implication, the committee report gives some support to this philosophy. Its critics respond that such an extreme form of individualism would be akin to anarchy, and that the maintenance of an equitable and orderly society requires that each citizen help underwrite public enterprises that may encompass programs or ideas of which he or she disapproves.¹⁵ One prominent drama critic puts the case for this position:

...there are many books in the public library which I never plan to open but which my tax dollars help buy. I approve of this because (1) my tastes might, after all, change; (2) my children might enjoy these books even if I don't; (3) the library also contains books that I do like, though they might not appeal to every taxpayer who helped buy them; (4) I consider public libraries a socially productive institution.

Similarly, as a taxpayer I pay the salaries of UCLA professors expounding views I don't accept. I pay for public health clinics specializing in diseases I plan not to get. I pay for the upkeep of athletic fields where I wouldn't be seen even as a visitor. It is the price I pay for living in a community where everyone doesn't think, act and relax exactly as I do. It is not an unbearable price.

Look, you want to say to the authors [of the committee report], face the fact that the idea of state aid to the arts is an elitist idea from the beginning, as is the idea of state aid to education and public libraries. Not elitist in its wanting to share something with the people but elitist in its definition of what that "something" is. You are right in saying that the state's first concern here should be "people" rather

than artists. But if you really suspect that the "people's" artistic needs are taken care of in today's marketplace, then state aid to the arts is as silly as a state Christmas Present Bureau to assure everyone's getting something under the tree. What you are issuing is, in effect, entertainment stamps.

The point of state aid to the arts from the populist view surely isn't to duplicate what people are already getting but to give them exposure to something that they wouldn't ordinarily get; not in order to elevate them but to widen their options. The old high culture/mass culture argument doesn't really come into this. We want people who can like both Bach and the Beatles, "Henry IV: Part One," and "The Godfather," and who can see the connection. 16/ We want broader citizens, not culture groupies.

The policy implications of this debate, specifically in relation to educational and job development in low-income communities within the creative fields, will be considered more fully in the concluding chapter of this report. Whatever the outcome of existing controversy over methods, however, it is virtually certain that governmental support to the arts will expand in California, and throughout the country, in coming years. The size and proportion of public funding in California going to the arts have been and remain insignificant in comparison with levels of support in other states and with the volume of actual or potential creative resources within the state's boundaries. While the 1974-5 state funding for arts programs in California stayed at the \$1 million level, the corresponding level in the State of New York rose to more than \$34 million. With a per capita arts appropriation of a little over five cents, California ranked 25th among the states and territories in fiscal 1973-74, and dropped to 36th in fiscal 1974-75 and 45th in fiscal 1975-76 (only Kansas, Texas, Georgia, Wisconsin, and Louisiana were below it). By contrast, New York appropriated over 90 cents per capita in fiscal 1973-74, and the smallest state (in population) in the union--Alaska--spent almost 50 cents per capita (See Table I).

TABLE I

STATE POPULATIONS, APPROPRIATIONS, PER CAPITA, AND RANKINGS, 1973-1974

	Population and Rank (1970 Census)	Fiscal 1973-1974	
		State Appropriation and Rank \$	Per Capita and Rank \$
Alabama	3,444,164 (21)	125,000 (26)	3.63 (35)
Alaska	302,173 (51)	149,000 (24)	49.31 (2)
Arizona	1,772,482 (53)	68,700 (34)	3.88 (32)
Arkansas	1,923,295 (32)	165,648 (19)	8.61 (15)
California	19,953,134 (1)	1,025,000 (2)	5.13 (25)
Colorado	2,207,259 (30)	116,757 (28)	5.29 (24)
Connecticut	3,032,217 (24)	351,000 (11)	11.58 (10)
Delaware	548,104 (47)	42,600 (44)	7.77 (18)
District of Columbia	756,510 (41)	Pending	
Florida	6,789,443 (9)	285,832 (15)	4.21 (30)
Georgia	4,589,575 (15)	90,000 (33)	1.96 (44)
Hawaii	769,913 (40)	106,307 (29)	13.81 (8)
Idaho	713,008 (43)	10,000 (50)	1.40 (47)
Illinois	11,113,976 (5)	795,300 (4)	7.16 (20)
Indiana	5,193,669 (11)	157,527 (21)	3.03 (38)
Iowa	2,825,041 (25)	50,400 (40)	1.78 (45)
Kansas	2,249,071 (28)	65,000 (35)	2.89 (39)
Kentucky	3,219,311 (23)	153,930 (23)	4.78 (26)
Louisiana	3,643,180 (20)	44,000 (43)	1.21 (48)
Maine	993,663 (38)	162,000 (20)	16.30 (4)
Maryland	3,922,399 (18)	417,411 (9)	10.64 (12)
Massachusetts	5,689,170 (10)	600,000 (7)	10.55 (13)
Michigan	8,875,083 (7)	485,000 (8)	5.46 (23)
Minnesota	3,805,069 (19)	300,000 (14)	7.88 (17)

TABLE I (Cont'd.)

	Population and Rank (1970 Census)	Fiscal 1973-1974	
		State Appropriation And Rank \$	Per Capita and Rank \$
Mississippi	2,216,912 (29)	98,500 (30)	4.44 (27)
Missouri	4,677,399 (13)	654,920 (6)	14.00 (6)
Montana	694,409 (44)	27,550 (47)	3.97 (31)
Nebraska	1,483,791 (35)	35,464 (45)	2.39 (43)
Nevada	448,738 (48)	15,000 (48)	3.34 (37)
New Hampshire	737,681 (42)	45,679 (41)	6.19 (22)
New Jersey	7,168,164 (8)	188,460 (18)	2.63 (41)
New Mexico	1,016,000 (37)	35,200 (46)	3.46 (36)
New York	18,190,740 (2)	16,445,000 (1)	90.40 (1)
North Carolina	5,082,059 (12)	221,000 (16)	4.35 (28)
North Dakota	617,761 (46)	5,100 (51)	.83 (50)
Ohio	10,652,017 (6)	846,623 (3)	7.95 (16)
Oklahoma	2,559,253 (27)	95,100 (32)	3.72 (34)
Oregon	2,091,385 (31)	51,167 (39)	2.45 (42)
Pennsylvania	11,793,909 (3)	758,000 (5)	6.43 (21)
Rhode Island	949,723 (39)	134,274 (25)	14.14 (5)
South Carolina	2,590,516 (26)	360,898 (10)	13.93 (7)
South Dakota	666,257 (45)	61,902 (36)	9.29 (14)
Tennessee	3,924,164 (17)	302,500 (12)	7.71 (19)
Texas	11,196,730 (4)	157,345 (22)	1.41 (46)
Utah	1,059,273 (36)	119,200 (27)	11.25 (11)
Vermont	444,732 (49)	52,626 (38)	11.83 (9)
Virginia	4,648,494 (14)	201,705 (17)	4.34 (29)
Washington	3,409,169 (22)	98,415 (31)	2.89 (39)
West Virginia	1,744,237 (34)	302,296 (13)	17.33 (3)
Wisconsin	4,417,933 (16)	45,200 (42)	1.02 (49)
Wyoming	332,416 (50)	12,755 (49)	3.84 (33)
Virgin Islands	63,200 (52)		
Guam		Pending	
American Samoa		60,000 (37)	

In his election campaign, Governor Brown had announced an eight-point program for expansion and strengthening of the arts in California.¹⁷⁷ After months of delay and uncertainty, when the old CAC expired for all practical purposes, the governor, on June 6, 1975, finally announced his plans for a reconstructed "Arts Council" and Assemblyman Julian Dixon, sponsor of previous legislation to reform the state arts program, agreed to introduce the Administration's bill. This proposed bill would have established an Arts Council composed of seven "artists" named by the governor with the advice and consent of the State Senate, and would have appropriated the relatively small sum of \$700,000 to underwrite the operations of the Council. The chief purpose of the Council, in short-run terms, seemed to be to explore all existing state or state-initiated programs affecting the arts and determine the degree to which they could be better focused and coordinated. The Brown Administration proposal did not contemplate an extensive grants-making capability for the new Arts Council, but some legislators (including Assemblyman Dixon) preferred broader and more generously financed support for cultural activities. Under the proposed measure, the governor could have appointed an executive secretary for the Arts Council who would serve at an annual salary of \$25,000. (Lacking any support in the arts community, the Gregorio bill, reflecting as it does the philosophy of decentralization and private-sector decision-making, was effectively stalled in committee. Three other arts bills, by State Senator Zenovich and Assemblymen Alatorre and Dixon, survived committee votes, but have been superseded by the legislation acceptable to the governor and sponsored primarily by Assemblyman Dixon and Senator Zenovich.)

The governor's proposed bill was substantially amended in the legislature, and the final legislation, as enacted in mid-September of 1975, raised the number of Council members to nine, described appointees to the newly created California Arts Council as "persons" rather than specifying "artists," deleted a specific salary figure for the position of executive

director, eliminated conflicts of interest by forbidding Council members from voting or influencing action on grants applications from organizations to which they may belong, and appropriated the sum ¹⁸of \$700,000 for the remainder of the 1975-76 fiscal year.

Even after the passage of the legislation, for several months no action was taken by the governor to implement it. As of the end of 1975, not a single appointment to the new Council had yet been made. By late January of 1976, seven appointments had been announced (six artists and one business-patron) and an executive director had finally been named. The delays, however, had made it impossible for the California Arts Council to apply for some available NEA grants, and the seven Council members had not been able to decide in January whether to relocate its headquarters from Sacramento to San Francisco. The governor recommended an appropriation of \$1.4 million for the 1976-77 fiscal year, an increase of \$400,000 over the highest previous Council funding but still a comparatively small figure (an outlay of only 7¢ per capita), and indicated that he was reassessing the role of the arts in relation to public policy.

In early February of 1976, the other two Council members were named by the governor and the Council made a last-minute application for a \$205,000 NEA block grant, proposing to allocate one half of the grant to the Artists-In-Communities program and the other half to an Artists-In-Schools program (both programs had been initiated by the predecessor California Arts Commission).¹⁹ In April of 1976, the Council's director announced that it had worked out a percentage formula for the distribution of grants in fiscal 1976-77, as follows: arts in communities (20%), arts in social institutions (5%), traditional grants (17%), arts in public places (9%), arts in schools (15%), alternatives in education (9%), technical assistance (12%), special projects (11%), and arts and government interaction (2%). Council members appear to be especially interested in projects in education, social institutions, and public places, and in *neighborhood* arts generally.²⁰

Nationally, the United States has been far behind other major nations in governmental support for the arts. Canada, West Germany, and Austria, among others, appropriate significantly more per capita than the approximately 29 cents average per capita in this country.²¹ Only in the state of New York has governmental funding reached noticeable proportions, apparently because of the greater cultural sophistication of New Yorkers and the artistic interests of former Governor Rockefeller, but, even there, a strong drive has been mounted within the arts community for expanded state support.

If survey findings are to be believed, a potential exists for further support. A recent poll by the Louis Harris survey organization reports that 64 percent of the American people would be willing to pay an added \$5 a year in taxes to help finance cultural programs and institutions.²² A Harris study in the state of New York, conducted in 1972 for the American Council for the Arts in Education (with the support of the New York State Council of the Arts) also contains findings which give some basis for optimism:

(1) Survey respondents rated "artists" highly in terms of the respect accorded to various professions (musicians for example, rate above bankers and businessmen in public respect--see Table II);

(2) Problems such as "crime in the streets," "not enough things for young people to do," and "not enough cultural facilities, such as museums and theatres," were rated as "major" by significant numbers of people;

(3) Respondents, including low-income groups, feel especially strongly that *young* persons need additional exposure to cultural experiences;

(4) New Yorkers enthusiastically support an expansion of arts activities in their own neighborhoods;

TABLE II

	<u>Great Deal of Respect</u> %	<u>Some Respect</u> %	<u>Not Much Respect</u> %	<u>Not Sure</u> %
Scientist	80	15	2	3
Doctor	79	17	4	-
Lawyer	64	29	6	1
Musician	56	37	4	3
Banker	48	42	8	2
Businessman	43	48	8	1
Poet	43	41	10	6
Painter	42	44	10	4
Producer or director of films or plays	36	46	12	6
Ballet dancer	36	43	14	7
Actor	34	50	12	4
Photographer	33	55	7	4
Art or theatre critic	25	48	21	6

(5) Interest in and concern about the arts cover a wide spectrum of individuals and groups, and are particularly strong among nonwhites and other minorities, city dwellers, young people, and low- to middle-income workers (despite the previous stereotype that only the college-educated are seriously concerned about the arts).^{23/}

Expressed public support for some form of governmental arts subsidy appears to be high in California, according to the findings of the 1974 Louis Harris survey sponsored by the California Arts Commission. In this study of 1,001 Californians age 18 or older, "63 per cent of those surveyed believe the local municipal or county government should help arts and cultural organizations, 60 per cent that the California state government and 49 per cent that the federal government should help. Almost three in four people (72 per cent) believe at least one level of government should help arts and cultural organizations if they need financial support."^{24/} Fifty-four percent of the respondents said they would be willing to pay \$5 more per year in state or local taxes to help support cultural activities (see Table III). (Critics of this survey complain that the questions are loaded in favor of the interests of the state arts body that underwrites it, and therefore overstate public support for the arts. Somewhat surprisingly, the Joint Legislative Committee on the Arts (chaired by Senator Gregorio) circulated copies of a news article thus critical of the survey findings.)

What these findings suggest is that, if Americans can be convinced of the *social* as well as the *cultural* value of government support for the arts, there is a potentially strong prospect of success in such an effort. Further, it is the *neighborhood* arts program which best meets the needs of society in combating street crime, making various forms of culture accessible, and helping to develop educational and career opportunities in the creative fields. Emphasis upon this type of endeavor, and its possible relationship to a long-run solution of perceived social problems, will enhance the case for a publicly-underwritten arts program in the United States.

TABLE III

WHETHER WILLING TO PAY \$5.00 MORE PER YEAR IN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES
IF MONEY WOULD BE USED TO SUPPORT ARTS AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND FACILITIES

	Willing to Pay \$5.00 More \$	Not Willing to Pay \$5.00 More \$	Not Sure \$
<u>Total</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>7</u>
18 to 24	64	29	7
25 to 34	59	36	5
35 to 49	53	38	9
50 to 64	51	44	5
65 and over	38	54	8
Male	54	40	6
Female	54	39	7
White	55	40	5
Spanish speaking	43	44	13
Black	53	31	16
Less than h.s. grad	38	48	14
Less than college grad	55	40	5
College grad	77	21	2
Less than \$5,000	42	47	11
\$5,000 to \$9,999	48	43	9
\$10,000 to \$14,999	58	37	5
\$15,000 to \$19,999	58	39	3
\$20,000 and over	66	30	4
L.A. Metro	54	38	8
S.F. Bay	54	42	4
Central Valley	57	36	7
Other	53	40	7

TABLE III (Cont'd.)

Total Museum Attendance in Past Year	Willing to Pay \$5.00 More %	Willing to Pay \$5.00 More %	Not Sure %
None	34	55	11
1 to 5 times	58	35	7
6 or more times	73	26	1
Theatre/Classical Music/ Dance Attendance			
Never	35	57	8
In Past Year:			
None	56	39	5
1 to 5 times	64	29	7
6 or more times	75	21	4

III

EMPLOYMENT, LABOR RELATIONS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Patterns of employment and labor relations tend to be as diverse as the creative fields themselves. The larger organizations--Broadway theaters, the Metropolitan Opera, symphony orchestras, movies and television, major recording companies--normally are unionized and offer reasonably steady employment and high incomes to a relatively small number of professionals in both the performing and technical areas. The smaller units are only occasionally unionized, with employment variable and unpredictable and incomes generally low for almost all segments of the work force. With some exceptions, the penetration of minorities into permanent, full-time employment has been slow and unsatisfactory.

Occupations requiring some form and degree of artistic or other creative ability are classified by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in both the "Professional, Technical and Kindred" and the "Craftsmen and Kindred" categories. Within these categories, it is possible to identify nineteen classifications--fourteen specific professional and technical occupations and five craft jobs--which utilize skills in art and design, drama, music, dance, and writing or other communications areas: nine in artistic fields (architects, designers, painters and sculptors, photographers, draftsmen, decorators and window dressers, engravers, photoengravers and lithographers, and sign painters and letterers); two in music (musicians and composers, and piano and organ tuners and repairers); four in literary and communications fields (archivists and curators, authors, editors and reporters, and public relations and publicity writers); one in drama (actors); one in dance (dancers); one which combines dramatic and communications skills (radio and television announcers); and a miscellaneous catch-all category (writers, artists, and entertainers, not elsewhere classified*).

* Hereafter abbreviated, n.e.c.

TABLE I

UNITED STATES
PERCENTAGES OF EMPLOYMENT, BY OCCUPATION AND RACE
1970

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>NEGRO (%)</u>	<u>SPANISH HERITAGE (%)</u>
Architects	2.2	2.9
Archivists & Curators	4.1	1.9
Actors	5.7	3.6
Authors	1.8	1.4
Dancers	7.7	7.3
Designers	2.0	3.3
Editors & Reporters	2.1	1.7
Musicians & Composers	6.6	3.9
Painters & Sculptors	2.3	3.1
Photographers	3.5	3.4
Public Relations & Publicity		
Writers	3.0	2.1
Radio & TV Announcers	3.1	2.6
Writers, Artists & Entertainers, N. E. C.	4.3	4.8
Draftsmen	2.7	3.6
Total, Professional and Technical Jobs Listed Above	3.0	3.1
Decorators & Window Dressers	4.5	3.5
Engravers (Exc. Photoengravers)	4.1	6.1
Photoengravers & Lithographers	2.5	3.1
Piano & Organ Tuners & Repairmen	3.1	2.1
Sign Painters & Letterers	4.6	4.7
Total, Craft Jobs Listed Above	4.0	3.7

Source: U.S. Census.

TABLE II

OCCUPATION OF EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE

By Weeks Worked

UNITED STATES	TOTAL EXPER. CIV. LABOR FORCE	WHITE	NEGRO	SPANISH HERITAGE	WEEKS WORKED IN 1969 OF THE EXPER. CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE		
					50-52	27-49	1-26
<u>Total</u>							
<u>Males 16 & Over</u>							
Architects	49,457,750	44,579,149	4,304,412	2,007,025	35,581,533	9,526,724	3,591,335
W, A, & E*	54,834	52,037	1,191	1,553	46,063	6,629	1,844
	550,093	522,515	19,753	17,930	386,158	106,943	50,961
<u>Females 16 & Over</u>							
W, A, & E	30,346,855	26,410,153	3,550,021	1,066,970	15,263,270	8,508,166	5,027,670
Actors & Dancers	241,134	230,371	7,315	6,392	119,105	67,225	46,629
Authors, Eds., & Reporters	11,796	10,602	777	625	2,469	4,057	4,583
	69,169	67,007	1,678	948	41,629	16,215	9,591

* Writers, Artists & Entertainers

Source: U.S. Census, 1970

In 1970, women predominated in only two of these fields: dance, and decorating and window dressing. In four other fields (acting, music and composition, painting and sculpture, and editing and reporting), their respective percentages of 1970 employment approximated or slightly exceeded their proportion (37.8 percent) of total employment in all occupations throughout the country. In five fields (architecture, drafting, radio and TV broadcasting, sign painting and lettering, and piano tuning and repair), their percentages of employment were below ten percent in every case. Their representation in the archivist and curator, author, designer, public relations, engraver, and writer, artist, entertainer, n.e.c., categories ranged between two- and three-tenths, and was 13.8 percent and 11.8 percent, respectively, in the photographer and photoengraver-lithographer classifications. As suggested, women tend to be noticeably underrepresented in the architectural and drafting fields, which are major sources of employment among those occupations requiring creative skills.

The underrepresentation of blacks and Spanish-background Americans in the fields identified is even more obvious. These two groups constituted 13.4 percent of the employed work force in 1970, but only in the small field of dance did their combined representation in any creative occupation exceed that percentage (by a mere 1.6 percentage points). The highest percentages registered in the other fields were in music and composition (10.5); engraving (10.2); acting (9.3); sign painting and lettering (9.3); writers, artists, and entertainers, n.e.c. (9.1); decorators (8.0); and photographers (6.9). Proportions in the remaining fields, of course, were consistently low for both groups, ranging from 6.3 percent for draftsmen to only 3.2 percent for authors.

In California, these occupations showed mixed patterns of growth (or decline) between 1960 and 1970. As a rule, women made significant percentage gains in employment in these categories over this period, although, of course, the actual

numbers involved usually were small. Females, for example, more than doubled their employment as architects, but only boosted their percentage of the totals in this category from 2.5 percent in 1960 to 3.5 percent in 1970.

In terms of total employment (male and female) in these various occupational categories, there were strong proportionate gains in some areas (e.g., writers, artists, and entertainers, n.e.c.; public relations; dancers; and archivists and curators), where the number of employed at least doubled; more moderate but still impressive advances in other classes (architects; designers; editors and reporters; musicians, painters and sculptures; photographers; draftsmen; decorators and window dressers; photoengravers and lithographers; and piano tuners); and net declines in a few fields (authors; radio and TV broadcasters; actors; engravers; and sign painters). In certain of the instances where employment declines occurred, the industries primarily involved (e.g., stage, motion pictures, radio and television broadcasting, and book publishing) had suffered economic difficulties during the 1960s. The motion picture industry, as noted previously, has made some recovery since 1970.

In truth, several of the occupations we have identified offer a relatively small volume of employment, at best: in 1970, there were only 671 piano tuners, 674 archivists and curators, 723 engravers, 1,396 dancers, and 1,634 radio and television announcers, employed in the entire state of California. These are specialized work categories, with opportunities for employment only of highly talented and skilled workers. Even here, however, there is manifest need to expand the hiring of minorities, who are now underrepresented in every category listed except that of dance.

Proportionately the major sources of employment in the creative fields, in the state as a whole, are in drafting and architecture; design; editing and reporting; painting and sculpture; music; writing, art, and entertainment, n.e.c.; public relations; and photography. These are growth occupations, but skills required are specialized and entry-level

TABLE III

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND GRANTS, 1970-71

	Theater	Opera	Symphony	Ballet
Total Local Nongovernment Contributions	59	76	66	58
National Foundation Grants	15	8	12	23
Total Private Sector	74	84	78	81
Federal Government Grants	14	8	4	6
State Government Grants	10	2	2	9
Local Government Grants	2	6	4	4
Total Public Sector	26	16	10	19
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND GRANTS	100	100	100	100

TABLE IV

CONTRIBUTIONS AND GRANTS USED FOR OPERATIONS: ALL ORGANIZATIONS*
(in thousands of dollars)

	1965-66	1970-71
Total Local Nongovernment Contributions	\$18,377	\$35,967
National Foundation Grants	3,504	8,193
Total Private Sector	21,881	44,160
Federal Government Grants	549	3,390
State Government Grants	203	2,427
Local Government Grants	983	1,961
Total Public Sector	1,735	7,778
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND GRANTS	\$23,616	\$51,938

* Excluding Metropolitan Opera

TABLE V

OCCUPATION OF EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE

	TOTAL EXPER. CIV. LABOR FORCE	WHITE	NEGRO	SPANISH HERITAGE	WEEKS WORKED IN 1969 OF THE EXPER. CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE		
					50-52	27-49	1-26
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>							
State of California							
<u>Males 16 & Over</u>							
Architects	4,932,472	4,480,970	275,210	705,859	3,334,235	1,093,722	419,076
Writers, Artists & Entertainers	7,855	7,112	118	490	6,490	1,066	267
Females 16 & Over	83,049	77,486	2,914	7,301	51,346	20,514	10,024
Architects (Added into Misc. Professional)	3,028,179	2,687,821	221,816	382,466	1,462,982	874,946	529,423
Writers, Artists & Entertainers	33,116	31,259	905	2,556	13,965	10,215	7,684
Actors & Dancers	(3,793)	(3,423)	(279)	(265)	(541)	(1,152)	(1,883)
Authors, Editors & Reporters	(6,775)	(6,557)	(112)	(284)	(3,803)	(1,906)	(929)
<u>Los Angeles - Long Beach SMSA</u>							
<u>Males 16 & Over</u>							
Architects	1,833,745	1,611,453	157,119	303,344	1,236,596	415,919	148,415
Writers, Artists & Entertainers	2,794	2,477	78	236	2,322	364	97
Females 16 & Over	41,848	38,518	1,949	4,183	24,059	11,667	5,620
Writers, Artists & Entertainers	1,169,798	966,428	128,004	173,524	575,797	353,523	185,514
Actors & Dancers	15,531	14,451	608	1,221	6,107	4,921	4,016
Authors, Editors & Reporters	(2,805)	(2,556)	(208)	(155)	(317)	(786)	(1,594)
	(2,749)	(2,672)	(58)	(150)	(1,492)	(824)	(384)

Source: U.S. Census, 1970

TABLE VI

OCCUPATION OF EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE

	YEAR LAST WORKED OF EXPERIENCED WORKERS NOT IN LABOR FORCE		
	<u>1960-63</u>	<u>1964-68</u>	<u>1969-70</u>
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>			
State of California			
<u>Males 16 & Over</u>			
Architects	121,265	304,227	502,931
Writers, Artists & Entertainers	110	266	250
	1,167	3,406	8,682
Females 16 & Over			
Architects (Added Into Misc. Professional)	286,764	719,348	802,088
Writers, Artists & Entertainers	2,248	6,689	10,825
Actors & Dancers	(332)	(1,111)	(2,325)
Authors, Editors & Reporters	(530)	(1,423)	(1,405)
Los Angeles - Long Beach SMSA			
<u>Males 16 & Over</u>			
Architects	36,879	97,014	164,207
Writers, Artists & Entertainers	12	88	84
	534	1,523	3,820
Females 16 & Over			
Writers, Artists & Entertainers	97,532	247,914	265,883
Actors & Dancers	1,055	2,872	4,569
Authors, Editors & Reporters	(242)	(723)	(1,341)
	(209)	(496)	(508)

competition can be intense for job applicants unless they have strong qualifications and, in some cases, advanced academic training.

Clearly, the architectural field offers the highest annual income among those occupations requiring some degree of creative skill. Nationally, the median earnings of male architects in 1969 amounted to \$13,447, compared to a median of \$9,444 for the combined "male writers, artists, and entertainers" (WAE) category and \$7,610 for all male wage earners in the United States. The respective figures for the subgroup of black males in these categories in that year were \$10,433 for architects, \$6,589 for the "WAE" group, and \$5,194 for all black men, and for Spanish language-Spanish surname men, the respective figures were \$11,898, \$7,959, and \$5,039. Thus both black and Spanish Heritage males earned substantially less than the national average for these occupations, but with Spanish Heritage men doing better in each occupational category than blacks.

The patterns for women in the work force are mixed, with the median earnings for black females in the "WAE" category actually exceeding the national average for *all* women thus employed, but with the opposite experience for Spanish Heritage women. There is considerable evidence of intermittency of employment for women, reflected in the figures on median earnings for all wage earners as compared to those encompassing only workers who were employed for 50 to 52 weeks during 1969. For example, the median for *all* women in the "WAE" class was \$4,187, in contrast to the figure of \$6,120 for those having worked 50 to 52 weeks in 1969. (See Table III.)

Among the various professional occupations studied in this report, the oldest median age (41.1 for males) appears in the architect's category and the youngest (26.3 for females) in the "Actors and Dancers" classification. In the other categories, median ages tend to cluster in the 35 to 39 year range; the most youthful male group (median age 32.2) may be

found among black "writers, artists and entertainers." It seems that this, in particular, is an employment category which could welcome an influx of talented young people.

The major limiting factor, of course, is the usual prevalence of unemployment and underemployment in these occupational categories. Those fields which are most identifiably *creative* in nature--acting, music, art, and writing--typically have experienced the highest rates of unemployment and the greatest intermittency of employment. There often are wide gaps in annual income between those relatively few who are steadily employed and those many who work irregularly. Some "artists" must develop and depend upon alternative sources of income for their survival.

Among the several fields studied, live drama probably suffers the highest and most persistent level of unemployment and underemployment. The Western Regional Representative of Actors' Equity, the union of stage performers, estimated in late 1974 that 80 percent of Equity membership then was unemployed.⁷ Unemployment is also high in the motion picture and television industries, although generally not quite as acute as it is in the case of the stage. In the early 1970s, the overall level of unemployment in Hollywood approached fifty percent, with the rate reaching close to 90 percent in certain of the craft locals, but the recent countercyclical resurgence of studio production has lessened the crisis somewhat. In other creative fields, employment typically is variable and irregular, linked with the unpredictable cycles in public taste. Despite this, these fields regularly attract substantial numbers of newcomers to whom the glamor, excitement, and ego satisfaction are irresistible lures.

The Live Performing Arts

Performance organizations in the Los Angeles area typically are small in scale, nonunion, and highly personal in their employment policies. Recruitment of performers, as well as

TABLE VII

SOURCES OF JOB REFERRALS
(Artistic Organizations in Los Angeles Area, By Source and By Category of Employment)

	<u>Source Frequently Used</u>	<u>Artistic Personnel</u>	<u>Support Personnel</u>	<u>Administrative or Clerical Personnel</u>
(1)	Employment Service	0	1	0
(2)	Private Employment Agencies	0	0	0
(3)	Unions	0	0	0
(4)	Advertisements	2	2	2
(5)	Referrals from other Arts Organizations	2	2	2
(6)	"Walk-ins"	3	4	2
(7)	Talent Agents	0	0	0
(8)	Educational Placement Offices	0	0	0
(9)	Referrals by Present Staff	6	5	6
(10)	Other	1	1	1
	<u>Source Occasionally Used</u>			
(1)		0	0	1
(2)		0	1	1
(3)		2	0	0
(4)		1	0	2
(5)		2	1	2
(6)		2	2	3
(7)		1	0	0
(8)		2	2	1
(9)		0	2	2
(10)		3	3	3

TABLE VIII

CRITERIA USED IN EVALUATING JOB APPLICANTS

	<u>Criterion Always Used</u>	<u>Artistic</u>	<u>Support</u>	<u>Administrative or Clerical</u>
(1)	Formal Education	2	1	6
(2)	Previous Work Experience	5	3	5
(3)	Talent (Innate Aptitude for Achieving High Performance Standards)	7	6	7
(4)	Tests (Exams or Tryouts)	4	2	2
(5)	References (Personal Refer- ences; Police, Military or Credit Records)	1	2	3
(6)	Union Membership	2	0	0
(7)	Professional Activities (Recordings, Publications, etc.)	2	0	1
(8)	Professional Stature or Recognition (Stardom)	3	2	0
(9)	Other	1	1	0
	<u>Criterion Sometimes Used</u>			
(1)		3	3	2
(2)		2	1	4
(3)		2	1	2
(4)		1	1	1
(5)		4	3	3
(6)		0	0	0
(7)		2	1	2
(8)		1	0	3
(9)		0	0	0

TABLE IX

GENERAL AVAILABILITY OF QUALIFIED JOB APPLICANTS
(Artistic Organizations in the Los Angeles Area, By Employment Category)

	<u>Degree of Availability</u>	<u>Artistic Personnel</u>	<u>Support Personnel</u>	<u>Administrative or Clerical Personnel</u>
(1)	An overabundance of qualified candidates exists for each vacancy	6	5	3
(2)	Several qualified candidates are available for each vacancy	2	1	2
(3)	Only a few qualified candidates are available for each vacancy	2	0	4
(4)	Due to the scarcity of qualified candidates, inexperienced persons may be hired and trained on the job	1	1	1
	<u>Blacks Only*</u>			
(1)		0	1	1
(2)		0	2	2
(3)		7	3	5
	<u>Chicanos Only**</u>			
(1)		0	1	1
(2)		2	2	2
(3)		6	3	5

* Two respondents reported no applications from blacks at all.

** One respondent reported no applications from Chicanos at all.

TABLE X

PERCEIVED EMPLOYMENT HANDICAPS FOR BLACKS AND CHICANOS
(Artistic Organizations in the Los Angeles Area, by Employment Category)

<u>Handicap As Perceived by Employers</u>		<u>Artistic Personnel</u>	<u>Support Personnel</u>	<u>Administrative or Clerical Personnel</u>
<u>Blacks</u>				
<u>Severe</u>				
(1)	Lack of formal education or training	2	2	4
(2)	Poor counseling	0	0	1
(3)	Lack of previous experience	4	1	3
(4)	Low test performance	2	0	0
(5)	Poor references	3	3	5
(6)	Discrimination by referral agencies	1	1	1
(7)	Discrimination by unions	1	0	0
(8)	Attitudes among present employees	0	0	0
<u>Chicanos</u>				
(1)		1	1	3
(2)		0	0	1
(3)		3	1	3
(4)		2	1	3
(5)		2	2	4
(6)		1	1	1
(7)		1	0	0
(8)		0	0	0

TABLE X (Cont'd.)

PERCEIVED EMPLOYMENT HANDICAPS FOR BLACKS AND CHICANOS
(Artistic Organizations in the Los Angeles Area, by Employment Category)

	<u>Handicap as Perceived by</u>			
	<u>Employers</u>	<u>Artistic Personnel</u>	<u>Support Personnel</u>	<u>Administrative or Clerical Personnel</u>
	<u>Moderate</u>			
	<u>Blacks</u>			
(1)		3	2	2
(2)		3	2	2
(3)		0	2	3
(4)		2	2	2
(5)		2	1	1
(6)		0	0	0
(7)		0	0	0
(8)		0	0	0
	<u>Chicanos</u>			
(1)		3	2	1
(2)		2	1	1
(3)		0	1	2
(4)		1	1	1
(5)		2	1	1
(6)		0	0	0
(7)		0	0	0
(8)		0	0	0

support and administrative personnel, is most often accomplished through informal channels--referrals by present staff or by other arts groups, or "walk-ins." Talent agents or unions, which frequently serve the higher paid and more regularly employed professionals, play an insignificant role in employer-employee relations within this sector of the arts community.

Our limited survey of arts groups, which included a few museums and art galleries in addition to a variety of performance units, illustrates the predominantly subjective nature of personnel practices. Employers hire on the basis of what they perceive as "talent," or professional stature and recognition, as reflected in previous work experience and/or the results of tryouts or other tests. In small organizations it is natural that personal judgments and relationships will govern hiring decisions, but these factors are of consequence even in the larger Hollywood studios. (See Tables VII-X).

In the view of artistic employers, the general supply of qualified job applicants is abundant. This perception, however, does not apply in the cases of blacks and Chicanos: survey respondents report a shortage of qualified minority jobseekers. The opinion expressed by many of the employers is that blacks and Chicanos suffer from lack of previous experience, poor character references, low test performance, and inadequate education or training. Obviously, high percentages of arts organizations have little or no contact with minorities; many smaller theaters, for example, are located in suburban, white, middle-class communities.

There is, of course, an important sector of larger, predominantly unionized artistic enterprises. Many theatrical performers are members of Actors' Equity, AFL-CIO, which in the early 1970s had a national membership of approximately 17,000; stagehands and other craft workers, both on the stage and in movie studios, usually belong to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE), also an AFL-CIO affiliate. Organized musicians are in the American

Federation of Musicians, AFL-CIO; night club performers (other than musicians) may belong to the American Guild of Variety Artists, AFL-CIO, and dancers, to the American Guild of Musical Artists. Performance unions (except for the AFM) are encompassed within a loose and amorphous umbrella unit called the Associated Actors and Artists of America. For all practical purposes, the various unions function independently.

Labor relations in the Greater Los Angeles area are especially complex. The largest theaters and musical organizations--the Music Center, Hollywood Bowl, the Schubert and Huntington Hartford theaters, the Philharmonic Orchestra, and the better known popular musical groups--are unionized and pay reasonably generous wages and fringe benefits, although only a minority of creative professionals are employed consistently enough to earn high annual incomes. The Ford Foundation study shows that, nationally, the average weekly wages of regularly employed symphonic musicians considerably exceeded the average earnings of other artistic groups in 1970-71.* That survey covered primarily the larger organizations, and the pattern in the multitude of smaller units is mixed.

Equity contracts in Los Angeles, covering stage performers, vary according to the size and location of theaters. The Production Contract, negotiated in New York with local representation, applies uniformly to larger theaters (400 seats or more) in its basic provisions, but where regional circumstances dictate, supplemental agreements are reached. The Center Theater Group, Los Angeles' one resident theatrical company, is covered by a separate contract, also negotiated in the East. Still other contracts apply to the Hollywood and Bay Area theaters, and a special arrangement worked out three years ago exempts small theaters (99 seats and less) from Equity contract provisions (these are called "Equity-waiver houses"). These are regarded essentially as showcases for new or lesser-known dramatic talent.

The recently negotiated agreements covering the Hollywood (HAT) and Bay Area (BAT) theaters, significantly raising the wage minima for union performers, are controversial. "Under

* See Table XI.

TABLE XI

RANGE OF AVERAGE WEEKLY RATES FOR REGULAR PERFORMING ARTISTS, 1970-71

	Low	High
Theater	\$119	\$302
Opera*	119	349
Symphony*	176	399
Ballet	125	363
Modern Dance	136	282

* Excluding organizations that employed no performers on seasonal contracts and the Metropolitan Opera.

Source: *The Finances of the Performing Arts*, Volume I.

the terms of those contracts, actors will now earn \$75 instead of \$55 for a four-performance, three-day week, and \$125 instead of \$90 for a seven-performance week. Gross figures at which actors begin to share in 20% of the profit go up from \$4,500 to \$5,500."^{2/} Equity considers the increases reasonable, but some producers (who sometimes are also Equity members) believe that the new contracts will make large-cast productions too costly in all but the largest theaters.

The prevailing controversy over Equity contracts illustrates the point made by Baumol and Bowen and by the Ford Foundation study: performance managers cannot readily expand productivity in response to cost increases, in the light of fixed theater capacities and production requirements. One strategy suggested by Los Angeles producers is a reduction in the size of casts, which necessitates a careful selection of play material and inevitably limits the scope and diversity of productions. An innovative and altruistic approach taken by some performer-producers to meet the needs of lower-salaried actors (while avoiding excessive costs) has been to donate parts of their earnings from other sources to their theater companies, with the understanding that this pool can be drawn upon by the less-established company members to supplement their own modest salaries. In addition, the Los Angeles Actors' Theater offers *free* productions, with donations at the door invited but not required, to involve new audiences.^{3/}

It is conceivable that the level of small-theater exemption could be raised, perhaps to 199 seats in place of the existing 99, and there is discussion of this possibility. This is a complex issue, the details of which need not concern us here. Manifestly, there may be conflicts between equity and economics: actors deserve better salaries and conditions and the benefits of collective bargaining, but economic factors peculiar to the live performing arts are powerful and inescapable constraints. In any case, live theater now provides only limited opportunities to minorities *as a career*, although it can serve to enhance communications skills and meet other personal or social needs.

Most of these statements apply equally to the field of dance. Despite a five-fold increase over the past decade in the number of dance companies throughout the country, and a growth in the dance audience from about 1 million to 12 million in the same period, earnings for many professional dancers continue to be substandard and economic prospects remain clouded. "According to the most recent survey by an independent source, the current average yearly salary for a ballet dancer in this richest of countries lies in the range between \$7,000 and \$12,000. For a modern dancer, the range is \$5,000 to \$9,000. To be more specific, the minimum weekly contractual salary for a dancer in the New York City Ballet--perhaps the nation's most firmly established troupe--is, at most, \$240. But the basic weekly scale for a musician in the New York City Ballet Orchestra is \$330. Certainly there are individuals--stars--whose compensation far exceeds these bounds (though informed estimates put the annual wage of even the principals of the New York City Ballet at no more than \$25,000), but they are extremely isolated exceptions."^{4/}

As in the field of live theater, the larger and more permanent dance companies are strongly unionized, but few of the smaller companies fall in this category. The smaller ones, indeed, frequently are amateur in status, and may be attached to a local school or academy or to a civic function of some kind. Of special importance, from our perspective, are the neighborhood and ethnic dance companies, some of which have acquired national reputations: Alvin Ailey's and Arthur Mitchell's troupes, the latter based in Harlem, are prominent examples. In Los Angeles, the Inner City Cultural Center, located in the black community, maintains the Inner City Repertory Dance Company, as well as a repertory theater company which it describes as "the only professional multiracial theater company in the United States presenting an annual season of classic, modern and previously unproduced plays."^{5/}

Ironically, one of the relatively few organizations which effectively taps the creative imaginations of young black dancers is television's "Soul Train" production company, whose regular TV series has won enormous popularity even among such seasoned and critical professionals as Fred Astaire. "Soul

Train" has achieved both artistic and commercial success, partly because there is a perfect match between performers and audience: young people respond enthusiastically to the sight and sound of other talented youngsters, who skillfully demonstrate the current "in thing" while simultaneously serving as trendsetters for the future. This symbiosis of cultural and commercial elements can be the basis for long-range programming in the arts.

It would be dangerous, of course, to put a great deal of *contemporary* emphasis on such prospects. As of now, both major and secondary dance companies are heavily dependent, in varying degrees, on financial support from three non-market sources: wealthy individual or corporate patrons (Rebecca Harkness, of the Harkness Ballet Company is an example), private foundations such as the Ford Foundation, and governmental arts agencies such as the National Endowment for the Arts. "During the current fiscal year, National Endowment funding will enable 92 companies to undertake 432 weeks of touring in 52 states and territories. The touring program budget was \$25,000 for the 1968 pilot. It is now more than \$3 million and the program itself has become the lifeline of most of the nation's smaller dance companies."6/

With a general tightening of federal monies for domestic programs, and retrenchment on the part of some foundations, some dance companies (including American Ballet Theater, the City Center Joffrey Ballet, and the Paul Taylor Dance Company) now seek to stimulate additional corporate support. State arts agencies, naturally, are another potential source, and some localities give encouragement in various forms to regional dance companies. The key, still unresolved question is whether such support should be directed primarily or exclusively to the established traditional companies or should be granted, at least in significant part, to neighborhood arts groups or similar "nontraditional" organizations.7/

Employment and labor relations patterns in the field of music are similar in some respects to those prevailing in theater and dance, but there are also a number of differences. One element common to all forms of performing arts is the sharp variation in degree of unionization between the larger

and smaller organization, and the wide divergences in earning power among performers *within* even the unionized enterprises. Symphonic and popular orchestras, larger night clubs, and major recording companies typically are unionized; smaller units often are not. Recognized, experienced musicians can earn high incomes, while lesser ones in the same musical group receive only minimum union scale.

Unionization has drastically changed the traditional relationship between orchestra conductors and members. Historically, orchestra leaders have been highly autocratic in hiring and firing practices and, indeed, in their treatment of musicians generally. Their whims and biases often have been the unchallenged and unchallengeable "law" imposed upon the orchestra, but in many of the symphonic orchestras today, orchestra members share in major personnel as well as musical decisions. The leading symphony orchestras in California, for example, have Auditions and Renewals Committees composed of selected members, whose function is to collaborate with the orchestra conductor in determining which probationary musicians are to be retained and which are to be terminated. Union contracts cover all details of orchestra management-labor relations, from minimum salaries and pension plans to the question of whether stools will be provided for the bass players at rehearsals and performances.^{8/} These developments have been enthusiastically approved by some and equally deplored by others.

American Federation of Musicians' (AFM) contracts fall broadly into two categories: (1) those which apply uniformly, with occasional special variations, to a wide range of musical enterprises, and (2) those which are negotiated bilaterally between the union and either a single large organization (such as the Los Angeles Philharmonic) or an association of such organizations. Given the variety of jobs performed by musicians, especially in the Greater Los Angeles area, there are specific contracts governing night clubs, theatrical performances, recording dates, films, and so forth. Some contract provisions apply nationally, while others vary according to local area conditions.

In addition to the variations mentioned, there often are contractual differences *within* a field, based perhaps on the relative sizes of employing units. The AFM, for example, does not require small theaters to pay the same wage scale to musicians as the large theaters, and there also are contract variations among night clubs. Within an orchestra or even a smaller musical group, wide ranges may prevail between the incomes earned by a few "stars" and those received by others. Individual bargaining for "overscale" salaries is typical of the performing arts, and in the well-established and recognized organizations most or all of the wages paid will be above union minima.

One of the chief values of unionism in the field of music is the protection it offers musicians against the exploitation or dishonesty formerly characteristic of some managers, night club operators, producers, and other employers. In years past, musicians have been cheated out of their earnings, unpaid by venal or incompetent night club owners, unprotected by pension or health plans, or required to work in unpleasant or unsafe circumstances. Union contracts, generally speaking, have reversed these conditions and protect musicians from potential exploiters.

The wide prevalence of nonunion organizations and the variability of employment in the performing arts frequently make it difficult to police union contracts or prevent musicians from taking nonunion jobs. And there are occasional complaints from AFM members that the union does not adequately serve them, especially in relation to the development of job opportunities, in return for the dues paid. Union elections sometimes are bitterly fought over these and related issues. For example, in Local 47's 1972 election in Los Angeles, 117 candidates vied for 21 elective posts.

A unique aspect of the musical field is the existence of the "Performance Trust Fund," first established during World War II under a contract negotiated by the AFM's famed James Caesar

Petrillo. Supported by royalty payments from the recording industry, the Fund technically is controlled by a government-appointed Trustee, but is chiefly administered by AFM locals. Essentially, it is designed to widen the audience for all forms of music through free concerts in public, educational, or other nonprofit settings, and simultaneously to provide employment for musicians (initially targeted for those "live" performers who were displaced by "canned" music). The musicians are paid out of the Fund, and any production and publicity costs must be borne by the sponsoring group. In Greater Los Angeles, the Fund supports free music festivals in Hollywood's county-owned Pilgrimage Theater and in parks and playgrounds throughout the region, musical presentations in the schools, and outdoor patio concerts in civic centers and even atop the garden roof of the Atlantic Richfield Plaza Parking Facility in downtown Los Angeles.

Such corporate support for musical performance, sometimes in cooperation with the AFM and the federal or state arts agencies, is a fairly recent phenomenon which may have meaningful implications for the future. Major corporations buy prime time on both regular and educational TV for dramatic and musical productions, help finance festivals of both nonprofit and profitmaking varieties, and contribute to special arts projects.

Most of this activity immediately benefits the established professional musicians who are dues-paying union members, although in the long run it will help all musicians by exposing more Americans to music and, presumably, expanding the potential audiences. On some occasions, young nonprofessional musicians are presented in public performances, perhaps on the same stage with prominent professionals (the Monterey Jazz Festival sponsors such a program every year), giving them invaluable experience and exposure. It is precisely this kind of arrangement which should be further encouraged through the schools, neighborhood arts projects and other channels, especially in minority communities.

The attitude of union officials and members toward young aspiring performers is ambivalent, at best. From a fiscal standpoint, they can be a present or future asset to the union

in the degree that they become members and pay initiation fees and dues (AFM's Local 47 has both regular quarterly dues and so-called "work dues" which are a percentage of earnings from union jobs). To the extent that they remain nonunion and are willing to accept wages and working conditions below union standards, they represent a competitive threat to union employment. Even as potential union members, they are regarded uneasily by many of the older members, who fear that there is not enough desirable work to go around and that new members further carve up an already meager pie. The Western Representative of Actors' Equity, for instance, makes it clear that he does not welcome the entry of new actors and actresses into an "overcrowded" field.^{9/}

The penetration of minorities into musical occupations varies in degree among the fields of music. Blacks, and to a lesser degree Chicanos and Latinos, are well represented in jazz performance and in some parts of "pop" music, under-represented in symphonic music, and (as in other creative fields) virtually absent from the key managerial, technical, and entrepreneurial spots. Some of the most sought-after work is located in the movie, television, and recording studios, where a versatile musician, especially one who reads music well and can "double" on several instruments, is capable of earning a reasonably steady income. For decades, until well into the 1960s, blacks largely were excluded from this type of work, but within the past decade a number of outstanding black musicians and composers--Quincy Jones, Benny Carter, J. J. Johnson, and the late Oliver Nelson, among others--have scored movies and TV series and several others have been regularly employed in "studio" bands, such as those on the Johnny Carson and Merv Griffin shows, or in recording studios. As noted earlier, an exceptional few, such as singer-musician Stevie Wonder, have even achieved artistic *and* production control over their records and, to a considerable degree, their concert appearances.

In the classical field, blacks remain proportionately ill-represented, but a few, such as conductor Daniel Lewis, pianist Andre Watts, and singers Grace Brumbry, Leontyne Price, and

Shirley Verrett, have gained prominence in recent years (in earlier times, of course, the extraordinarily talented Paul Robeson was in these ranks, but political witch-hunting tarnished his "image" and only upon his death in 1976 did he again earn the recognition and acclaim denied him in his native land while he lived). Some Americans also have rediscovered the talent of black composer William Grant Still, and the Watts Community Symphony Orchestra is a tribute to the creative versatility of black youngsters from south Los Angeles.

Radio and Television Broadcasting

As in other fields, but perhaps to an even greater and more overt degree, in broadcasting there remains a wide gap between the proportion of minorities in the total audience and in the management or professional control of the industry. Only a few of the nation's radio or television stations are minority-owned, and blacks and other minorities, as well as women, are underrepresented in the professional and technical ranks and in the skilled trades. Amazingly, even those stations with programming aimed primarily at minority audiences are usually anglo-owned. For example, two of the Los Angeles radio stations with large black audiences--KGFJ-AM and KBCA-FM--are owned and operated by whites. The single station in the city which is black-owned, much smaller in wattage than the others mentioned, is currently fighting for its survival in FCC hearings.

A national study of 609 commercial TV stations, conducted in 1972 under the aegis of the United Church of Christ Office of Communication, produced the following major findings:^{10/}

Seventy percent of the commercial TV stations are 'pure white' in managerial positions;

Fifty percent employ no racial minorities (defined as black, Oriental, Spanish surnamed or American Indian) in professional capacities. Some 55 percent do not

employ minorities as technicians; 81 percent hire only whites as sales personnel; and 34 percent employ only whites in any of these four categories;

Eighteen percent employ only men in these top four categories of jobs. Of the all-male operated stations, 74--or one in eight of all commercial stations--employ white males only.

The survey further demonstrated that three out of every four women employed full time in American television were in office or clerical positions. Stations in the so-called "top ten" market areas generally employed higher percentages of women and minorities than the national averages, but even in those markets these employment percentages were far below the proportions of minority groups and females in the viewing audiences. "In the top ten markets, the average minority population is 34 percent, ranging from 18.2 percent in Boston to 72.39 percent in Washington, D.C. Stations in the top ten average 14.4 percent in minority employment.^{11/}

Even in *public* radio and television, there is recent evidence that women are grossly underrepresented "at all levels of employment." In November of 1975, the Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting concluded that women are clustered at the bottom of the occupational ladder, as secretaries and "support" personnel, and are outranked 10 to 1 in the top jobs by men. Slightly more than half of the women surveyed started at secretarial or clerical levels, while roughly the same percentage of men began their careers in mid-professional jobs. "The report found 236 women and nine men in secretarial or clerical positions at the stations surveyed. There were 24 women and 347 men employed as engineers or technical staffers." The study also found that sixty-five percent of the women, but only twenty-five percent of the men, earned less than \$9,000 a year.^{12/}

Two separate surveys--the one in public broadcasting, just mentioned, and a 1974 study commissioned by the Screen Actors Guild--found that American television conveys a distorted view of the role of women. The Task Force report offers these conclusions:

Women are not 'stereotyped' on public television, they are overlooked.... Eleven of the 28 public broadcasting programs for adults monitored during one week showed no women in any role, 7 of the 11 public affairs programs were all male and only 4 percent of the shows had female announcers or narrators. There were 200 men and 36 women on public television screens during 18 hours of adult programming and only four of the women were black.... Ten of the 21 public television programs had no women participants, and 23 percent of the program personnel were women. In attitude-forming children's programs men outnumbered women two to one and with few exceptions the women who were visible were in unequal roles compared to those of the men....

The earlier SAG study reached precisely the same conclusions relative to commercial TV: "Rather than reflecting contemporary society, television portrays an artificially lopsided world in which men outnumber women by more than 2 to 1." The month-long study of prime-time programming showed about equal proportions of men and women in roles played by performers under age 25, but men outnumbered women "by an average of 5 to 1 in the 35-45 age category, which contains the majority of starring roles." The survey showed startling results in the field of TV commercials, from which SAG members average more than half their annual income: "...men not only outnumber women by an average of more than 2 to 1 but also capture most of the more lucrative jobs. For example, 93 percent of off-camera speaking voices are male, while 70 percent of the roles given women are non-speaking parts."^{13/}

The SAG survey reported that minorities performed in only 12.7 percent of the roles offered by the NBC, CBS, and ABC networks, with blacks represented substantially more than other minorities in that total. Variations among networks, for both minorities and women, seemed to be related more to the success of individual programs, like "Sanford and Son" or "Maude," than to overall program policies.

In June of 1975, the press reported that the country's *first* black-owned television station would begin broadcasting in Detroit in the summer of that year; at that time, there were more than 800 white-owned commercial TV stations in the United States. The station, owned by the Black Masons, serves a population of about 1.5 million which is equally divided among blacks and whites. About 65 percent of the staff of the TV station is black, and the programming is primarily directed to black audiences. Because of the shortage of syndicated black-oriented programs, the station will develop much of its own programming. Unable to find experienced black TV ad salesmen, the station set up a special school to train blacks in the field of advertising sales. The Black Masons also own an FM radio station in Detroit which, according to the FCC, is one of only 40 black-owned commercial radio stations in the nation.^{14/}

Under the Freedom of Information Act, EEOC data on minority employment by industry have finally become publicly available. The figures for the radio and television broadcasting industry (See appendices I through V) show slight increases in total minority representation between 1970 and 1974, but blacks and Chicanos remained heavily concentrated in the lower blue-collar categories. The percentage of total minority employment rose from 9.4 percent in 1970 to 12.1 percent in 1974, with blacks going from 7.1 percent to 8.5 percent and Spanish Surname workers from 1.7 percent to 2.4 percent. In 1974, only 8.4 percent of "professional" employees were black (up from 5.1 percent in 1970), while 36.1 percent of "service" workers and 20.3 percent of "laborers" were black (compared with 34.4 percent and 40.4 percent respectively in 1970). Black percentages of "craft" jobs stayed close to 5 percent in both periods. Spanish Surname workers were represented proportionately less in every category of employment, though they, too, made small percentage gains between 1970 and 1974.

Women made slight proportionate gains in the 1970-74 period, rising in total percentage of broadcasting employment from about 25 percent in 1970 to about 29 percent in 1974. Of the

18,493 women employed in 1974, 12,661 of them were in the office and clerical categories. They represented about 18 percent of "professional" employment in the industry at that same time.

A favorable trend over the last decade has been the increasing appearance of minorities, especially blacks, in television commercials. This has the dual effect of diminishing the "lily-white" image formerly projected by this medium and of expanding employment opportunities for minority performers in a field which provides much of the income for Guild members.

The radio and television industry is predominantly unionized, with performers organized primarily into two AFL-CIO unions: the Screen Actors' Guild (for film) and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA). Technical personnel often are members of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET), and the skilled tradesmen usually are in AFL-CIO craft unions such as the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). As in the motion picture industry, jurisdictional lines in the skilled trades may be rigidly defined and union admission policies, including size of initiation fees, may sometimes be designed to limit the influx of new entrants into the trade, although, of course, the employer has authority to hire and fire. Union-shop contracts merely require that a new employee join the union within a certain period after being hired, usually 30 days, but most professionals maintain regular union membership status anyway.

Many of the off-camera professional employees are organized in unions which often had their origins in "guilds," but now negotiate formal collective bargaining contracts: for example, television and motion picture script writers are in the Writers Guild of America, and directors in the Directors Guild of America. For some purposes, the television and motion picture industries can be regarded as almost a single industry, as in the case of the production of filmed dramas in Hollywood

studios for presentation on TV, and there are periodic discussions of a possible merger between SAG and AFTRA. A great many of the performers carry both SAG and AFTRA membership cards, and a truly versatile performer who appears regularly in different work settings, such as Bill Cosby, may have to carry a half-dozen cards: SAG (for filmed work), AFTRA (for live or taped TV), American Guild of Variety Artists (for non-musical night club or cabaret work), AFM (for appearances as part of a musical group), and, perhaps, a card in the Directors Guild and/or the American Guild of Musical Artists (singers).

The Motion Picture Industry

The motion picture industry, too, is strongly unionized, with employees broadly categorized into two groups: (1) the high-level professionals, organized into "guilds" such as the Screen Actors Guild, Writers Guild of America West, Directors Guild of America, etc., and (2) the various crafts, divided into those belonging to the International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees (IATSE), the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers (Teamsters), and several others. The bulk of movie employees, encompassing those with jobs specifically relating to that industry, are members of the IATSE.

The craft unions, in particular, have long been the targets for charges of discrimination. Many of the IATSE locals, in various ways, have helped maintain a limited labor supply for skilled trades such as camera operator, and the direct or indirect effect of such policies has been to restrict the percentages of minorities employed in the industry. For instance, there was only one black cameraman active in motion picture production in 1974.

Employers also have been charged with discriminatory practices. Nepotism and personal favoritism have been characteristic of hiring and promotional policies in Hollywood; traditionally, it has been

axiomatic that, in the words of the ancient cliché, "it's *who* you know, not *what* you know that counts." With few blacks or chicanos in either management or union roles, work in the industry has often been controlled by a very tight and exclusive "in group."

In the 1960s, with ferment and extensive activity in the civil rights field, employment practices of the motion picture industry came under critical scrutiny. Led by the NAACP and a number of *ad hoc* committees, an investigation was launched into alleged discrimination, culminating in March of 1969 in special hearings of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Those hearings, held in Los Angeles, produced solid evidence of discriminatory practices, and the EEOC asked the Justice Department to bring appropriate legal action. Fearful of a court-ordered decree which would be enforceable through criminal sanctions, the industry's leaders, including both employer and union representatives, finally offered a counter-proposal in the form of a voluntary affirmative-action plan. To the dismay of civil rights spokesmen and at least some of the EEOC staff, the Justice Department accepted the proposed "informal" settlement. In February of 1970, terms of that settlement were announced in the press.

On its face, the proposal was far-reaching and strong. Aimed at allocating one-fifth of job openings to minorities, the industry plan was unusually specific and detailed, identifying goals for each craft and even naming minority individuals who were to be given jobs previously denied them. *Variety* trumpeted the agreement in a typical headline: "To Duck 'Consent,' H'wood Pledges Racial Quota Hiring; 'Nepotism' K.O." ^{15/}

The settlement applied to the behind-the-camera crafts, and to the clerical and administrative occupations, where the major charges of discrimination had been focused. Not only was there to be a "quota" for minority employment, but the agreement specifically forbade hiring or union membership status on the basis of "family or personal relationship with someone employed in the industry." ^{16/} Within 30 days of the

plan's implementation, both the Association of Motion Picture and Television Producers and the various IATSE locals must establish a recruitment system involving monthly contact with sources of minority referrals, lasting at least for one year. There was to be no discrimination at any time, direct or indirect, and no preemployment tests were to be used unless they were job-related and professionally developed and validated.

Perhaps of greatest importance, a minority labor pool was set up to encompass minority persons physically and mentally able to work in the industry. The agreement specified, by individual IATSE locals, how minorities were to be referred to jobs from that pool: for example, for some locals there must be *two* referrals from the minority labor pool for each *five* referrals from the general labor pool, "until man days worked per producer by referrals from such minority labor pool reach or exceed 20 percent of all man days worked for the producer by referrals in other than regular employment in such work in each of six consecutive weeks...." For one year after that, referrals were to be made from the minority pool at the rate of one for every four referrals from the general labor pool. (At least 40 percent of minority man days were to be worked by blacks and at least 40 percent by Spanish-surnamed persons).

For certain other locals (including Cameramen's Local 659, Costumers 705, and Film Editors 776), somewhat different rules were imposed, but with the same purpose: for a period of two years, referrals were to be made at the rate of one from the minority pool for every four from the general pool, and as vacancies occur in *regular* employment which are not filled by those attached to the producer's work force, referrals were to be made from the appropriate minority pool (if available) at the ratio of one for each four from the general. If a minority group member is referred from the general pool, that is to be considered equivalent to a referral from the applicable minority pool.

Producers agreed to submit detailed quarterly reports, and a special minority training program was to be expeditiously established for a minimum of two terms of 12 months each; there were to be 35 trainees for each term, distributed among the various locals and receiving no less than \$100 a week for 40 hours. After completion of training, trainees would join either the appropriate minority pool or the merged pool, if in effect at the time; blacks and chicanos would be equally represented at 40 percent each among the trainees.

An especially significant part of the agreement was the provision that, at the end of one year for the one set of locals and two years for another, the minority labor pool was to be merged with the general pool for these locals "by including those persons then in the minority labor pool who have had at least 30 days employment at the end of the one- and two-year periods." All referrals from this "industry experience roster" must be made on a completely nondiscriminatory basis, with the details to be determined by the parties involved (with Justice Department approval) at the end of the respective periods.

A committee of management and union representatives was set up to assist in implementing the agreement, with the proviso that at least one committee member must be black and another Spanish-surnamed. "For a one-year period, each local, each producer and AMPT will keep specific records of their performance for work under terms set forth. Each entity will make quarterly reports to the EEOC, with a copy to the Justice Department, for work for the periods involved."

The agreement then specified individuals who were to be offered union status according to their preferences and qualifications, without regard for prior actions adversely affecting them, and the Makeup Local was required to abolish its separate list of "black hairstylists" (as *Variety* puts it) "to fill calls for work for producers on hair of Negro femmes exclusively." The studios also agreed not to discriminate in the clerical and administrative areas, and to submit detailed quarterly

reports on progress in these classifications. In the event the Justice Department claimed any breach of the agreement, it would give the party involved written notice and an opportunity to resolve the problem. "If not so remedied, Justice could then take appropriate action."

The settlement took place at a particularly difficult time in the Hollywood labor market. Two weeks after the terms of the agreement were published in *Variety*, that trade journal reported that unemployment in motion pictures had reached the 42.8 percent level. Complaints from various IATSE locals were continuous; in July of 1970, a black delegate to the IATSE convention publicly opposed the plan, alleging that it was forcing the employment of unqualified persons at the expense of fully qualified minorities already in the industry. Even among those who did not announce opposition, the settlement clearly was a bitter pill to swallow.

Nevertheless, for a period after the agreement there was progress in minority employment within the crafts, according to observers, although the industry's reports to the EEOC and to the Justice Department were kept well concealed from public view. In October of 1972, *Daily Variety* reported a sharp increase in minority off-camera employment between 1965 and the first quarter of 1972, citing voluntary reports made by varying numbers of Hollywood producers to the Association of Motion Picture and Television Producers. Employment of blacks reportedly rose from a total of 283 in January-June of 1965 to 591 in January-March of 1972, and the figures for Mexican-Americans increased from 302 in April-June of 1968 to 622 in the first quarter of 1972. In the light of the variability of reporting and their purely voluntary and unverified nature, however, these reports lack complete authenticity. Indeed, the same reports showed only a small increase in black employment and a slight decline in chicano employment between comparable quarters of 1970 (when the affirmative-action plan was initiated) and 1972, although the number of reporting companies varied and the *percentages* were more favorable because total industry employment declined in that period.

The data on minority employment patterns in motion picture production, now available in the form of "EEO-1" summaries from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (under the Freedom of Information Act), throw some light on trends in the industry since the affirmative-action settlement in 1970. While these figures are considerably more reliable than the industry-generated statistics cited previously, there are certain limitations in the process of their collection which must be given consideration:

(1) Reports are required only from companies subject to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and employing 100 or more workers, with some limited exceptions (of course, all major studios and important employers in Hollywood would be covered);

(2) With new firms entering the industry and existing ones vanishing over time, the data refer to a constantly changing mix of employers with varying racial patterns and hiring policies;

(3) Employers classify their employees according to broad occupational groups (e.g., professional, technicians, officials and managers, craftsmen, service workers), as defined in EEOC instructions, and there may be inconsistencies or misunderstandings in this classification process;

(4) The changing structure of motion picture production may affect filing requirements to some degree; for instance, independent production units which lease facilities may have fewer than 100 employees and would be required to file EEO-1 reports only if affiliated with a larger company.

Even with these reservations in mind, the changes in employment patterns between 1970 and 1975 are illuminating and intriguing. One conclusion emerges sharply from the data (see Table XII): there is no clear evidence of any positive impact associated with the industry's affirmative-action settlement. The total percentage of black employment actually dropped from

9.3 percent in 1970 to 6.6 percent in 1975, while the percentages of chicano, oriental, and Indian employment rose slightly. In those occupations which in theory should have been most affected by the agreement -- technical and craft, there are as many indications of retrogression as of progress. In the craft area, percentages of blacks and chicanos declined while those of orientals and Indians increased somewhat to the still insignificant levels of 1.1 percent and .5 percent, respectively, in 1975. In technical classifications, the proportion of blacks was cut almost in half, from 7.0 percent in 1970 to 3.7 percent in 1975; percentages of other minorities rose but remained small in total. There was some improvement in the professional area, encompassing the performing skills which probably reflects, more than anything else, the expansion of films directed to "ethnic" audiences. Furthermore, the proportion of women in the total industry labor force dropped from 36.7 percent in 1970 to 31.4 percent in 1975. (See Table XIII).

This pattern contrasts with trends over the same period in a closely related industry -- radio and television (see Table XIV). It should first be noted, in view of the nature of the EEO-1 reporting, that employment in that industry is not characterized by the wide and sometimes strange variations that are characteristic of reported employment in motion picture production. Unlike the motion picture experience, total reported employment in broadcasting rose between 1970 and 1975, from 70,056 to 79,295. Despite the frequent charges of discrimination leveled against that industry (detailed earlier in this chapter), the proportion of women employed increased from 25.3 percent to 28.1 percent, although motion pictures still had a higher percentage in total. Proportions of minorities jumped not only in total industry employment but in the key classifications listed in Table XIV. The 1975 percentage of blacks in broadcasting employment -- 10.9 percent -- approximated their percentage in the national population and labor force. These figures do not necessarily suggest satisfactory progress in broadcasting, but they do compare favorably with the motion picture pattern which,

supposedly, has reflected the provisions of a strong affirmative-action agreement.

In mitigation, it must be emphasized again that motion picture production suffered severe declines in total employment within the 1970-75 period. The interval between 1970 and 1973 was an especially troubled one for the industry, and this was precisely the time when the major provisions of the affirmative-action program were in effect. Thus it is possible that the immediate effects of that program were obscured and offset by the overall scarcity of work and the operation of the "last-hired, first-fired" principle in an industry in which relatively few minority workers have accumulated seniority. Although there has been a boxoffice resurgence recently, the reported figures on minority employment still fail to show a corresponding improvement.

By mid-1976, training programs in the motion picture industry had dwindled to a handful. Only four small programs were then administered through the Association of Motion Picture and Television Producers: three on-the-job training (Propmakers, Local 44; Assistant Cameraman; and Assistant Director), and one classroom (Make-Up Artist). Two additional programs were in the planning stage: Publicist and Script Supervisor, both OJT. Training normally lasts a year, at an OJT salary of approximately \$150 a month. There were no registered apprenticeships open in any of the studio crafts.

The absence of apprenticeship and other training programs in the industry seems strange in the light of the high average age among studio craftsmen and the resulting need to train qualified replacements for retirees. Although specific figures are unavailable, interviewees were unanimous in their opinion that the age level of skilled craftsmen is high and that they tend to retain their jobs for abnormally long periods. There is considerable "buck-passing" as to the reasons for training gaps: unions insist that it is an employer responsibility, but an informed source told the author of this report in 1974 that proposed minority training programs for 14 crafts had been killed by IATSE opposition. Many IATSE

leaders have made no secret of their hostility to plans for bringing new persons into the industry when many of their existing union members are unemployed or underemployed. There is some reason to believe that friends or relatives of those already located in the industry continue to have an advantage in the securing of the more desirable jobs.

Aside from the conclusion that the impact of affirmative action is not reflected in the EEO-1 summaries in any discernible way, it is difficult to draw reliable inferences from the EEOC industry-wide data. There were wide variations in total reported employment and in the number of reporting units between 1970 and 1975, some of them inexplicable on the basis of the raw statistics alone. Consolidations and mergers of firms, changes in the size of units, attrition, and mistakes in classifying employees for reporting purposes are among the factors which can influence the statistical results. There is no method by which the precise reasons for wide variation in reporting units can be identified. Two important assurances can be given: There was no administrative change in the definition of "SIC 781 (Motion Picture Production and Services)" during the relevant period, and no revision in reporting requirements.

It should be noted that the drop in minority employment percentages between 1974 and 1975 is particularly responsible for the industry's poor record. The 60 units which reported for 1974 recorded a total of 2,899 minority workers, or 17.4 percent of the work force, while the 70 units reporting for 1970 had employed 3,001, representing 15.1 percent of the work force. Even in 1974, however, the percentage of *blacks* -- 8.7 percent -- fell below the 9.3 percent in 1970. In 1975, the total minority percentage employed by the 45 reporting units was down to 14.7 percent, and the percentage of blacks dropped to 6.6 percent. Thus, if we consider only the 1970-1974 period, it would appear that minorities as a group made some progress in percentage terms, but blacks still had not regained their 1970 proportion.

TABLE XII
SELECTED EMPLOYMENT COMPARISONS
MOTION PICTURE PRODUCTION, U.S.
1970-75

	1970 (70)*	1971 (64)*	1972 (87)*	1973 (55)*	1974 (60)*	1975 (45)*
TOTAL	19,840	14,087	18,014	10,715	16,634	14,985
MINORITY						
Total	3,001	1,686	2,663	1,563	2,899	2,197
%	15.1	12.0	14.8	14.6	17.4	14.7
BLACK						
Total	1,854	834	1,143	788	1,444	994
%	9.3	5.9	6.3	7.4	8.7	6.6
SPANISH SURNAME						
Total	901	677	1,148	573	1,062	862
%	4.5	4.8	6.4	5.3	6.4	5.8
ASIAN						
Total	218	127	294	163	329	260
%	1.1	.9	1.6	1.5	2.0	1.7
AMERICAN INDIAN						
Total	28	48	78	39	64	81
%	.1	.3	.4	.4	.4	.5

*Number of reporting units

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
PROFESSIONAL						
Total	5,145	1,965	2,082	1,075	1,821	1,725
Black	245	99	52	101	101	96
%	4.8	5.1	2.5	9.4	5.5	5.6
Spanish Surname	108	35	45	52	53	61
%	2.1	1.8	2.2	4.8	2.9	3.5
Asian	76	17	37	17	34	34
%	1.5	.9	1.8	1.6	1.9	2.0

(Continued)

TABLE XII (Cont'd.)

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
American Indian %	2 ---	2 .1	0 ---	1 .1	4 .2	8 .5
TECHNICAL Total	1,309	952	1,292	880	1,230	1,047
Black %	92 7.0	46 4.8	55 4.3	37 4.2	56 4.6	39 3.7
Spanish Surname %	44 3.4	44 4.6	83 6.4	36 4.1	52 4.2	51 4.9
Asian %	8 .6	7 .7	38 2.9	18 2.0	16 1.3	22 2.1
American Indian %	4 .3	5 .5	8 .6	4 .5	8 .7	5 .5
CRAFT Total	1,505	2,078	2,523	1,212	2,565	2,756
Black %	58 3.9	51 2.5	112 4.4	51 4.2	136 5.3	97 3.5
Spanish Surname %	93 6.2	90 4.3	175 6.9	78 6.4	189 7.4	155 5.6
Asian %	12 .8	12 .6	23 .9	15 1.2	39 1.5	30 1.1
American Indian %	2 .1	5 .2	11 .4	8 .7	12 .5	13 .5
SERVICE Total	980	556	537	636	2,430	600
Black %	468 47.8	146 26.3	144 26.8	128 20.1	537 22.1	143 23.8
Spanish Surname %	115 11.7	37 6.7	45 8.4	30 4.7	272 11.2	54 9.0
Asian %	2 .2	2 .4	5 .9	2 .3	65 2.7	5 .8
American Indian %	1 .1	1 .2	2 .4	0 ---	4 .2	1 .2

Source: EEO-1 Report Summaries
EEOC

TABLE XIII

EEO REPORT SUMMARY OF MOTION PICTURE PRODUCTION AND SERVICES
(SIC 781)*

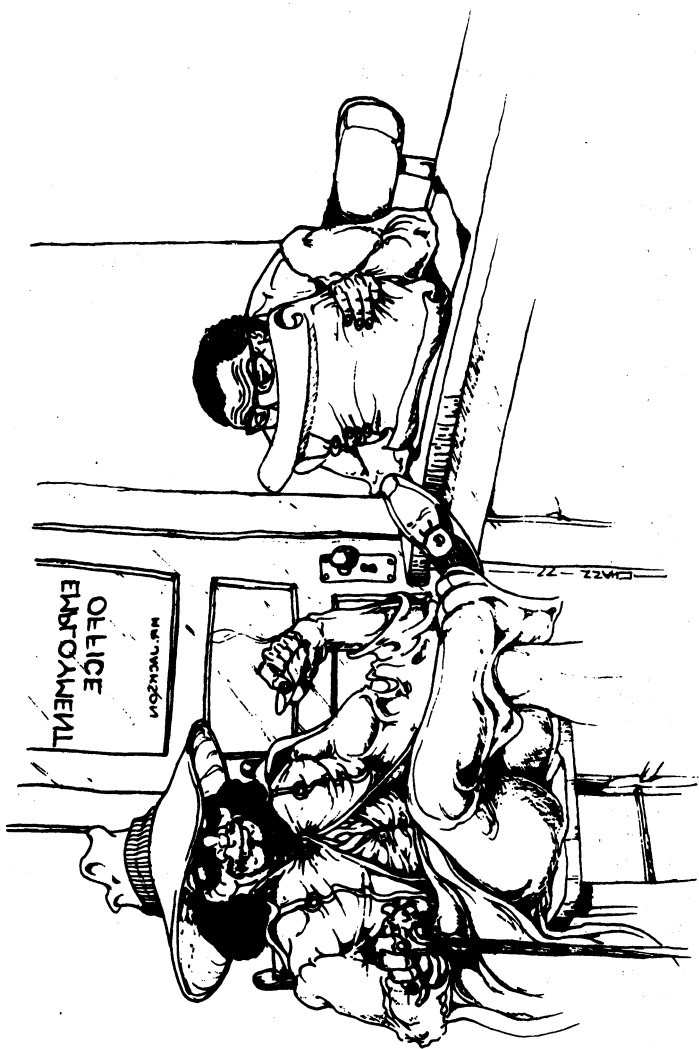
<u>Employment</u>	1970		1975	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	19,840	100	14,985	
Male	12,564	63.3	10,277	68.6
Female	7,276	36.7	4,708	31.4
Professional	5,145		1,725	
Black	245	4.8	96	5.6
Chicano	108	2.1	61	3.5
Oriental	76	1.5	34	2.0
Indian	2		8	.5
Technical	1,309		1,047	
Black	92	7.0	39	3.7
Chicano	44	3.4	51	4.9
Oriental	8	.6	22	2.1
Indian	4	.3	5	.5
Craft	1,505		2,756	
Black	58	3.9	97	3.5
Chicano	93	6.2	155	5.6
Oriental	12	.8	30	1.1
Indian	2	.1	13	.5
Service	980		600	
Black	468	47.8	143	23.6
Chicano	115	11.7	54	9.0
Oriental	2	.2	5	.8
Indian	1	.1	1	.2
Ethnic Percentages of				
Total Employment				
Black		9.3		6.6
Chicano		4.5		5.8
Oriental		1.1		1.7
Indian		.1		.5

*Information for 45 units and 30 employers for 1975, and 70 units for 1970.

TABLE XIV

EEO REPORT SUMMARY OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING
(SIC 483)

	1970		1975	
<u>Employment</u>				
Total	70,056		79,295	
Male	52,285	74.7	57,037	71.9
Female	17,771	25.3	22,259	28.1
Professional				
Black		5.1%		9.0
Chicano		1.2		2.7
Oriental		.6		1.0
Indian		.1		.3
Technical				
Black		5.0		7.6
Chicano		1.7		2.6
Oriental		.3		.7
Indian		.1		.3
Craft				
Black		4.8		5.4
Chicano		1.8		2.1
Oriental		.4		.4
Indian		.3		.2
Service				
Black		34.4		55.6
Chicano		1.3		7.0
Oriental		.4		.4
Indian		.1		.3
Ethnic Percentages of Total Employment				
Black		7.1		10.9
Chicano		1.7		2.9
Oriental		.4		.9
Indian		.1		.3



"Hmmm.....Let's see now Mr. Jones.....How's about a janitorial position?...."

One of the few instances of data disclosure for an individual studio took place in January of 1976, when Columbia Pictures made public its employment statistics because one of its divisions held a government contract in excess of \$50,000. Although the total Columbia payroll dropped almost 15 percent in the 1973-1975 period, the report showed an increase in minority percentage from somewhat under 19 percent in 1973 to almost 21 percent in 1975, and a rise in the female percentage from approximately 35 percent to 39 percent. The Columbia report also gave percentages for four occupational categories on which previous charges of discrimination had focused--officials-managers, professionals, technicians, and sales workers. Minority and female employment, as a whole, rose proportionately in these classifications, but in the most numerous officials-managers category the percentage of minorities dropped from 10 percent to 9 percent (only 6 persons altogether) between 1973 and 1975 and there also was a decline in the sales category. 17/

Minority employment in Hollywood and the impacts of affirmative action were discussed at a public hearing held in Los Angeles by the California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in October of 1976. The statements made by representatives of minority and women's organizations at that hearing were uniformly critical of industry hiring and promotional practices, and several television stations in the area were singled out for similar criticism. Only Universal and Walt Disney Studios accepted invitations to appear at the hearing, while Warner Brothers, 20th Century Fox, Paramount, and the IATSE declined.* The Advisory Committee recommended unanimously that the Commission on Civil Rights subpoena representatives of those organizations to testify at a full commission hearing, which was subsequently set for March of 1977.18/

Artistic Labor Force Trends Since 1970

Recent data compiled by NEA staff from Census Bureau and BLS studies cast some light on trends in employment and unemployment of artists, in specified categories, since the 1970 census.19/As suggested in Tables XV and XVI, total employ-

*A representative of the Association of Motion Picture and TV Producers did appear.

ment of artists continues to rise at a fast pace; the experienced "Writers, Artists, and Entertainers" labor force grew by 5.5 percent between 1974 and 1975. Unemployment percentages also were high for this group in the 1970-75 period, and unemployment rates rose for every subcategory listed between 1974 and 1975 except in the case of "Actors". In that case, where reported unemployment consistently is much higher than for any other subcategory, the rate dropped from 47.4 percent in 1974 to 35.0 percent in 1975. Particularly in light of the fact that this was the only classification which experienced a drop in unemployment during that period, it would appear that the resurgence in motion picture production (described earlier) contributed to this unique countertrend.

For the entire "Writers, Artists, and Entertainers" (WAE) category, unemployment reached the high level of 7.4 percent in 1975, somewhat above the previous high of 7.1 percent in the recession year 1971. Clearly the unemployment rates are sensitive to changes in general economic conditions (but with the exception noted above), more so than in the case of many other "Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers." The rates for the WAE category average two to two-and-a-half times the overall rates for the whole professional and technical group, with wide variations in rate among artistic subcategories (see Tables XV and XVI).

At the average annual compounded growth rate of 5.7 percent experienced in the 1970-1975 period, the total WAE work force would double in another twelve-and-a-half year period. Despite high unemployment rates in several categories, these occupations continue to attract substantial numbers of entrants. As the NEA study suggests, the nature of employment in artistic fields may affect labor-force figures in ways which can only partially be measured. High proportions of artists are self-employed for some or all of the time, and there can be a thin line of distinction between such self-employment and unemployment. Many artists derive parts of their income, sometimes a considerable portion, from

sources outside the field of artistic performance or exhibition, and there may be large-scale movement into and out of the artistic labor force. Appendices VII-IX illustrate the magnitude of some of these variables, although much of the needed information is now unavailable.

From available data it can perhaps be inferred that many persons occupy places on the fringes of the artistic labor market, increasing their commitment as work opportunities broaden and decreasing it when jobs decline. In the light of the volatility and sometimes capriciousness of that market, some find it advisable to develop more than one career. Ideally, the careers can be related: the musician also is a music teacher; the painter is an illustrator or commercial artist; the journalistic photographer has his own photographic studio. Oftentimes the jobs are unrelated, with the artist in effect using the income from other employment to supplement and, in a sense, make possible his or her activity in a more creative field. For many artists, their education and training must encompass this dualism of careers.

TABLE XV

TOTAL WRITERS, ARTISTS AND ENTERTAINERS,
GROWTH OF LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT: 1970 - 1975

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Growth Rate From Previous Year</u>	<u>Number Unem- ployed</u>	<u>% Unem- ployed</u>	<u>Standard Error of % Unem- ployment</u>
1970 <u>1/</u>	797,574	-	36,480	4.6%	.1%
1971 <u>2/</u>	846,000	6.1%	60,000	7.1%	.5%
1972 <u>2/</u>	897,000	6.0%	50,000	5.6%	.4%
1973 <u>2/</u>	929,000	3.6%	45,000	4.8%	.4%
1974 <u>2/</u>	1,000,000	7.6%	48,000	4.8%	.4%
1975 <u>2/</u>	1,055,000	5.5%	78,000	7.4%	.5%

1/ Table 51, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970 Sub-
ject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-7A, Occupational Characteristics.

2/ Unpublished data furnished by the Bureau of Labor Statistics

TABLE XVI

COMPARISON OF UNEMPLOYMENT FOR SELECTED
OCCUPATIONS WITH ALL PROFESSIONAL,
TECHNICAL AND KINDRED WORKERS: 1974 and 1975

	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>Change</u>
All Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers	2.3%	3.2%	+ .9%
Architects	2.7%	5.4%	+2.7%
Actors	47.4%	35.0%	-12.4%
Authors	2.1%	4.3%	+2.2%
Dancers	*	*	*
Designers	2.3%	7.4%	+5.1%
Musicians & Composers	4.1%	7.9%	+3.8%
Painters & Sculptors	3.2%	5.8%	+2.6%
Photographers	3.8%	6.2%	+2.4%

* Data base is too small to provide a meaningful estimate.

IV

NEIGHBORHOOD ARTS PROGRAMS

Traditionally, the bulk of public and private support for the arts in America has been directed toward the more conventional cultural forms: symphonic music, classical dance, museum art, and so forth. These artistic modes, frequently European in origin, have been favored by the cultural and economic elites which, in large part, have been responsible for defining and applying the accepted "standards of excellence" in the arts. Thus, for many decades the phrase "good music" referred primarily to classical music composed in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and performed by symphony orchestras or chamber music ensembles; with few exceptions, music of African, Asian, Latin, or American origin was placed in a lower category esthetically and rarely was endorsed by the arbiters of cultural taste. In like manner, drama, art, and literature predominantly have remained the province of an "elite" (needless to say, the "popular arts" are by definition a quite different matter).

There have been countermovements, on occasion: the "Harlem Renaissance" in black literature during the 1920s, limited breakthroughs for American jazz in the 1930s, and, perhaps most significantly, the WPA's Negro Theater described earlier in this report. Even in the latter case, however, many of the key artistic leaders were white, John Houseman and Orson Welles, among others. It was not until the civil-rights revolution of the 1960s that an extensive community-based movement developed, finally giving emphasis to artistic forms and expressions indigenous to groups which hitherto had been outside the generally accepted cultural framework.

As suggested by William H. McWhinney and James M. Woods, neighborhood arts reflect a "cultural democracy" which is at the polar extreme from traditional conceptions.^{1/} To the degree that arts programs and facilities have been

made available to lower-income and minority communities in the past, they have usually been based on the premise that the residents should be enculturated into the artistic and literary values of the dominant majority. In this sense, such efforts have had a "missionary" aspect: the "natives" were to be "civilized." Carnegie-funded libraries and touring art exhibits and musical performances, as well as public education, were designed to accomplish this enculturation.

A neighborhood arts program does not require the automatic rejection of majority values and standards. Nor does it necessarily imply a mindless relativism to the effect that "one type of art is just as good as any other." It merely emphasizes the multiplicity and diversity of cultural forms which deserve recognition and, in some cases, further development. McWhinney and Woods define what they term "cultural democracy":2/

A cultural democracy exists where the culture of the non-dominant elements in a society are accepted along with those of the dominant. A cultural democracy provides for acceptance of one's historical, ethnic and racial identity just as a political democracy respects the individual's legal and economic rights.

One important benefit from neighborhood arts, aside from the expansion of cultural resources and an enhanced quality of life, is the resultant strengthening of community pride and self-image. Communities that are invidiously depicted as "culturally deprived," simply because they do not share majority values in some sense, may be reservoirs of unrecognized creative talent.

Thus an especially visible impact of the so-called "Watts Riot" of 1965 was the creation of a number of community-based arts programs, each reflecting an

emergent pride in the recognition and identification that had now come, however violently, to a previously ignored area.* The list is lengthy and impressive:

(1) The annual Watts Summer Festival, beginning in 1966 on the first anniversary of the riot, with concerts on the Jordan High School grounds, art exhibits in a large county park, and a massive parade, all administered locally with assistance from government and business.

(2) The Watts Writers' Workshop, led initially by novelist-screenwriter Budd Schulberg and later by writer Harry Dolan, located directly in Watts (unlike some other programs which, for public relations purposes, used "Watts" in their titles without location in that small community).

(3) Watts Happening Coffee House, a night spot featuring talented local performers.

(4) Mafundi Institute (funded at first by the Kettering Foundation), a cultural center with drama classes led by TV stars such as Raymond Burr and Don Mitchell of the "Ironsides" series and dance instruction by Marge Champion.

(5) Studio Watts, an artistic training center for young people.

(6) The Watts Media Center, for instruction in broadcasting and other media skills.

(7) Performing Arts Society of Los Angeles (PASLA), for the writing and production of plays relevant to the black experience.

(8) Teen Posts, funded through the federal "anti-poverty" program, designed to offer teenagers in low-income communities recreational opportunities and some cultural exposure.

*Some of these organizations preexisted the "riot" but their major recognition and impact came afterwards.

A decade later the record is discouraging. At the time of this writing, mid-1976, the Writers' Workshop, Watts Happening Coffee House, Mafundi Institute, and Media Center have vanished; the summer festival has grown progressively smaller in scope and is on the verge of extinction; most of the Teen Posts have been closed; Studio Watts changed its focus and relocated its headquarters out of the community, concentrating on the design and future construction of innovative arts-oriented housing; PASLA is a small operation relocated away from the Watts area.

The experience of Mafundi is, in my judgment, illustrative. Located initially in an older, converted building on 103rd Street in the midst of a designated "urban renewal" area, its programming was diverse and imaginative and it involved substantial numbers of young people. When Model Cities funds became available somewhat later, a new two-story building was constructed across the street, called the Watts Neighborhood Center, complete with auditorium, studios, and game rooms, and Mafundi became its only tenant. But programming and staffing declined: Kettering Foundation funds were removed, outside volunteers dwindled, and the building deteriorated and was largely unused. By mid-1974, only a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts kept Mafundi alive, and despite the efforts of the dedicated young man who was its final director and new help from some Hollywood performers and UCLA graduate students, its days were numbered. Early in 1976, the City of Los Angeles took over the building and Mafundi disappeared.

Decline of these programs does not in any way reflect a failure or weakness in the premise on which they were based. On the contrary, the value of the contributions they made and the quality of much of the talent uncovered have never been disputed. The author of this report was personally involved with most of them, at one time or another, and directly observed the creative skills of

many of the program participants. The factors leading to their eventual weakening and dissolution apply in varying degrees to almost all programs, of whatever type, which emerged in the aftermath of the 1965 riot.

First, the interest of funding sources in the Watts community tended to dwindle as the memory of the riot and fear of a possible recurrence faded. Much of the early programming was intended only as a "pacifier," and even among those outsiders whose concern was genuine, competing interests and demands came to the fore as time went by. Some of the important programs, such as the Watts Writers' Workshop and Studio Watts, depended heavily upon the input and leadership of one or two individuals who for both personal and professional reasons might be drawn away to other projects.

Second, in 1969 a new, highly conservative administration took power in Washington, and the already meager funding for many of the community programs was further cut. Politically and philosophically, the Nixon and Ford Administrations have felt little obligation to minority communities. The shrinking of funding sources generated another vicious circle: program administrators spent increasing amounts of time developing grant proposals or investigating alternative sources, which inevitably affected the quality of programming and thus made even more difficult the task of renewing funds.

Third, there often has been an imbalance among program elements. Political needs for high "visibility" have led--as in the case of Mafundi--to the construction of impressive facilities without sufficient program and staffing support. These circumstances have hardly been conducive to the innovative programming required.

Fourth, conventional funding agencies usually are reluctant to fund community-based projects and organizations without an acceptable "track record." This reluctance makes genuine community control less likely and aggravates the administrative problems even of those groups which do receive funding.

A special problem affects those projects which fall in the artistic and cultural categories: unlike San Francisco and some other communities, Los Angeles does not have a local neighborhood arts program. Thus there is no official body to assist with funding and proposal development, coordinate programs, provide research and other staff support, and help clear away the typical bureaucratic obstacles to local programming. Without this resource, it is harder to build *permanence* into the various community arts projects, and the resulting impermanence only exacerbates the feelings of frustration and alienation experienced by so many of the ghetto and barrio youngsters.

There are, of course, a number of minority community programs in Greater Los Angeles which have survived, of which probably the most extensive is the Inner City Cultural Center. Located in and primarily directed to the black community, the ICCC nevertheless produces dramatic, musical, and dance performances reflecting the cultures of many ethnic groups. With its own theaters, classrooms, theatrical and dance repertory companies, publication, and the Langston Hughes Memorial Library, the Center can offer one of the most comprehensive ethnic arts programs in the country. The affiliated Inner City Institute for the Performing Arts provides classroom training in all the performing arts, along with instruction in foreign languages.

The Meeting at the Watts Towers is an association of the leaders (and their representatives) of cultural organizations in the south central area of Los Angeles, serving in effect as a neighborhood arts council. The Watts Towers Arts Center has recently switched from private to City operation and, under the leadership of black artist John Outterbridge early in 1976, planned a more extensive art exhibition and instruction program. The Young Saints Academy of Performing Arts and Skills, also in south Los Angeles, has obtained both Model Cities and CETA funding for pre-apprenticeship training of young people in telecommunications and entertainment media. The Los Angeles-based U.G.M.A.A. Foundation

sponsors training in various creative fields and also produces concerts by talented young black musicians. A few other cultural organizations function in Los Angeles with programs of particular relevance to the black community: the Ebony Showcase Theater and Cultural Arts Center; the newly formed Jazz Heritage Foundation led by guitarist Kenny Burrell, which develops scholarships in the fields of composition and arranging; and the Watts Community Symphony Orchestra, mentioned in Chapter II.

Other organizations, none of the size and scope of the Inner City Cultural Center, serve different ethnic communities in Greater Los Angeles. In East Los Angeles, Plaza de la Raza and the Mechicano Art Center offer programs and facilities, primarily in the visual arts, in Chicano culture. Nosotros seeks to enhance the image of Chicanos and improve their employment opportunities in the performing arts, especially in motion pictures and television, but its location outside the area of major Mexican American concentration and its focus on professional performers disqualify it as a *neighborhood* arts program. East/West Players is a workshop theater aimed especially toward the Asian-American.

The Los Angeles County Music and Performing Arts Commission produces musical and other cultural events, sometimes in cooperation with the American Federation of Musicians; the most ambitious are the annual Festival in Black and the series of free jazz concerts in county-owned facilities (referred to in Chapter II). The Los Angeles Music Center has an outreach program directed to minorities.

The more spontaneous the program, the more it deserves the label of "neighborhood arts." St. Elmo's Village, in central Los Angeles, fits this definition closely with its cluster of buildings around a court where people of all races and ages paint murals and pictures and engage in other artistic happenings. Gang-inspired murals in East Los Angeles are similarly natural, as are the many musical performances of youngsters in houses and on street corners throughout the city. A neighborhood arts *program* builds upon these resources and links them with others in ways

which encourage their development and technical improvement without losing the creative values that inspired them. Of all the programs in the West, and perhaps in the nation, San Francisco's Neighborhood Arts Program most closely approximates this standard.

The San Francisco Neighborhood Arts Program

San Francisco's pioneering Neighborhood Arts Program was created in July of 1967 by the San Francisco Art Commission. Initiated with a budget of less than \$25,000, by its eighth year the program's budget had expanded to approximately \$300,000 annually and its services reached about 300,000 San Francisco residents. There is a relatively small central staff, but specialized support is given to neighborhood arts through a decentralized "district organizer" system: each designated geographic area (Western Addition, Sunset-Richmond-Marina, Chinatown-North Beach, Mission, Bayview-Hunters Point-Merced-Ingleside, Haight-Ashbury, and South of Market) "has an organizer and a workshop coordinator who are artists or artist-entrepreneurs known and respected in their respective neighborhoods. Each organizer has a budget of \$500 (plus \$225 for workshops) a month which they, knowing their own neighborhoods' wants and needs best, are free to spend without hierarchical red tape."* Organizers usually are of the same ethnic and cultural background as the majority of people in their districts.

The NAP office provides technical and production assistance to neighborhood arts organizations: crews to set up stages, sound and lighting systems, and

* Unless otherwise indicated, quotations and general information on the San Francisco NAP program are drawn from the NAP biennial report for July 1972-74.

other requirements for public presentations; help with publicity and proposal writing; and, above all, the design and printing of flyers and posters announcing cultural events sponsored by local groups. This last service has proven to be of special value to neighborhood arts organizations, which rarely can afford the costs of commercial printing. With this combination of technical services and district organizing, NAP has been able to strengthen and extend the operations of neighborhood groups without undermining their autonomy.

With support from the San Francisco Art Commission and some key politicians, alliances of neighborhood and minority organizations have succeeded in defeating efforts to concentrate arts programs and facilities in the downtown area, where presumably they would become largely a tourist attraction and a mecca for the cultural "elite." Thus, in 1973 when there was renewed pressure in some quarters for the construction of a new and expensive Performing Arts Center in downtown San Francisco, community-based artists "successfully lobbied for a community cultural centers program to be funded by federal revenue sharing."^{3/} The result has been the development of a \$2.5 million Community Cultural Centers Program, reflecting "the city's commitment to allot a half-million dollars annually for five years toward creation and renovation of neighborhood art buildings." By early 1976 only one new center--the Chinese Cultural Center--was actually functioning, but negotiations had been completed for additional facilities in the Western Addition, South of Market and Bayview-Hunters Point areas and some progress had been made in other neighborhoods despite the usual bureaucratic and legal obstacles. ^{4/}

Beyond the construction of new neighborhood facilities, innovative programming in the arts has been a major characteristic of the Neighborhood Arts Program: the San Francisco Blues Festival, "mini-circuses," art festivals, murals, the Undumbara Theater Dragon Project in Chinatown and elsewhere, dance programs including a

Dance Film Project, oral history projects, traveling puppet shows, music and art workshops, poetry readings, concerts by both recognized and developing musicians in jazz and folk music, and gardening and floral design.

Among the new cultural facilities scheduled to open in the near future are the Western Addition Art and Cultural Center and a Bayview-Hunters Point arts and culture complex. The Western Addition center will be housed in a four-story facility containing "a community gallery, the African American Historical and Cultural Society, a 90-seat theater, an open performing area with a wood floor, a coffee lounge, a large area for youth gatherings, lectures, rehearsals and dances, a smaller multi-purpose room, a photographic laboratory, a film editing and processing room, a rehearsal area with dressing rooms adjacent, workshop spaces, office spaces for several community arts groups, meeting rooms, a visual arts area for silkscreening, painting, sculpting and graphic layout work, a library-archive for documentation of African American culture and art, and community radio station KPOO-FM, which broadcasts public service programs and will provide free training in radio broadcasting. An adjacent parking lot will become an open playground and performance area. Appropriately, a large conference room is decorated with murals from the WPA." 5/

The Bayview-Hunters Point complex will be based mainly at the old South San Francisco Opera House, renovated at the cost of approximately one million dollars. The Opera House, well located in relation to the city's largest low-income black area, will house a variety of cultural and recreational activities directed especially to community youth.

It would be misleading, of course, to suggest that San Francisco's program has been without its problems and tensions. At its inception, political and institutional conflicts were common, and even today there are occasional disputes at various levels, notably between neighborhood art organizations and the official "bureaucracy." Obviously, much of this is inevitable in the political context in which any such program must operate.

Nevertheless, by the mid-1970s the Neighborhood Arts Program was sufficiently entrenched and accepted that it could explore hitherto undeveloped sources of governmental support. A major new thrust came as a result of congressional passage, in late 1973, of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), which decentralized and decategorized manpower programs and gave local communities great latitude in choosing the types of activities to be funded with the federal money. San Francisco became a "prime sponsor" under this legislation, but initially the funds were directed into the more traditional employment and training channels and none into the neighborhood arts program. It was clear, however, that unemployed and underemployed artists could qualify for such support, under Title I which authorizes a variety of locally optioned "manpower-related" services, and under Title II which funds public service employment in areas of high unemployment (Title VI, covering countercyclical PSE, was added later.) Ironically, John Kreidler, the trailblazer in development of CETA funding for the arts, was the original research associate on the study which produced this report.

In 1974, Kreidler was an intern with the Neighborhood Arts Program. After a stint with the Office of Management and Budget, in Washington, D.C., he had returned to his initial and paramount field of interest and had enrolled in the Arts Management program of UCLA's Graduate School of Management; the internship was related to his graduate studies. Immediately before his departure for San Francisco, he had served as research associate on this project, and he credits these preliminary studies as one source of inspiration for the subsequent innovation through the NAP: "We were trying to understand how high school kids in poverty areas like Watts and East Los Angeles got jobs in the arts. Some of the ideas that went into the CETA proposal in San Francisco were formed during this work." 6/

Fortunately, Kreidler was experienced in the art of proposal writing and knowledgeable about the ways of both the federal and local bureaucracies, and he recognized the potentialities in the new manpower legislation. In the summer of 1974, he wrote the draft of a proposal for CETA funding and circulated it for comments, and with input from key persons in the Mayor's Office of Manpower, the San Francisco Art Commission, and the NAP, the proposal was reworked to provide for the creation of 24 jobs for artists. Put into effect in January of 1975, the program had a resounding and unanticipated response: with only a few days' notice, at least 300 applicants appeared in line for the 24 jobs. Soon thereafter, a second batch of 89 jobs was authorized for the Art Commission, with 60 of them designated for the Alvarado Art Workshop Program which sponsors art workshops in the city's schools.

The suddenness of the program's implementation and the accompanying administrative burdens on a relatively small staff created some initial problems, but step by step these were ironed out and by March of 1975 about 125 artists were at work on CETA-funded projects. Because of CETA-imposed limitations on non-salary expenses and even more stringent local rules, additional funds had to be developed for supplies and equipment.

The artists initially were hired at a salary rate of \$270 every two weeks, raised subsequently to \$317, for 40 hours of work a week (32 on-site working hours and eight preparatory hours). The work assignments were varied: muralists--some hired by the Housing Authority--dance coordinators, poets, actors, dramatists, workshop leaders in schools, musicians, puppeteers, curators, painters, writers, community gardeners, and many others. Several have served as artists-in-residence with community arts organizations, and others have been assigned to museums and galleries. CETA funding even made it possible for the Art Commission to hire full-time grant proposal writers to assist the local groups, as well as a community arts researcher and two writer-editors.

With this experience and achievement behind him, in 1975 Kreidler was named executive director of the Alameda County Neighborhood Arts Program and developed a similar CETA-funded program for that area. Under this program, 77 CETA-funded positions were added to the payroll of the Oakland Museum, and another 30 CETA workers were placed on a special Bicentennial project under the direction of Art Department staff. In 1976, the Alameda County Neighborhood Arts Program received a six-month CETA contract for the employment and training of 18 artists, and a special project *Art Works '76* has been created to offer work and related services to the participants. Each CETA enrollee works for 26 weeks, at an average of 20 hours per week, "in a job that produces performing, visual or literary arts services for the public," e.g., dance instructor, muralist, actor, graphic artist. The wage rate is \$4.25 per hour, with an optional comprehensive health plan available. In addition to the standard CETA residency and employment status requirements, eligible applicants must have either two years of experience in a relevant arts discipline or four years of college degree work in a major discipline along with "demonstrated interest in community arts work." 7/

National Support for the Arts

Sparked by the success in San Francisco, CETA-funded programs in the arts multiplied in 1975 and 1976. According to studies made by the National Endowment for the Arts, in mid-1976 more than 3,000 artists were employed throughout the country on public arts projects funded under CETA, at an annual cost of approximately \$24 million. NEA staff members regularly distribute information to state and local arts agencies, describing the processes by which CETA and other federal "manpower" funding can be used for employment of artists. In addition, funds for the construction or renovation of cultural facilities became available late in 1976 under Title I of the Local Public Works Employment Act.

A study made by NEA in mid-1975 showed heavy concentrations of CETA-funded workers in the categories of "painting and graphics," "theater," and "administration" and other support and clerical services. Most were employed in state and local agencies, including both arts councils and other divisions, but about one-fourth worked with nonprofit arts organizations and schools (see Table I).

By mid-1976, the roster of local arts programs using CETA funds was impressive, as the following sampling will suggest:

California: In 1975, the state CETA office announced that a part of the governor's "discretionary funds" was being allocated for the hiring of artists in 28 so-called "balance of state" counties, for the painting of murals in connection with the Bicentennial celebration. The City of Pasadena created an employment center for artists, providing counseling, job listings, and referrals for artists and employers; in 1976, the Pasadena Community Arts Center, funded under CETA's Title I and the Governor's "discretionary funds," operated a Community Spirit Program for subsidization of performances and a Bicentennial Performing Arts Program as a vehicle for 20 performers, in addition to the employment center.

In March of 1975, the City of Los Angeles initiated its own CETA-funded program and renewed it in 1976. Of the more than 1500 people who applied for the initial 71 slots for actors, dancers, and puppeteers, 300 were auditioned by a team of professionals selected by the city's Department of Recreation and Parks. The program, first proposed by a city councilman who protested the omission of performers from the lists of those served by CETA, provided \$625 a month to performers and \$889 a month to six coordinators, three directors, a choreographer and a puppet master. Although the innovation was highly praised throughout the community, the western regional representative of Actors' Equity criticized it partly on the grounds that the money should have been allocated to private nonprofit groups which observe union contracts. Because Los Angeles does not have a

TABLE I

OCCUPATIONS AND WORKPLACES
OF ARTISTS AND SUPPORTIVE WORKERS
EMPLOYED UNDER CETA

OCCUPATIONS:

Painting and graphics.....	269
Sculpture.....	19
Public media.....	33
Dance.....	94
Theater.....	264
Writing.....	32
Music.....	79
Crafts.....	81
Other artists.....	112
Research and archival.....	33
Support, technical.....	96
Support, custodial.....	140
Support, construction.....	38
Clerical.....	122
Administration.....	243
Other support.....	<u>38</u>
TOTAL.....	1,693

WORKPLACES:

State-local arts councils.....	376
Other state-local agencies.....	695
Museums.....	225
Schools.....	29
Nonprofit arts organizations.....	<u>368</u>
TOTAL.....	1,693

Source: Survey conducted by the Office of Bi-centennial Resources Development,
National Endowment for the Arts,
August, 1975.

neighborhood arts program comparable to San Francisco's, its CETA program lacks the same degree of relevance to the needs and interests of minority and lower-income areas. In 1976, however, the Young Saints Academy in predominantly black South Los Angeles did have a CETA subcontract.

The already extensive arts programs in San Francisco and in Alameda County were further strengthened in 1976, and the Alameda County Neighborhood Arts Program helped develop a special class for artists in a local community college -- "Economic Survival in the Arts" -- which instructs in such skills as record keeping, fund raising, career planning, festival production, and so forth. Under an NEA grant, a San Francisco-based organization called Optic Nerve has produced a 30-minute videotape documenting the work of the local CETA program in the arts.

Illinois: In late 1975, the Chicago Manpower Office allotted 174 CETA slots to arts organizations and cultural centers, mainly for support staff, and in 1976 an additional 40 new year-long positions were funded in cultural organizations throughout the city. Jobs also were provided for 76 unemployed musicians with the City's Festival Orchestra, and the City promised to extend the existing 174-slot program beyond its then-scheduled expiration date of June 30, 1976, if permanent unsubsidized employment could be found for at least half of the artists and support personnel previously hired under CETA.

Massachusetts: In 1976, 20 of 71 nonprofit agencies allotted CETA funds in Boston were arts organizations, covering both the visual and performing arts and the Museum of Afro-American History.

New York: In 1975, the city of Buffalo used CETA funds for formation of a jazz group, which performs in various parks and neighborhood facilities and gives workshops in the public schools. In 1976, approximately thirty counties and cities throughout the state offered CETA employment to artists and support staff.

Oregon: In the city of Portland, 4.2 percent of total 1975-76 CETA Title VI funding was allocated for jobs in the arts, covering the employment of 44 dancers, actors, weavers, set and costume designers, propmakers, maintenance workers and administrative staff for a variety of arts organizations and 18 additional visual and performing artists for the Metropolitan Arts Commission.

Washington: The city of Seattle, in particular, has a growing publicly supported arts program, endorsed enthusiastically by its mayor. A unique aspect of Seattle's commitment to the arts is its "1 percent for Art" program, administered through the Arts Commission, which reserves one percent of the city's capital improvement budget for the purchase and installation of works of art in public places.

This sampling of government supported arts programs in 1975 and 1976 reflects only a small proportion of such projects throughout the nation, located virtually in every state.&/ The San Francisco-inspired CETA employment represents the first large-scale effort to generate work for artists in public and nonprofit settings since the demise of the WPA cultural programs in the late 1930s. The WPA theatrical and artistic projects were administered nationally, but CETA programming is decentralized and the extent to which such funding goes to *neighborhood* arts depends primarily upon the characteristics of individual cities, counties, and states. Where the community already has a well-developed neighborhood arts program, as in San Francisco, that program naturally becomes a framework for expanded activity under CETA. Where the locality lacks this basic element, CETA funds under both Title I and the "public service employment" titles, along with local funding and federal and state arts agency support, can be used as a catalyst for its formation. Obviously, this will occur only

where there is a strong local consciousness of the values of neighborhood arts, and appropriate political support is helpful and, oftentimes, necessary. As a means of assisting communities in the development of arts proposals which can qualify for CETA and other governmental funding, John Kreidler has drafted a set of guidelines which deserve reproduction in full:

PROJECT DESIGN

Whereas the bulk of the WPA employment projects were administered by state agencies, the WPA art projects, for most of their duration, were directed from Washington. This centralization did not provide state and local governments much opportunity to influence the artistic services generated by WPA, so that these services were not always attuned to local conditions. Under CETA, the opportunity for designing art projects consistent with local art resources and public service demands is virtually unlimited by Federal laws and regulations.

Several important issues merit careful consideration in designing state or local CETA art projects:

1. Labor Intensity: Although the arts tend to be highly labor intensive, some types of artistic activity require substantial supply, equipment and overhead costs. In general, performing and literary arts are more labor intensive than visual arts. Accordingly if a visual art project (public murals, sculptures, films, etc.) is initiated under CETA, it may be necessary to plan for inputs of materials from non-CETA sources. The National Endowment for the Arts recently announced that CETA funds can be used for matching Endowment funds, thereby bypassing the usual prohibition against matching one source of Federal funds with another.

2. Employment Capacity of Artistic Institutions: In large urban areas there are likely to be multiple artistic institutions--public and nonprofit--capable of absorbing additional artists. However, in suburban and rural areas, such institutions may not exist. Consequently, it may be necessary to establish new, independent organizations composed of CETA employees to generate the desired public services. The City of Berkeley has a nearly autonomous arts project employing seven artists-in-residence, to provide workshops and performances in low income neighborhoods. Another alternative is to add artists to the staffs of organizations (schools, libraries, recreation programs, community action programs) that currently include artistic services as a small component of their overall programs.
3. Direct and Indirect Artistic Services: Most artists want to be employed in direct artistic activities: the creation or performance of works of art. However, there are many jobs that indirectly increase the public's appreciation and participation in the arts. Teaching, art research, and museum preparation and curation fall into this indirect art service category. Many of the artists hired under CETA have been employed in these positions.
4. Permanence: Public arts projects can produce either permanent or transitory services. Mural projects create permanent and tangible works of art capable of benefiting the public for many years. Musical composition and poems can be even more enduring, though they are less tangible. In contrast, musical performances and poetry readings are temporal services. The policy of the Seattle Art Commission explicitly favors production of permanent art works, but more cities and states have initiated projects which provide both permanent and transitory services.

5. Full or Part Time Employment: Many artists prefer part time employment so that they can have ample time for studio work, practice and education. The CETA regulations permit either full or part time employment, though the emphasis is on full time jobs. San Francisco's nearly exclusive policy of full time employment has necessitated difficult adjustments for many artists, but the results so far appear to be satisfactory.
6. Pay Rates and Benefits: No consistent pattern has emerged in the salaries and benefits provided to artists employed under CETA. Some cities pay all CETA artists a uniform rate, regardless of education, experience or talent, while others have used differential pay scales. The one common element is that the artists have been eager to work in jobs that benefit the public and willing to accept almost any wage rate. In San Francisco, where all CETA artists are paid \$7,200 per year, many outstanding artists with national reputations were hired, and many others had to be turned away due to the limited number of positions.

PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

In initiating CETA-funded art services, the assistance of local artists and arts administrators is essential. Representatives of art councils, performing arts organizations, artistic unions and coalitions of artists can provide invaluable advice on project design as well as names of qualified artists and data on public service needs. Moreover, these representatives can assume much of the burden of screening applications and interviewing job candidates. Evidence on projects implemented to date suggests that widespread advertising of CETA job opportunities and participation of recognized arts leaders in the selection process are key factors in launching successful public art services.

Traditionally, portfolios and auditions are the chief devices used by artistic organizations to hire artists since these are direct evidence of the artist's level of achievement. Projects underway in Hawaii, Los Angeles and San Francisco relied heavily on portfolios and auditions in selecting their employees.

Summary

The prospects for further CETA underwriting of arts employment are bright, but there are limitations inherent in the legislation which must be considered. One declared purpose of the CETA program is to "transition" enrollees, as quickly as possible, to unsubsidized employment in both the public and private sectors, and "prime sponsors" are evaluated partly on the basis of their demonstrated capacity to meet this goal. Independent sources of more permanent employment must therefore be developed, and the prevailing insufficiency of demand for artists in the business sector puts a special responsibility upon government to create or stimulate new jobs in the civil service and nonprofit sectors. To some extent, more aggressive affirmative-action efforts can open up opportunities for minorities in business and industry but, until the market for the arts can be expanded on a longer-term basis, the major emphasis must be upon public programs. Communities and states can ease local tax burdens by making maximum use of general revenue-sharing funds, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, and the Local Public Works Employment Act of 1976 in supporting the construction or maintenance of cultural facilities and the employment of artists.

The unsettled question is the extent to which available funds will be channeled significantly into *neighborhood* arts programs, as opposed to the more traditional art forms. Will, for example, the monies be directed to classical music and dance or to theatrical companies patronized mainly by whites, or to community arts organizations (called "expansion arts" in NEA parlance) which frequently serve minorities and lower-income populations? Clearly, there are strong arguments

for serving *all* communities, but funds are scarce in relation to need and hard choices must be made. For both cultural and economic reasons, suggested elsewhere in this report, it would appear that society could benefit from a greater emphasis on neighborhood arts.

CAREER EDUCATION IN THE ARTS: THE LOS ANGELES EXPERIENCE

Never in the recent past have the arts rated high on the list of educational priorities. In the framework of the school district's budget, music, art, and drama tend to be regarded as "luxury" items which fall somewhat below athletic programs as objects of budgetary support. The degree of "progress" in arts education within the Los Angeles Unified School District is appropriately reflected in three commentaries written by *Los Angeles Times* music critic Martin Bernheimer at three different intervals in time.

In August of 1969, Bernheimer wrote in part:

There are 435 elementary schools in the city of Los Angeles. When classes resume next month, 150 of these schools will lose the services of a general music teacher. One hundred ninety will have to make do without instrumental instruction.

Other unsettling statistics: 39 "traveling" music teachers, whose job it was to provide training at different schools each day, are about to be dismissed. Or have been dismissed. The only hope for replacements implies the dubious use of non-specialist personnel, that is, teachers with no training in the field.

Four supervisors of elementary school music have retired and will not be replaced. Two others have been re-assigned as teachers -- not necessarily of music. The future of seven remaining supervisors is uncertain.

The only formal "music appreciation" courses in Los Angeles city schools are offered at the high school level.

The trend here in recent years has been to deemphasize the importance of the arts in general education. Whenever a financial crisis beckons -- and financial crises seem to be a way of life in this area -- music and related "frills" are the first items to disappear from the curriculum. Things were bad enough before Proposition A was defeated and the local school system was forced to cut \$22 million from its budget. Now they are disastrous.

Not disastrous simply because a large percentage of our children are about to be deprived of exposure to the arts. Disastrous because the present situation is symptomatic of a larger cultural crisis. Society, we are told, is getting richer every day in terms of monetary wealth and in terms of leisure hours available. At the same time, the arts are going begging . . .

It may be symbolic that the first and loudest reaction to the overall budget cutback was the formation of a foundation to "Save Our Sports." . . . The "SOS" project was deemed urgent because the \$22 million budget loss included \$1.4 million earmarked for supplemental pay for coaches and other personnel, plus \$131,075 for student accident insurance.

In January of 1973, Bernheimer wrote another column on the same subject, "Music Education and the Underprivileged Majority," which sounded essentially the same alarm:

Music education? What is music education?

An alarming number of our children have no idea. They may know something about music -- probably something about the kinky quirks of Alice Cooper and his band or about how the Stones roll -- but they certainly did not learn it in school. Nor, when it comes to the lyric muse, its practice, its function, its background and its beauty, are they likely to have learned anything else.

I am speaking -- no lamenting -- about the children in 344 of the 436 elementary schools in Los Angeles. It is true that our city system still does manage to employ 92 -- count them, 92 -- music teachers. But that seems like a bad joke when one remembers that we also have 334,318 students. It comes out to something like one music teacher for every 3,633 pupils . . .

The current disaster began about a decade ago when some enlightened politicians decided that the arts in general, and music in particular, represented unnecessary frills. Something to vaguely amuse Johnny if he had some time left over from the three Rs, science, baseball and wood shop.

When budgets have to be cut, music has to go. It is an old axiom. It is related, of course, to the axiom that we do not support -- or understand or care about -- "the finer things."

Then in May of 1975, another commentary by Bernheimer dealt with further cutbacks pending in the music and other arts programs within the Los Angeles district and within California as a whole:

If the news isn't terrible these days, I suppose we have to call it good. We have come to that.

The news regarding music education in the public schools isn't terrible. It is merely embarrassing, distressing, alarming, disappointing and discouraging. We ought to be elated.

We have said all this before. The tune is familiar. Too familiar. But the status quo, which was shaky a year ago, is even shakier now. Budgetary cutbacks are upon us, and as is customary in our enlightened society, cultural endeavors are likely candidates for the casualty list . . .

The educational and cultural problems, of course, are not confined to Los Angeles. Wilson Riles, state superintendent of public instruction, sent up some dire warning signals on the subject in March.

"This," he said, "has become a time of retrenchment and program reductions among school districts throughout the state. Despite current money problems, the vital place that music and the arts occupy in our lives must be recognized in the education of the young. Perhaps never before in our history has it been so important to give our children a sense of the beauty and mystery of life and nature."

The sentiments are pretty. One hopes they represent more than pretty statements, however.

To add urgency to his alarm, Riles cited a recent Department of Education survey of elementary schools in the state. Statistics: 68 percent do not even have a part-time specialist in art. No full- or part-time specialist is available to teach dance in 94 percent of the schools, to teach drama in 88 percent of the schools and to teach music in 39 percent.

Another study revealed that from 1967 to 1973 the number of fine-arts teaching consultants in California school districts fell from 408 to 115.

"Fine-arts programs," said Riles, "have been among the first to be cut back in school districts with financial problems. I think we need to look for ways to preserve what remains of this important part of our curriculum."

We also need to look for ways to restore what has been lost, and to build from there. We still owe our children -- all our children -- a little Mozart, a little Rembrandt, a little Goethe . . .

There can be little quarrel with the substance of Bernheimer's complaints. If there is a reasonable reservation, it must relate only to his apparent narrowness of focus: the training of students in the *European* tradition of culture. This, undeniably, is a rich and valuable part of the total cultural experience, but it is merely one part and is not relevant to the artistic contributions made by groups of non-European origin. Indeed, one vital addendum must be made to the Bernheimer criticism -- music education is deficient not only in quantity but in quality, because the texts and the curriculum underemphasize the role of African, Asian, latin and native American music. Duke Ellington, George Gershwin, W. C. Handy, Scott Joplin, and Brazil's Heitor Villa Lobos and Antonio Carlos Jobim figure at least as importantly in the music of America as do Igor Stravinsky and Stephen Foster, and minority artists, dramatists, and writers deserve as much recognition as do the anglos. Yet a review of the standard school materials shows insufficient awareness of cultures other than white. On occasion, special or supplementary texts are used in minority schools, but, as a rule, it requires a rare degree of dedication and interest on the part of individual teachers to make possible the exposure of arts students to the full spectrum of our culture.

Similarly, the counseling of students in artistic fields leaves much to be desired, and it is of little comfort that school counseling *in general* is highly flawed. A hint of the magnitude of this problem came when the author of the present study first sought to identify those in the public schools who presumably were responsible for either the career or the academic counseling of youngsters with artistic interests. The most common response was that, to the degree that such guidance is offered at all, the teacher performs it as he or she sees fit. Sometimes, it appears, this advice is limited to the identification of schools which provide advanced training in the arts. In an informal telephone survey of selected senior high schools in Los Angeles (five of them predominantly black in student population, two primarily chicano, and one with a mixture of Asians, latins, and blacks), five of the schools reported that all, or nearly all, the counseling in the arts comes from teachers; two replied that counselors

give students information on colleges which have courses in the specified fields; and one actually had a member of the counseling staff who was capable of offering *career* as well as academic guidance to pupils with artistic skills.

To the extent that the Los Angeles schools have been able to support special training in the arts, foundation, governmental, or other extramural funding has generally been required. Exceptions occur occasionally in the district's Regional Occupational Programs (ROP), which offer specialized vocational instruction to eleventh and twelfth graders (primarily the latter) at work or training sites throughout the area. Given in the afternoon on school days or Saturdays or during the summer, instruction at times has been provided in some aspects of the arts. In the summer of 1974, for example, the ROP curriculum included a "career awareness theater arts workshop" for which enrollees were paid \$2.00 per hour and received some high school credit. The workshop, located at the black-oriented Ebony Showcase Theater, offered training in acting, dance, stagecraft, scenic design, makeup, costuming, and production techniques. A total of 120 pupils could be accepted, screened usually by the career advisers in the participating schools; however, some schools did not meet their quota and thus the more arts-oriented Locke High School in the Watts community was able to enroll somewhat more students than it could have otherwise. Predictably, few of the ROP classes are in artistic fields.

Locke High School also was the site of one of the most effective music workshops ever given in Los Angeles. Partially funded through the Rockefeller Foundation and the California State University at Los Angeles from 1968 to its termination in 1972, the Locke jazz workshop encompassed a rehearsal band and, most important, private instruction of talented students by music professionals who were paid \$30 for two visits, each visit lasting from 30 minutes to two hours. The success of the workshop, measured in part by the number of graduates who have since attained professional recognition, illustrates the essential role performed by dedicated teachers who have rapport with students. One of them --

Reggie Andrews, a musician and composer who now teaches at another South Los Angeles school (Fremont High School) -- helped plan and administer the workshop. Some aspects of the workshop have been replicated at other schools, but *not* the unique element of individual instruction which characterized the Locke experiment. Classes in Harmony are rare, Andrews' class at Fremont being an exception.

Interviews with teachers in predominantly black and chicano schools suggest that such schools lack the quality of instruments and other equipment which is common in the more affluent areas. Furthermore, the children in wealthier households have access to private instruction and often have their own instruments, privileges rarely available to youngsters in the inner-city ghettos and barrios. One knowledgeable teacher estimates that about forty percent of his students (all of them black) have potential professional talent, but that a much smaller percentage have the necessary self-motivation and self-confidence to translate their potential into realistic careers. One problem is that so many of the youngsters in low-income households have no parental support -- often there is only one parent present -- and constantly face both economic and emotional difficulties which afflict the more affluent homes much less frequently. This may help explain the troubling and ironic fact that virtually all-white "high school all-star" jazz orchestras annually appear at the renowned Monterey Jazz Festival, performing music which emerges predominantly from black culture.

These considerations emphasize the need for special instructional programs and improved equipment in the low-income minority schools, which at least can offset partly the deficiencies encountered at home as well as in the neighborhoods. There are such programs, from time to time, but as suggested before, they depend upon extramural funding which may be only intermittently available.

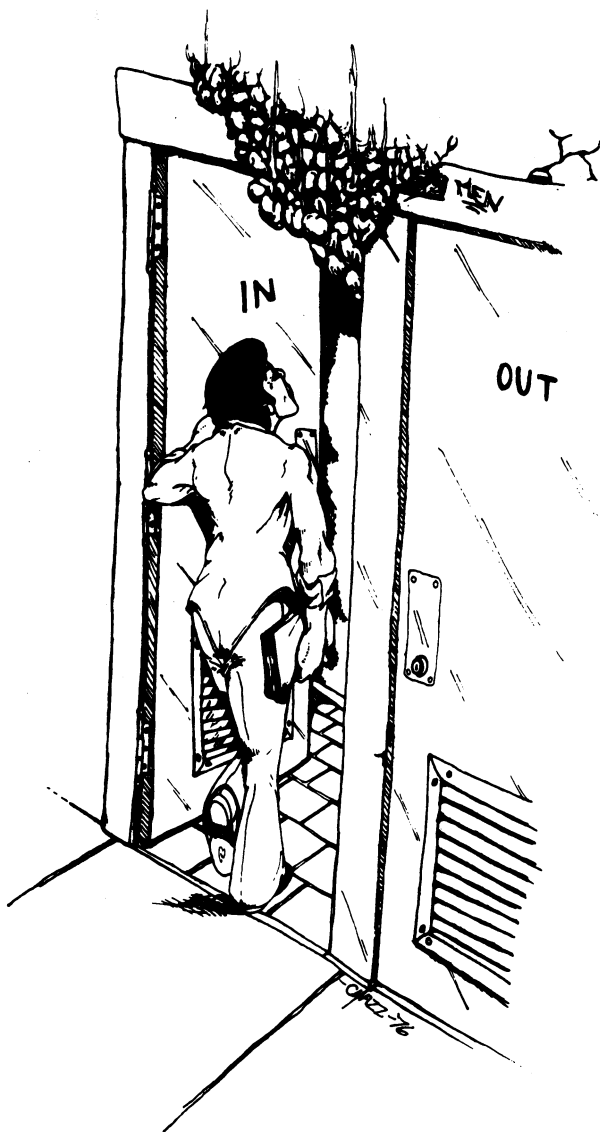
Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides funding for special educational projects directed to low-

income areas. One such program in Los Angeles is the *Inter-group Cultural Awareness Program* (ICAP), which "provides Elementary and Secondary students with the opportunity to attend performances in their schools presented by performing artists of various ethnic backgrounds in the areas of dance, theater, vocal and instrumental music."

Eligible schools within the district, primarily located in the inner-city, are able to "purchase" with their allotted Title I funds a series of performances from an extensive list of options, organized and made available through the Inter-group Cultural Awareness Program. Musical and dance performances range from classical to jazz, with performers drawn from a wide range of backgrounds and ethnic groups. A Teachers' Guide offers biographies of program participants, annotated bibliographies, glossaries of key terms, and other aids to teaching. A major purpose of the program is to build more positive self-images among youngsters who can identify with successful performers of their own ethnic group, as well as to acquaint them with the products of other cultures (both minority and the majority).

A somewhat similar ad hoc program, acclaimed by interviewees as particularly well-received by students, was the "history of jazz" series presented in several Los Angeles area schools in 1973. Funded in part by the Musicians' Union Performance Trust Fund, the series traced through professional demonstrations the development of jazz from the New Orleans and ragtime styles to modern and latin jazz. Thus it served both cultural and educational functions.

An especially innovative, but temporary, program was developed in 1974 by the director of a Los Angeles City recreation center in cooperation with a private music instructor. Free training in music fundamentals, instrumental music, jazz improvisation, stage band, rhythm techniques, singing, and other aspects of music was offered to local youth and adults, predominantly black. This eight-week series of workshops and seminars had the added merit of reaching the many who might not be currently enrolled in the public schools.



Smoke gets in your eyes.

The *Performing Tree* is another arts program which has successfully evolved from "pilot" to "permanent" status within the school system, although it does not primarily serve low-income communities. Organized in 1973 through the Junior League of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles Music Center's outreach program (now the Performing Arts Council), Performing Tree was originally a three-year pilot project designed to introduce more arts experience in the public as well as some parochial and other private schools, primarily in the elementary grades. Initially it focused on the relatively well-to-do San Fernando Valley, on the premise that schools in that area do not qualify for Title I grants and yet, in some ways, are more "culturally deprived" than the inner-city schools. Costs of production were underwritten at the modest rate of 75¢ per student. In the first year, about 200 performances were scheduled for the benefit of 35,000 students in grades three through six.^{1/}

In the 1976-77 school year, Performing Tree, Incorporated, administratively located at the Los Angeles Board of Education, covers 175 schools in nine districts within the county. Each participating school must sponsor at least two performances per year. The Performing Tree staff -- now paid, instead of volunteer -- has prepared a 176-page instructional guide for teachers. Also, in-service teacher training is available, as is an audio-visual kit which serves as a supplement to the guide. All participating schools, including the approximately ninety schools in the Los Angeles District, pay modest amounts in support of the performances offered, which encompass symphonic and operatic music, ballet, mime, jazz, drama and improvisational theater, and ethnic culture.

On the basis of interviews conducted with teachers and counselors in five Los Angeles senior high schools (three predominantly black and two chicano) in 1974 and 1976, a number of conclusions emerge which cast some light upon major needs in arts education:

(1) Higher priority must be given to arts education, beginning in the *lower grades*. This implies a far greater degree of administrative support than is now the case as well as closer relationships among elementary, junior, and senior high schools.

(2) Many more scholarships, grants, awards, and other financial aids must be made available to talented students, particularly for summertime and postgraduation training (the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles has offered summertime scholarships in life drawing on a limited basis, but such assistance must be expanded manyfold).

(3) Individual or small-class instruction must be provided for students with recognized potential. At present in some inner-city schools, 20-25 students must share only five pianos.

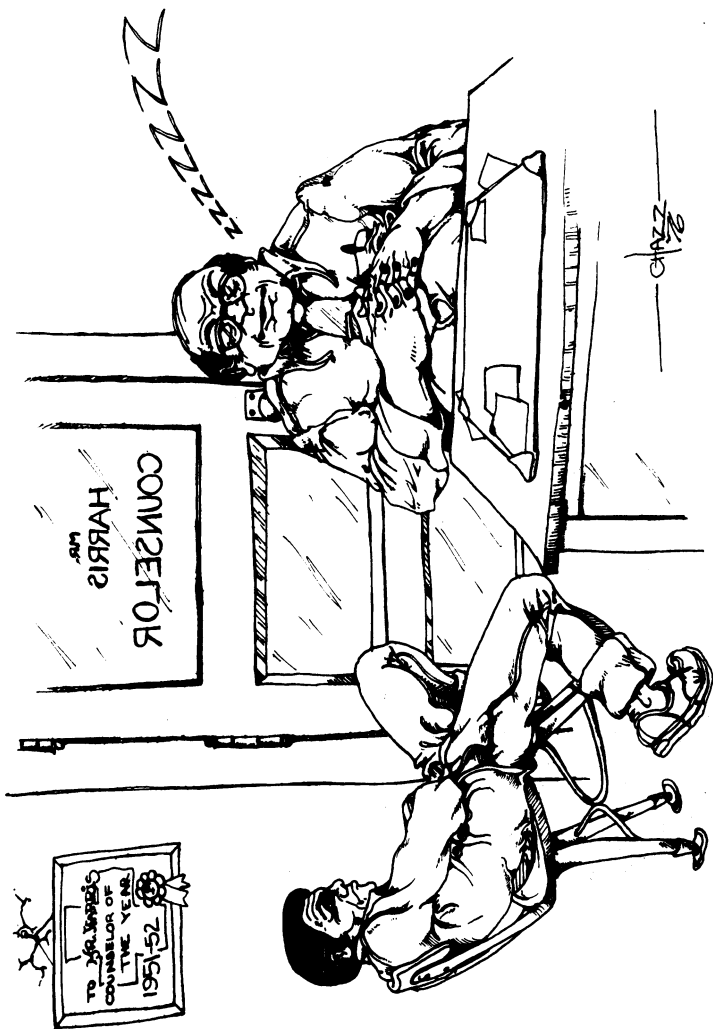
(4) More and better arts facilities, equipment, and instruments are needed in these schools.

(5) Arts students require greater exposure to artistic performances, exhibitions, and so forth, both on and off campus. To facilitate travel to sites outside the school neighborhood, regular transportation is essential.

(6) Counseling now is highly deficient; in several instances, teachers frankly criticized the quality of counseling in the presence of the counselors. Counselors should be more knowledgeable in *both* academic and career counseling, and, to the fullest extent possible, parents should be involved in the counseling process. Testing for artistic aptitudes and interests is weak or nonexistent and needs improvement.



"Come now young man, let me have whatever trash that is you're trying to read, and turn to page thirty-two in your junior reader!"



Nobody listens anymore.

Counseling deficiencies, of course, reflect a much broader problem. Despite some recent initiatives designed to improve it, the school counseling process in general remains a persistent source of difficulty. There is little point in seeking to assign blame; indeed, much of the problem derives simply from the unwillingness of American society to support vocational counseling with a level of funding sufficient to make it meaningful. To those parents whose ambition is to assure that their children receive college educations, career counseling at the *high-school level* seems less relevant, and certainly less urgent, than it may in those cases where education terminates with high-school graduation. From their own experience and background, they are capable of providing much of the guidance needed by young people. Obviously, this applies much less often in lower-income, inner-city households.

Additional problems arise out of gaps and lags in the quantity or quality of labor-market information relating to specific occupational fields in local and regional markets. Accurate projections of employment demand often are lacking, and there are particular risks in the artistic fields where changes in public taste and policy are frequent, and, oftentimes, unpredictable and capricious. High rates of unemployment in some of these fields have persuaded counselors -- not unreasonably on the surface -- against advising youngsters to prepare for entry into them.

To the extent that information has been available, most school counselors are inadequately trained in its use or are unaware even of its existence. Schools of Education, by and large, offer little or no such training, and counselors or career advisers often have had sparse labor-market experience. Even if they have some non-teaching background, rarely is it in an artistic field from which they can derive reasonably current information on job trends and so forth.

We can readily infer from existing knowledge that youngsters in inner-city schools are best motivated, and tend to

learn best, in circumstances where they can most directly experience and observe the career-related activity to which classroom instruction is connected. The availability of part-time and summer full-time internships in arts-related fields and the greater use of experienced arts professionals in teaching and other campus roles would enhance the value of education in both instructional and counseling terms. These alternatives are examined more fully in the concluding chapter of this report.

VI

CONCLUSIONS

This survey of economic and employment problems in artistic fields suggests no miracles or easy solutions. The issues in the arts are complex, especially so because they arise in large measure from the nature of the "industry." When performing arts organizations become trapped in the ironic circumstance of being unable to cover all costs even with capacity audiences, clearly some form of public or private subvention is required if the arts are to survive at all. The arts in America may or may not be in a crisis, as so many analysts argue, but incontrovertibly there is an "earnings gap" which cannot reasonably be met by anticipated box office revenues.

It is the thesis of this report that there are *both* cultural and labor-market values in a national policy oriented toward the strengthening of the arts. Many of the more positive benefits of arts programs have remained unexplored, largely because policymakers have focused upon the unemployment levels and financial stringencies currently characteristic of the creative fields. The barriers to economic advance in such fields are formidable under present circumstances, but the disproportionate emphasis upon them has obscured some hopeful potentialities in more enlightened social and educational policies toward the arts.

There is no point in rearguing the case for the arts as a major social asset. Even the critics of arts subsidies concede the intrinsic values of art to the nation, and differ with their opponents primarily on the question of *how* the arts can best be served and *preserved*. We can, therefore, start from a broad base of agreement. Any measure which stimulates a more general appreciation of both the performing and visual arts, and thus the size of the audiences, should find favor with philosophical conservatives and liberals alike. In view of substantial evidence from recent studies that an interest in the arts often is cultivated

during childhood and adolescence, any increase in the exposure of young people to a range of artistic experiences should pay long-term dividends.

Unfortunately, an improvement in arts education at the public-school level can contribute little to the solution of urgent fiscal problems which, literally, endanger the survival of many nonprofit arts organizations in the United States.* If cultural progress is to be maintained, and genuine creativity encouraged among all ages and groups of Americans, effective measures must be taken to assure the preservation of those organizations which specialize in the noncommercial arts. The alternative to such action is the virtually certain disappearance or diminution of enterprises that foster artistic innovation, and the constriction of opportunities for the development of talent in fields which are not immediately profitable. The rhetoric in support of the broad long-run values of creative art must somehow be translated into practical, short-term results. But the very process of translation is controversial because wide areas of choice and discretion are inescapable.

In California, these issues come into sharp perspective as the year-old California Arts Council argues for a proposed increase in its budget from the 1976-77 level of \$1.4 million to the sum of about \$4 million, approximately a three-fold rise. The emphasis of the Council's programming has been upon aid to artists rather than to arts organization: in the FY 1976-77 period, only about one fifth of its funds were allocated by the Council to traditional organizational grants. On the other hand, about one-quarter of the funds

*As these words are written, the press reports that the famed Joffrey Ballet has cancelled its spring, 1977, season because of a significant worsening in its financial deficit. See *Los Angeles Times*, February 3, 1977, Part IV, p. 11.

went to special programs which primarily benefit individual artists: arts in communities, social institutions (such as prisons and mental health centers), and schools, and another one quarter to arts in public places -- a mixture of aid to artists and organizations. Typical is the "Artists in Communities" program, which places "California artists of all disciplines in 'residence' settings where they may practice their art and share their experiences with local audiences."^{1/} The artist and a community center (which may or may not be an *art* center) must jointly agree as to content and format of a program, lasting six to twelve months, and the artist must receive a monthly salary of at least \$800 with the local center providing the required one quarter of that amount.

The policies of the Council, fundamentally, are consistent with those recommended in the 1975 report of the State Legislature's Joint Committee on the Arts, discussed in Chapter II. Inevitably, the response of arts organizations also is similar: in public hearings of Senator Gregorio's State Senate Subcommittee on the Arts, held in late 1976, representatives of such organizations complained that their views often went unheeded and that the appropriations for programs like Arts in Education and Arts in Social Institutions should be charged to the "large" school and prison budgets rather than to the "minuscule" arts allocation.^{2/}

Interestingly, and ironically, the Council's composition has ranged between extremes during the 14-year existence of a state arts program. Initially its members mainly consisted of wealthy art patrons, businessmen, political appointees, and others of similar background, but, in 1977, artists predominate on its roster. Professional unions and guilds, arts organizations and associations, and educational institutions still remain underrepresented. Although it would appear that such groups could and should be represented on advisory panels and committees if not on the Council itself, and that a more balanced representation would result, complex issues of possible "conflict of interest" arise when these same entities also are eligible for direct or indirect assistance through Council action.

At both the state and federal levels, aid to arts organizations usually has been in the form of "project grants" -- those specified for programs or events of short duration which are above and beyond the established organizational programming.^{3/} Thus, at best, these forms of governmental assistance cannot reduce the deficit incurred in normal operations. Indeed, most grants require matching contributions by the sponsoring organization.

Only a direct "subsidy" -- defined in the 1975 report of the Gregorio committee as a grant "to an artist or arts organization for ongoing operational and administrative expenses of existing programs of the organization" -- can be of much value in meeting those problems connected with the growing earnings gap. It is precisely in this area, however, that the most perplexing questions of equity arise, and with a wide array of groups vying for limited numbers of dollars, great discretionary power must then be vested in relatively few hands.

As suggested before, some degree of discretion and subjectivity of judgment is inevitable. Virtually all governmental commissions, including regulatory bodies with impact upon major sectors of the economy, exercise such power; discretion cannot be avoided, but it can and must be continuously monitored and controlled. Decision-making must be open, and a diversity of cultural forms, styles, viewpoints and organizations must be represented on the advisory panels and on the commissions and councils. Groups which receive grants or other assistance must not participate in or influence the decision-making process. Specially empowered legislative committees should regularly monitor the actions of state and federal arts agencies.

In line with some of the recommendations made by the Gregorio committee, the range of discretion can be narrowed by a system of direct assistance to the *consumers* of art, either as individuals or as organizations which purchase artistic services. One possibility is the use of a voucher

plan, by which groups such as students, senior citizens, and those on welfare receive vouchers which will be honored for admission to artistic performances or exhibitions sponsored by eligible nonprofit organizations; vouchers could be applied toward a fixed amount or a percentage of usual admission charge and submitted to an agency of state or federal government for reimbursement to the sponsor. This plan would increase the audience in performance facilities with available seats, and permit consumers to choose the types of art they individually prefer.⁴⁷

The voucher system, of course, still leaves room for discretion: some governmental body must determine the characteristics of those groups eligible to receive vouchers as well as arts organizations eligible to benefit from their use, and the process by which vouchers are to be valued. This plan, in addition, may induce theaters and other cultural organizations to offer the types of performances or exhibitions which are most "popular," further penalizing and restricting those presentations which are more innovative and less well known. Clearly, the voucher system should not be regarded as a substitute for "project grants," which can be given on the basis of a set of priorities that favor new and unfamiliar works.

Recommendation: The voucher system should be instituted on a limited and experimental basis, in an urban area where there is sufficient diversity of nonprofit arts organizations. At the end of the first year, the results should be evaluated by an impartial body with representation from arts organizations, unions, consumers of art, and government.

New Forms of Financial Aid to the Arts

Beyond the measures suggested earlier, new forms of assistance to nonprofit arts organizations must be devised to assure their survival and, hopefully, their growth. Prob-

ably the most important legislation now pending in Congress, focusing on this issue, is H.R. 1042 -- a bill enabling taxpayers to specify contributions to the National Endowment for the Arts or the National Endowment for the Humanities, or both, on their federal income tax returns. Sponsor of this measure is Representative Frederick W. Richmond of New York, and a national committee headed by actor Henry Fonda is actively lobbying for its passage, in company with the National Council for Arts and Education and thousands of artists and arts organizations. In California, Assemblyman Julian Dixon has introduced similar legislation applying to state income tax returns.

The premise of this legislation is that large percentages of adult Americans are willing to contribute to the arts (Chapter II of this report describes the findings of the special Harris Poll in 1974), but lack a readily accessible channel for their support. Projecting the results of the Harris Poll, Congressman Richmond estimates that about \$1.8 billion conceivably could be raised from this new source. None of this money could be used for the administrative expenses of the National Endowments, and all of it is earmarked for subsidies to organizations and to artists. It is ironic, he argues, that other nations, such as England, Germany, Sweden, and, of course, Soviet Russia, subsidize the arts to greater degrees than does the United States; in this country, only about \$140 million have been allocated to the Endowments, at a time when approximately \$1 billion are needed as a minimum. The Richmond bill stipulates that the funds raised under its provisions shall not affect "the amount which would have otherwise been appropriated" by Congress to federal arts programs. This part of the legislation may be, in practice, the most difficult to enforce.⁵⁷

It is possible, of course, that the sums raised through this channel would be less than the projection made by Congressman Richmond. Many persons, unquestionably, are inclined to be more generous when responding to a survey question than they are when confronted with a direct request for

money. In any case, enactment of the Richmond bill would at least be a forward step. At the same time, however, additional sources of support for the arts should continue to be explored, lest a concentration on this single piece of legislation diminish the potential for assistance in other forms and through other channels.

Recommendation: The Richmond bill--H.R.1042--should be enacted in substantially its present form. Taxpayers should be reminded, in direct connection with that part of the income-tax return on which they can indicate a contribution to the Endowments, that all such contributions (including those to eligible nonprofit arts organizations) are fully deductible.

Another significant source of actual and potential assistance to the arts is the private corporate sector. American corporations already supply substantial sums in support of artistic enterprises, but a disproportionate amount now goes into the sponsorship of dramatic, musical, and dance presentations on both commercial and public television or radio. Their activity, while considerable in certain areas of the country, has been generally of lesser significance in relation to the *live* performing arts. Public policy should aim to stimulate additional corporate giving in these categories, including neighborhood art programs which emphasize ethnic culture and primarily serve minority and lower-income communities. The further use of tax credits as an incentive for corporate contributions to the arts should be explored.

Art as an integral part of the everyday environment, rather than as an isolated phenomenon on display only in "elite" places, can be enhanced by both corporate and governmental policies. By including opportunities for artistic events in the planning and construction of business and commercial centers and of major public buildings and parks

throughout the country, music, drama, dance and art can be brought directly into the work and recreational settings where many Americans spend the greater part of their lives. In downtown Los Angeles, for example, plazas located in or near major businesses are centers for the presentation of concerts, art exhibits, and other cultural happenings. In the Watts area, Studio Watts is now constructing new residential housing designed on the principle that artists will be among the residents and will have ready access to performance or art facilities where they can serve both their own needs and those of the community.

In the City of Seattle, about \$200,000 a year is used to purchase and install works of art in public places, under a special "1 percent for Art" program which allocates one percent of the city's capital budget to this purpose. The Seattle Arts Commission also provides sponsorship support for festivals and for arts organizations of all sizes, contracting for the presentation of performances, exhibitions, or workshops given without charge in a public place.^{6/} In California, the Governor's proposed 1977-78 budget includes an allocation of \$700,000 to the State Architect's office for use, in cooperation with the California Arts Council, in the placing of art in state buildings.

Recommendation: Urban redevelopment plans, and other measures involving the planning and construction of public, nonprofit, and governmentally-subsidized private ventures, should make specific provision for artistic facilities and programs. All levels of government should provide for arts events and programs, such as festivals, art in public places, and regular musical performances in governmental locations. Percentages of "general revenue sharing" funds should be allocated by cities and counties to the arts. Private developers, in both the commercial and residential categories, should be encouraged by city and regional planning

commissions to include artistic elements in their plans. Eligible local jurisdictions should take into account the needs in artistic areas when applying for federal funds under the Community Development and Housing Act, Local Public Work Employment Act, Economic Development Act, and other appropriate legislation. Workers hired under the federally-funded Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) should include artists who should be assigned to useful employment where their skills and talents can be effectively utilized in the public and nonprofit sectors.

Neighborhood and Traditional Arts

A major part of the responsibility for supporting and strengthening arts organizations must be borne by local communities. In addition to their intrinsic cultural values, the arts can be, in the words of Seattle's mayor, "good business." In answer to criticisms of New York City's \$25 million a year contribution to the arts while the city has been on the verge of bankruptcy, the mayor noted that culture is a \$3 billion a year industry in that community, providing 50,000 jobs and about \$102 million a year in city taxes. Seattle itself contributes more than a million dollars a year to the arts, which constitute a \$6 million industry.

In many communities arts complexes are among the few attractions to visitors -- and, indeed, to residents -- in the downtown areas; sprawling and decentralized Los Angeles, where the Music Center downtown and the museums in Exposition Park just off the USC campus are the only major cultural entertainment facilities located within reasonable distance of the central city's Convention Center and hotels, is a prime example. Symphony orchestras, theatrical, dance, and opera companies, and museums add prestige to the community, attract visitors, provide employment, and offer a variety of cultural experiences to residents of all ages and ethnic

backgrounds, especially to young people who may be forming artistic tastes which will endure through their lifetimes.

Much of the burden of assuring effective local support for these institutions rests upon the municipal or regional arts commission, which should be broadly representative of community groups -- business, organized labor, education, and neighborhood organizations, as well as the arts -- which benefit directly and indirectly from cultural activities and are potential sources of additional funding or other aid. In some areas, such as San Francisco and Seattle, arts commissions already perform these functions, while in communities like Los Angeles their influence and impact are considerably more limited.

If community arts programs are to be relevant to all segments of the population, and not simply to the predominantly white middle and upper classes, they must also be directed to neighborhoods where the "traditional" arts -- those mainly of European origin -- have had little meaning or visibility in the past. A balanced program must encompass both the "traditional" and the so-called "expansion" arts, which often are of non-European origin, offering minorities (especially, minority youth) the opportunity for recognition and development of their own cultures as well as an adequate exposure to the classical performing and visual arts. In turn, members of the majority group -- youngsters, in particular -- should be introduced to the vast cultural contributions of minorities. Many of the existing programs are excessively oriented in one or another of these directions, ignoring or underemphasizing the other elements of a broad cultural experience.*

*While the new California Arts Council is more oriented toward the support of community arts than was its predecessor agency, its organizational grants still go predominantly to the traditional arts. Of the 25 Los Angeles-area grants announced in January of 1977, all of the grants in music went to classical musical organizations (including the Watts Community Symphony), and only four grants went to dramatic, dance, or art groups which emphasize minority cultures.

A municipal arts commission, with appropriate funding and administrative and political support, can offer invaluable technical assistance to nonprofit neighborhood organizations; San Francisco's Neighborhood Arts Program is a model in this category. This aid, which takes both financial and nonfinancial forms, is particularly vital to neighborhood arts groups which have not traditionally received public or corporate contributions and have had relatively little experience in fund-raising or the formulation of grant proposals. Such local organizations, along with the public schools, can reach and involve the members of minority and lower-income households in greater degree and more effectively than can the more traditional arts institutions. At their best, they can provide a combination of cultural, educational, and counseling services.

As argued in Chapter III of this report, the provisions of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act afford cities and counties the opportunity to hire unemployed artists for community-service work in public and nonprofit settings. Much of this work can parallel, on the local and regional levels, the WPA cultural programming described in Chapter II. Where a community has a successful neighborhood arts program, that can become the major framework for employment of artists, with emphasis upon minorities in low-income areas. In other circumstances, the local jurisdiction can take advantage of the existence of CETA and other "revenue-sharing" measures to facilitate the establishment of such a program.

Recommendation: Every major urban center in the country should have a broadly based, comprehensive, and adequately funded community arts commission. This body should emphasize support for neighborhood as well as traditional arts, and should regularly provide technical assistance, at no or minimal charge, to local nonprofit arts organizations, including at least the following: (1) accounting, auditing, and payroll assistance, perhaps serving as fiscal agent in connection with governmental and corporate grants; (2) ad-

vice in proposal-writing and fund-raising; (3) publicity for cultural events, including posters and news items; (4) facilitation of the use of public parks, playgrounds, schools, and so forth for such events; (5) special technical aids, such as the setting up of stages, lights, and sound systems for dramatic and musical performances; and (6) where feasible, the employment of indigenous community residents as organizers and technical facilitators in their various neighborhoods.

Affirmative Action

Progress in minority employment, most notably in the profit-making sectors of the arts, is directly linked with a vigorous implementation of affirmative action. But statements of good intention are far from enough: not even the superficially strong "voluntary" agreement in the Hollywood crafts has proved sufficient to overcome resistances based on long-standing practices of tight labor-supply control, favoritism and nepotism in hiring and promotion, and outright racial discrimination. Experience shows that such settlements mean little, over the long run, unless monitoring and enforcement are continuous and pressure from outside the industry -- from governmental and organizational sources alike -- is maintained.

The most distressing aspect of this problem has been the absence of reliable published information on the nature, distribution, and degree of minority employment in key occupations and industries. Without such data, it is impossible to evaluate realistically the impact of affirmative action efforts. In the motion picture crafts, detailed data on employment patterns were required under the 1970 agreement, but they remained the exclusive possession of the industry and the federal agencies and were carefully concealed from general view. Annual summaries of EEOC (EEO-1) pattern reports, by industry, are available for public inspection under the Freedom of Information Act, but under conditions which do not encompass needed explanations of the meaning and limitations of the raw statistics.

For example, it is not possible to determine or infer from published data whether particular groups of employees have been omitted for technical and other reasons; what proportion of industry employment is included in the reports; how key occupational categories (e.g., cinematographer, set designer, camera assistant) are grouped into the more general classifications used in the EEOC guidelines -- technical, craft, semiskilled, skilled, professional, service, etc.; and how the intermittency of employment in industries such as motion picture production, where both professional and craft workers frequently move from one employing unit to another and may work only when a film is being shot, affects the reporting requirements under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Virtually all of this and related information could be made public without revealing the identity of individual employers.

Publication of such data need not imply the existence of a quota for employment of minorities. Its value does not rest upon any presumed relationship with a specific affirmative-action program, but, rather, upon its usefulness as a gauge by which to judge progress (or the lack of it) in minority hiring over a period of time. It is axiomatic that reasonable action requires adequate and accurate information as a base, and the withholding of relevant facts from the public cannot be condoned, especially where they have been gathered by governmental agencies in the pursuance of *public* policy.

Recommendation: Summary reports of minority employment patterns, by industry and by occupation, should be readily available at least annually. Each report should be accompanied by explanatory notes in sufficient detail so that the exclusion of significant groups of employees from the reported figures, changes in occupational or industrial definitions for reporting purposes, unusual variations in key statistics or the number of units reporting, or other relevant factors are appropriately explained. Where there is substantive reason to believe that

racial or other discrimination may exist, or has recently existed, in a given industry, the occupational categories should be defined more narrowly and concretely than they are in current practice; for example, in the motion picture and television industries the employment patterns should be published in relation to specific *crafts* such as those identified in the 1970 affirmative-action agreement.

The 1970 affirmative-action settlement in the Hollywood crafts is a prime example of an impressive, seemingly comprehensive, and concrete forward step in minority employment, which ultimately signified and accomplished little. Initiated in the face of open and covert opposition from much of the industry, monitored inadequately by agencies lacking a specific enforcement authority, and implemented at a time when pervasive unemployment impeded progress in every category, the plan had a temporary but apparently not a substantive long-term impact. Though the statistics are incomplete in many respects, they fail to reflect the degree or quality of improvement in hiring practices which the 1970 agreement presaged.

It is possible, although far from certain, that the agreement halted a retrogression in minority employment which otherwise would have occurred during the "recession" period of the early seventies. The figures published by Columbia Studios suggest, for instance, that the percentage of minorities in its work force slightly increased between 1973 and 1975 while its overall employment was dropping sharply. This could mean that minorities were being retained in jobs at a higher rate than others, and/or that minority applicants were represented among new hires in higher proportion than non-minorities. On the other hand, the EEO-1 reports for the entire industry show no change in the proportion of reported minority employment between 1973 and 1975, and, inexplicably, a *decline* in minority percentages between 1974 and 1975. This implies that as studio production was regaining

some of its past strength, at precisely the time when the affirmative-action monitoring system expired, anglos benefited in higher degree than did minorities. By this time, of course, the special minority training and referral programs had dwindled.

Although its statistical record on the basis of EEO-1 report summaries is somewhat better than in the case of motion picture production, the radio and television industry clearly has not implemented affirmative action sufficiently. Indeed, there is some evidence that the "equal opportunity" thrust diminished in 1975 precisely as it apparently did in Hollywood. While the entire radio and television work force grew by about two percent in that year, the minority share of employment rose by only about 0.3 percent.⁸⁷ Many productions continue to present women and minorities primarily in stereotyped or traditional roles, and, at least of equivalent importance, these groups remain underrepresented in off-camera professions and crafts.

A case in point is the 1977 TV production of "Roots," which has become the most popular dramatic presentation in television history. With the obvious exceptions of author Alex Haley as a consultant, composer Quincy Jones, and the widely acclaimed black performers, blacks were rare among the production and technical staff. Whites predominate among the producers, directors, writers, and technicians even on those shows which have black casts and appeal strongly to black audiences. Again, the usual "vicious circle" applies: producers explain that blacks cannot be hired in adequate numbers because they lack the requisite experience, but none of the excluded minorities can gain experience until someone in the industry will hire them.

The answer to this problem must take two forms: (1) a direct, frontal attack on all vestiges of discrimination, whether identifiably on racial or sex grounds or simply on the basis of personal favoritism and nepotism, and (2) the development of educational and training programs -- both in

classrooms and on the job -- which effectively prepare minorities for entry into those professions and crafts where they now are underrepresented. "Crash" programs, as in the 1970-72 period in Hollywood, should be avoided: all too often their result is the hiring of untrained and unqualified minority job applicants, for token and statistical purposes, in a way which inevitably (and perhaps intentionally) will discredit the entire affirmative-action effort. A long-range program, with continuous monitoring built into it, must involve a collaboration among at least these types of organizations:

- (1) federal and state antidiscrimination agencies;
- (2) federal and state arts agencies, which fund non-profit programs affecting minorities;
- (3) institutions of secondary and higher education;
- (4) neighborhood arts groups, "little" theaters, and other entities which provide opportunity for training and "showcasing" of local talent;
- (5) the industry itself, including both employers and unions.

Antidiscrimination measures should apply equally to the profit-making and nonprofit sectors. Indeed, nonprofit organizations in the fields of theater, music, dance, and art are logical training grounds for minorities seeking entry into permanent employment in both sectors. Recent statistics suggest that progress in minority and female hiring and/or promotion has been insufficient even in noncommercial radio and television, which receive heavy governmental support.

Recommendation: The National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and other official and semi-official organizations in creative and artistic fields should establish a joint task force on the training and employment of minorities in nonprofit organizations. Minority employment patterns, as well as program relevance to minority communities, should be specifically considered by funding agencies in review-

ing proposals from arts organizations. Instances of apparent discrimination, wherever detected, should be promptly reported to the appropriate antidiscrimination agencies.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, along with other federal and state agencies, should renew its investigation of hiring and promotion practices and patterns in the motion picture, television, and radio industries. The investigation should encompass recruitment, training, hiring, and upgrading of minorities in *all* occupations, with full disclosure of all relevant data.

Effective monitoring of programs in those industries should be instituted. A broad range of training programs, from formal apprenticeships to short-term on-the-job training, should be developed for all those occupations in which minorities currently are underrepresented. Union memberships should be open to all new entrants into any industry, and all referral and hiring procedures should be purged of unnecessary or irrelevant prerequisites (e.g., unvalidated tests). Government contracts, grants, or other support should not be given to, or should be withdrawn from, all organizations and businesses which fail to observe affirmative-action plans. On the positive side, CETA contracts for on-the-job training should be made available to underwrite partial costs of programs directed to unemployed or underemployed persons with potential skill in one or more artistic occupations, including (but not limited to) minorities. CETA-funded work experience and public service employment programs should be implemented in similar fields within the governmental and nonprofit sectors. These programs should be coordinated systematically with training in educational institutions and in the profit-making sector.

Communication of training and job opportunities to potential minority applicants, especially to those in low-income communities, should be vastly improved. School and employment-service counselors should be in frequent contact with representatives of employers in the artistic and allied fields.

Education and Counseling

Over the long run, the status of the arts in the United States depends upon the impact of early education and upbringing. The Louis Harris and Eric Marder-Ford Foundation surveys, among others, confirm that artistic attitudes and commitments often are formed during childhood and adolescence, through direct exposure to cultural experiences as much as through formal education. It has long been known that music, in varying forms, is a central part of a teenager's activity and concerns, though it is equally true that this can be a shallow and ephemeral interest. The Marder study, in particular, suggests that the current audience for the arts--in both popular and noncommercial categories--is largely a youthful one. As argued earlier in this report, the rising age level of the population might bode ill for the future of the arts, but negative effects could be more than offset by a growth in time and resources which Americans will commit to artistic interests and by the transformation of a temporary adolescent fervor into a lifetime cultural enthusiasm.

These goals may be more readily achievable among minorities than among the "White Anglo-Saxon Protestant" groups. Most of the minorities--the Blacks and Latins as well as the Italians, the Jews, and many others--have strong cultural traditions and heritages which encompass music, art, literature, dance, and dramatic or comic performance. To a considerable degree, their artistic interests in at least some of these fields persist beyond adolescence and become, indeed, an integral part of their daily lives.

Nor is this necessarily a passive concern, as it is in the case of those who essentially are observers or auditors of culture. Blacks, for example, are more likely to involve themselves in, or identify with, musical or other cultural experiences than are the whites; as the Harris survey concludes (see page 46 of this report), "blacks describe culture as something coming out of self, whereas whites describe it as something out there which they witness." Culture, at least to some minorities, has the essential qualities of entertainment, emotion, relaxation, pleasure, self-realization, and involvement; it is neither a capricious teenage fad, on the one hand, nor an overly "serious" event and "elitist" experience, on the other. In this perception, the arts are a volatile, dynamic, and satisfying mixture of emotion and intellect.

The "WASPs," perhaps, are culturally deprived in a certain sense. The strength of Puritanism and the "work ethic" in their family and group traditions often have left little room for true artistic *enjoyment*, as the long succession of "Blue Laws" against dancing, music, theatrical performances, and so on (especially on the Sabbath) will attest. The WASPs have sometimes been persuaded that art, music, dance, and other performances either are "frivolous," and thus unworthy of a success-oriented populace, or are the province of a "cultural elite" which can treat them with the necessary seriousness and respect--hence the emergence of an artistic classification labeled "serious" music. Their education and training have never effectively conveyed the truth that art, in its best sense, encompasses a range of sensual *and* mental experiences in a variety of forms, which are neither frivolous nor serious but are, rather, an indispensable part of the enjoyment of living.

It is, preeminently, the task of public education to inculcate in every student an awareness of the enduring values of art as both an emotional and intellectual experience. Only with such understanding is it possible for Americans of differing racial and cultural backgrounds to become lifetime support-

ers of the arts--as consumers, as taxpayers, and as participants. Above all, the meaning of artistic experience as a direct communication between performer and audience, which is uniquely the function of *live* performance, must be conveyed to a generation now enthralled by television, movies, and records. From economic and esthetic standpoints alike, the substitution of impersonal electronic media for the highly personal relationship between a musical or dramatic performer and an involved audience would be disastrous.

From a narrow economic viewpoint, the long-run benefit of a widening audience is a shifting of the artistic "demand curve" to the right, which will both diminish the size of the "earnings gap" where there are available seats and enhance the willingness of taxpayers to support measures for covering the remaining gaps in the area of live performance or exhibition. Electronic reproduction of performances has the advantage of expanding the audience beyond the confines of limited-seating theaters, clubs, and concert halls, thus improving productivity and profit, but the result in terms of employment may simply be an increase in income for a relatively small number of professionals and technicians. The labor-intensiveness of live performance, perhaps in new or bigger neighborhood facilities, is a major asset on the employment side, and better serves the esthetic and emotional values of the artistic experience.

Educators have a complex dual task: to stimulate a broader and more enduring interest in the arts, and to identify, develop, and make use of artistic aptitudes as the basis for career education. The first task, manifestly, must begin in the elementary grades and extend through high school and into college, with recognition of and emphasis upon the multicultural origins of art. Despite progress in recent years, school programs and texts continue to underemphasize the role of minorities in the American cultural heritage. Multicultural education both enhances the appreciation by the majority group of other cultures and the pride and self-image of those groups

whose unique artistic contributions often have gone unrecognized in an educational process organized and dominated by others.

The second task, perhaps, is even more complex. Existing "IQ" tests do not effectively measure creativity, and the artistic potentials of young people, especially in the minority neighborhoods, frequently are unidentified and unused.⁹ Not all youngsters can or should be professionals in the arts, but even in those cases where their aptitudes are insufficient to become the basis for long-term careers directly in the arts, an imaginative educational and counseling program could build upon such interests as a possible motivational tool and as a framework for developing skills within fields in which some part of their cultural involvement can be useful.

These goals require a multifaceted approach which simultaneously stimulates the arts appreciation of all students, develops the potential professional talents of those who have demonstrated aptitude for artistic performance, and utilizes the interests of less talented youngsters as the basis for career training in related fields that are closer to their aptitudes. Even for those who may be expected to pursue artistic careers, alternative or supplemental career possibilities should be explored in recognition of the many short-term difficulties in direct artistic employment. Again, this training can combine and encompass multiple skills: for example, the youngster interested in music could pursue a career as a recording engineer, or one who is artistically inclined could become an architect, a technical illustrator, or a costume designer.

For talented minority teenagers and young adults in lower-income neighborhoods, there must be opportunities for readily accessible, individualized instruction in more advanced aspects of musical, dramatic, literary, and artistic performance or exhibition. As suggested before, the schools must be prepared to compensate for the additional hardships and burdens borne

by those in low-income households where private paid instruction and supplies and equipment are completely unfeasible. The Locke music workshop, described in Chapter V of this report, is a possible model. Such in-school programs must be accompanied by scholarships and other financial aids which will enable especially talented young people to supplement this instruction outside the immediate school setting and in advanced courses at the post-secondary level. Community arts organizations, which have more flexibility than the often bureaucratized schools and reach youngsters who may be alienated from formal education, also have a crucial role to perform--one which the federal and state arts agencies should recognize.

There are, in communities such as Los Angeles, vast resources of experienced, professional talent which are readily available and can be tapped by the schools and by community organizations to instruct and to advise minority youngsters. The California Arts Council's "Artists in Schools" and "Artists in Communities" programs provide funding models for this type of effort. The procedures of schools and colleges should be sufficiently adaptable to make possible the employment of "non-credentialed", but highly qualified, artists in both instructional and counseling roles. For example, retired persons with artistic experience can be invaluable in such roles, and this activity can serve their own needs as well as those of the students.

Both teachers and counselors must be better trained in the identification of artistic aptitudes, provision of appropriate education at all levels, and communication of career information relevant to the identified interests; Graduate Schools of Education should offer mandatory training in these areas to all enrollees and should assist in the development of new testing and counseling techniques directed to the early recognition of artistic potentials. In some communities, designated schools specialize in the arts, and the creation of so-called "magnet schools" in connection with school integration

may provide further opportunities for such specialization. This thrust, of course, can be part of a larger program in career education and counseling which will encompass a wide diversity of occupational fields. The Los Angeles City Schools, for instance, classify junior and senior high school classes into thirteen career "clusters," of which one category is "Arts and Entertainment." Improved instructional, counseling, and work-experience programs will benefit students in all categories.

Recommendation: The Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should fund a major national project designed to explore and implement new methods by which the creative aptitudes of children and teenagers in the inner cities can best be identified, developed, and integrated into a long-term career education program. Teacher training institutions should incorporate the findings of this project into their own curricula and programs, with particular attention to the preparation of both teachers and counselors in the identification of artistic talents and the provision of realistic and current career guidance. These proposals, of course, have potential application to a range of fields in addition to the arts.

As a part of this general program, a special career orientation and internship plan, funded jointly by the federal, state, and local governments, should be initiated in junior and senior high schools located in lower-income areas throughout the country. In the artistic fields, junior high students should receive special counseling and testing intended to identify aptitudes and should have regular opportunities to visit work sites where they can directly observe the career activities to which their interests may relate. In the course of these visits, and in special workshops given on campus and/or at neighborhood arts

organizations, they should be able to discuss the arts--and arts-related careers--with artistic professionals.

In senior high school, this program should be expanded into actual work internships, part time during the school year and full time in the summer, at locations in both the public and private sectors. These internships should be in fields related to the students' demonstrated interests, but should be sufficiently diverse in nature and scope that a youngster can test the realism of his or her career goals, and perhaps readjust them, without suffering adverse results or negative feelings. Under certain circumstances, private employers should be eligible for tax credits or other incentives for participation in the program, with the understanding that prevailing labor standards must not be impaired and that regular employees must not be displaced or otherwise injured. Career orientation and internships should be available to students without discrimination on the basis of past grades, the nature of their enrollment in "college preparatory" or in "vocational" subjects, or scores on standard "IQ" tests. The program should be fully and objectively evaluated in its early stages, to identify strengths and weaknesses before it is extended in appropriately improved form to all students in eligible schools. Under no circumstances, however, should it remain in a specially funded or "research and demonstration" category; to the contrary, it should be integrated into the permanent educational structure, with budgetary support, of every school which primarily serves a lower-income community (whether minority or non-minority in composition).

Some Concluding Observations

That the arts occupy a special place in American society, setting them apart in some degree from the market-oriented activities at the core of our economic system, is hardly a controversial proposition. As Professor Ichak Adizes argues cogently in a recent journal article, by their nature the arts cannot serve their essential innovative, experimental, and risk-taking functions if they remain solely dependent upon the "competitive" market. One role of the artist is to explore and extend the frontiers of artistic knowledge and experience, without limitation and restraint associated with the need to produce a short-term profit. In this sense, an arts organization¹⁰ is like a university or a research and development unit.

Technological growth would be impossible if technology had to prove itself exclusively according to economic rationale. Likewise, what would happen to our education system if it were deprived of public support and had to depend on student fees? It might end up as a trade school which has to prove that what it teaches is relevant and profitable.

Some degree of "relevance," on the other hand, may have its own values. We are concerned with the advancement of art not merely for the sake of the individual artist but, in perhaps even greater measure, for the sake of society as a whole. Art, by definition, is a personal and subjective creation, directed more to the expression of the artist's perceptions and creative resources than to the satisfaction of mass needs, and many artists and their organizations will fear the notion of art as a social instrument as much as they resent the suggestion that culture should reflect only the choices of the marketplace. At the extreme, there lurks the specter of a politicized art, as in Soviet Russia, where the artist is expected to serve the values and goals of an official state philosophy. But the case for public subvention of the arts is weak indeed if it cannot be shown that

art meets genuine social needs which extend far beyond the well-being of individual artists.

The experience of the WPA cultural program in the 1930s--undoubtedly the major example in this country of a publicly supported large-scale underwriting of the arts--can be interpreted in varying ways. That it innovated successfully in previously unexplored areas, brought artistic events to millions of Americans who had seldom before been reached, and helped artists to survive and even to develop their talents in the midst of economic upheaval cannot reasonably be disputed. On the other hand, the projects eventually fell victim to politics, with a hostile Congress reflecting commonly held beliefs that the WPA sheltered "radicals" and "visionaries" who were devouring tax dollars. Despite massive support within the arts community, the WPA cultural program vanished.

It seems reasonable to assert, as many artists do, that the mere act of artistic creation does serve a social need. This, in essence, is the thrust of the reasoning in both Professor Adizes' article and in this report. But no one will seriously argue that all artistic endeavors are of equal worth or that anyone identified as an "artist" automatically merits public subsidy. Judgments must be made, and, even under ideal circumstances, they must be made by professionals who inevitably reflect their own preferences, biases, and experiences.

The special value of the WPA program, in my judgment, was that it combined innovation with an effort to reach wider audiences at the same time. By involving unemployed and underemployed minorities in the venture, as artists and as audiences, it advanced the frontiers of art in both esthetic and economic directions. Short-lived though it was, the program unquestionably had a lasting impact on American culture--through its experimentation with new forms of theater, art, and literature (subsequently exemplified in the dramatic offerings of Orson Welles' Mercury Theater, the writings of Richard Wright and Nelson Algren, and the art of Ben Shahn), its discovery and use of the vast but largely unrecognized talents of America's blacks, and its democratization of the arts by bringing them to new, "non-elite" audiences.

This last point is, perhaps, especially important. Among some artistic professionals, there remain vestiges of earlier beliefs that somehow the search for new and wider audiences must result in, or must be associated with, a decline in artistic standards of excellence. From this vantage point, even the "unpopularity" of art is a special testament to its elevated status in the life of the nation: presumably only a minority of the population has the intelligence and taste to appreciate its values. This may imply the existence of a form of "Gresham's Law" in the arts--"bad" (i.e., popular) art tends to drive "good" art out of circulation.

Thus, the classical arts have often had the aura of elitism. The WPA art in the 1930s and the "neighborhood arts" movement in the 1970s represent democratic countertrends, reflecting a conviction that "worthy" art can be both created and appreciated by those who, demonstrably, do not belong to an academic or economic elite. In some quarters, this has even given rise to romantic notions about the intrinsic superiority of "people's art" over the assertedly more "artificial" products of the elite. Whatever the ramifications of this conflict, most of which lie outside the scope of the present study, the elevation of minority-generated art such as jazz to the pantheon of American culture opens new opportunities for neighborhood programming which is related to the needs, interests, and aspirations of minorities, especially minority youth. As argued in this report, the CETA and other "revenue-sharing" programs may be channels through which some aspects of the WPA projects can be reintroduced at the local community level.

Although the *purpose* of artistic creation may be unrelated to broader non-artistic values, inevitably it has social implications and consequences. Historically, the artist often has been an early victim of totalitarian oppression, perhaps because he or she uniquely represents that independence of mind and spirit which is the hallmark of art. Creative talent, properly guided and imaginatively used, could become the basis for educational innovation, job training and development, career counseling, and motivational improvement, especially in relation to pro-

grams affecting minority youth. (The California Arts Council's "Alternatives in Education" program already explores ways in which the arts may be useful in the teaching of other academic subjects.) If it can be demonstrated that artistic involvement contributes, however indirectly or unintentionally, to the solution of pressing social problems, the willingness of taxpayers to support the arts will be further strengthened. In no sense does this limit the freedom of artists to create spontaneously and subjectively; it merely recognizes that this artistic process has values which extend beyond the realm of art per se. In a larger sense, it suggests that art has relevance to the cultural, psychological, and social needs of great numbers of Americans who lack any of the presumed characteristics of an "elite."

In summary, it is important that the artist retain integrity, independence, and dedication to high artistic standards, but it is equally vital that art reach the widest possible audience in that diversity of form which genuinely reflects the multicultural and multiracial nature of American society. There are resources of creative potential in minority communities everywhere, and their development should have the highest national priority. In the process, the quality of life for all Americans will be enhanced, and new dimensions will be added to our cultural experience.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. The Baumol and Bowen book is *Performing Arts - The Economic Dilemma* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1966); the Ford Foundation study is *The Finances of the Performing Arts*, Vols. I and II (New York:1974).
2. *The Finances of the Performing Arts*, Vol. 1, p.5.
3. *Ibid.*, p.59.
4. See Chapter III for further consideration of employment issues in the performing arts.
5. P. 104.
6. *Variety*, Oct. 15, 1975, p.5. Gross boxoffice revenues for the whole of 1975 were \$1.8 billion.
7. On November 3, 1975, MCA Inc. reported that its net income for the third quarter of this year was at a record high, amounting to \$35.9 million. (L.A. Times, Nov. 4, 1975, Part III, p.7).
8. Information in this paragraph is drawn from discussions with club owners in Los Angeles, in early 1975.
9. *Newsweek*, December 24, 1973, p.47.
10. *Billboard*, March 6, 1976, p.8, and April 3, 1976, pp. 1 and 25.
11. *Billboard*, April 3, 1976, p.25.
12. *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, U.S. Department of Labor, 1974-75 ed. p.586.

13. Pp. 73-79.
14. P. 80.
15. P. 84.
16. Vol. II, p.17. The Marder survey includes jazz, rock and folk music in a single undifferentiated category, so that it is not possible to use these data to make comparisons *among* the respective audiences for jazz, rock, and folk.
17. Vol. II, p.13.
18. Vol. II, pp.24-29.
19. Vol. II, p.26.
20. Vol. II, p.28.
21. Vol. II, p.60.
22. Vol. II, p.67.
23. *Californians and the Arts*, conducted for the California Arts Commission by the National Research Center of the Arts (an affiliate of Louis Harris), pp.2-3.
24. *Ibid.*, pp.17-18.
25. *Ibid.*, p.68.
26. *Ibid.*, p.89.
27. *Ibid.*, pp.90-91.
28. *Los Angeles Times*, Part IV, April 14, 1975, pp.1 and 10.
29. Harris survey, pp.69-72.
30. *Loc. cit.*

31. *Comparative Profiles of Users and Nonusers of the Los Angeles Music Center*, Research Paper No.13, Management in the Arts Research Program, UCLA Graduate School of Management, October 1971.
32. *The Live Performing Arts: Financial Catastrophe or Economic Catharsis*, Research Paper No.8, Management in the Arts Research Program, UCLA Graduate School of Management, October, 1971.

CHAPTER II

1. Descriptions of the WPA cultural programs, especially the Federal Theater Project, are drawn primarily from the following sources: Hallie Flanagan, *Arena* (New York: Duell, 1940); Jane DeHart Mathews, *The Federal Theater Project, 1935-39: Plays, Relief, and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967); and *Run-Through: A Memoir* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1972), by John Houseman.
2. *Arena*, p. 45.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 29-30
4. Some of Richard Wright's experiences as a relief recipient and then an employee of the Federal Writers' Project are described in a biography by Constance Webb, *Richard Wright* (New York: G.P. Putnam's, 1968), especially pp. 107-110, 111-113, 145-146, 166.
5. Pp. 371-372.
6. NEA, Annual Report, 1973.

7. Statements on Governor Brown's views may be found in articles published in the *Los Angeles Times* on November 3, 1974; January 13, 1975; and January 29, 1975.
8. These grants are listed in the *Los Angeles Times* in November of 1974. The final distribution of grants by the expiring CAC is described in the *Times* for February 27, 1975 (these grants are exclusively in the categories of visual arts, communications and environmental arts, and arts service organizations).
9. The full report, which is not paginated, is available from the office of Senator Gregorio. Assemblyman Alatorre, who dissents from some of the recommendations, introduced his own separate legislation.
10. News articles on the December hearings may be found in the *San Jose Mercury*, December 12, 1974, and the *Los Angeles Times*, December 18, 1974. Articles on earlier hearings are published in the *Palo Alto Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*, both on July 18, 1974.
11. "Opinion" section, *Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1975.
12. Committee report, February 1975, *op. cit.*
13. Baumol and Bowen, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-385.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Dan Sullivan, *Los Angeles Times*, July 28, 1974, Calendar section, p. 40.
16. Sullivan, *Times*, March 9, 1975, Calendar section, p. 40. Further debate on this issue, between Senator Gregorio and Sullivan, appears in the March 23d issue of the *Times*, Calendar section, p. 50. Other articles or comments on these issues may be found in the "Opinion" section of the *Times* for February 16, 1975; March 14, 1975 (Martin Bernheimer column); March 23, 1975 (Letters column of Calendar section); and April 7, 1975 (Mary Murphy article in View section).

17. *Los Angeles Times*, Calendar section, November 3, 1974.
18. *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 16, 1975, Part IV, p. 13, and text of Senate Bill 1024.
19. *Los Angeles Times*, Part II, February 7, 1976, p. 5.
20. *Times*, Part IV, April 19, 1976, p. 13. (In mid-June, the governor named a new Council director -- Clark Mitze, formerly the director of the Federal-State Partnership Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. Mitze succeeded Eloise Smith, a multimedia artist who had resigned for personal reasons. State Senator Gregorio, whose Joint Committee on the Arts expired on December 31, 1975, concurrently announced that the Senate's Governmental Organization Committee would set up a subcommittee on the arts which he would chair. On June 22, 1976, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the Council had awarded \$405,000 in grants to 50 applicants, in the following categories: (1) \$135,000 to 24 recipients, out of 137 applying, in state of the arts documentation; (2) \$100,000, to 6 out of 77, in community arts; (3) \$100,000 to 6 out of 165, in alternatives to education; and (4) \$70,000, to 14 out of 54, in arts in social institutions.)
21. *Newsweek*, Special Issue, "The Arts in America," December 24, 1973, p. 92. In unpublished papers, Michael O'Hare has argued that the inclusion of *indirect* (tax exemptions, etc.) subsidies to the arts would considerably raise the ranking of the United States in comparison with other countries.
22. *Americans and the Arts*, Louis Harris and Associates, cited in *Newsweek*, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
23. *Arts and the People -- a Survey of Public Attitudes and Participation in the Arts and Culture in New York State*. Louis Harris and Associates, *passim*.

24. *Californians and the Arts*, op. cit., p. 97. Critics of this survey complain that the questions are loaded in favor of the interests of the state arts body that underwrites it, and therefore overstate public support for the arts.

CHAPTER III

1. Letter to the author from Edward Weston, December 27, 1974.
2. *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1976, Part IV, p.14. See also *Times*, January 15, 1976, Part IV, p.12.
3. *Los Angeles Times*, op. cit. For a description of bargaining relationships in Los Angeles theater, see Archie Kleingartner and Kenneth Lloyd, *Labor-Management Relations in the Performing Arts: The Case of Los Angeles* (California Management Review, Winter, 1972, pp.128-132.
4. Alan M. Kriegsman, "The Arts' Popular but Poor Cousin," *Los Angeles Times*, Calendar Section, August 1, 1976, p.68.
5. *Directory of Organizations, 1976* (Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA), p.25.
6. Kriegsman, op. cit.
7. *Loc. cit.*; see also Susan Fogg, "The Past is Prologue at the NEA," *Los Angeles Times*, Calendar Section, September 21, 1975, pp.1,78.
8. Martin Bernheimer, "Podium vs. Union: Can It Happen Here?" *Los Angeles Times*, Calendar Section, July 21, 1974, pp.1, 56-57. For general information on collective bargaining

in all the performing arts, see Michael Moskow, *Labor Relations in the Performing Arts: An Introductory Survey* (New York: Associated Councils of the Arts, 1969).

9. Letter to the author from Edward Weston, December 27, 1974.
10. *Variety*, November 22, 1972, pp.51, 60.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Los Angeles Times*, Part IV, November 18, 1975, p.26.
13. *Los Angeles Times*, Part IV, November 1, 1974, p.24.
14. *Los Angeles Times*, Part IV, June 20, 1975, p.20. See also James Brown, "Pitching for the Black Ad Dollar," *Los Angeles Times*, Calendar Section, July 21, 1974, p.82, relative to a black-owned FM station in the city of Inglewood, California.
15. *Variety*, February 25, 1970, pp. 1 and 78.
16. *Ibid.* All references to the 1970 agreement are drawn from *Variety*.
17. *Variety*, January 28, 1976, p.18.
18. *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 28, 1976, pp.A1, A2, and C3.
19. *Employment and Unemployment of Artists: 1970-1975*, Research Division Report No. 1, National Endowment for the Arts, April 1976. The data from the BLS are less reliable for the "Actors" and "Dancers" categories than for the other artistic categories, due to sampling sizes.

CHAPTER IV

1. "Arts in the Neighborhood," Research Paper No. 19, Management in the Arts Research Program, UCLA, September 1973, pp.13-16/
2. *Ibid.*, p.14.
3. Unpublished report on the NAP/CETA program in San Francisco, by Paul Kleyman and Barbara Winer, 1976. The author is indebted to Mr. Kleyman and Ms. Winer for making available their highly useful draft.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Program announcement, supplied to the author by John Kreidler.
8. Detailed information on CETA-supported arts programs can be obtained from the National Endowment for the Arts, Washington, D.C. Additional sources of program descriptions are the following: Peter Barnes, "Bringing Back the WPA," *New Republic*, March 15, 1975, pp.19-21; "Putting the Artist to Work in San Francisco," *Los Angeles Times*, Part IV, March 14, 1975, pp.1 and 17; "The Artists on the Public Payroll," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 29, 1976, p.4; "New Federal Program Helps Artists Get Jobs," *Los Angeles Times*, Part III, September 10, 1976, p.14.

CHAPTER V

1. *Los Angeles Times*, Section IV, October 30, 1973, pp.1,7.

CHAPTER VI

1. California Arts Council Program Guidelines.
2. "State and Artists Rehearse 'Who Pays the Piper?'" ,
Los Angeles Times, Part IV, November 4, 1976, pp.1 and 7.
In FY 1977-78, the "Arts in Social Institutions" pro-
gram will be further expanded beyond the low FY 1976-77
funding level.
3. In the past, the California arts body has subsidized
organizations to help them meet operating expenses,
but Senator Gregorio has described this policy as
contrary to the legislative intent.
4. New York City's Theatre Development Fund already admin-
isters a voucher plan.
5. Discussion of the Richmond bill is based on the text of
H.R. 1042, introduced on January 4, 1977; Remarks by
Congressman Richmond, *Congressional Record*, 94th Congress,
1st Session, July 8, 1975; and "Lobbying for a House Arts
Bill," *Los Angeles Times*, Section IV, p.31, December 17,
1976.
6. Seattle programs are described in a letter to the author
of this report from John Blaine, Executive Secretary,
Seattle Arts Commission, October 15, 1975, and in "Seattle:
Cinderella of Arts Capitals," *Los Angeles Times*, Part IV,
p.16, August 6, 1976.
7. "Seattle: Cinderella of Arts Capitals," *op. cit.*
8. *Los Angeles Times*, Part IV, p.10, January 27, 1976. See
also Appendix VI of this report, which gives the major
findings of a January, 1977, study focusing on minority
and female employment patterns in both commercial and
public television.

9. For discussions of the inadequacy of existing tests, particularly in relation to minorities, see Michael A. Wallach, "Tests Tell Us Little About Talent," *American Scientist*, Vol. 64, No. 1, January-February, 1976, pp.57-63; John Garcia, "Intelligence Testing: Quotients, Quotas, and Quackery," in J. Martinez (Ed.), *Chicano Psychology* (Academic Press, San Francisco, now in press); Frank Riessman, *The Inner-City Child* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).
10. "The Cost of Being an Artist," *California Management Review*, Summer 1975, pp.80-84. The quotation may be found on p.81.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I

EEO REPORT SUMMARY OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING* (SIC 483) 1970

<u>TOTAL EMPLOYED</u>		<u>WHITE COLLAR</u>	<u>PROF.</u>	<u>TECH.</u>	<u>BLUE COLLAR</u>	<u>CRAFT</u>	<u>LABOR</u>	<u>SERVICE WORKERS</u>
<u>Total</u>		70,056	12,709	17,305	7,648	3,221	1,206	1,420
<u>Male</u>		52,285	11,184	17,082	6,883	3,078	1,116	1,220
<u>Female</u>		17,771	1,525	223	765	143	90	200
<u>Black</u>								
<u>Total</u>		4,975	647	864	998	156	487	489
<u>Male</u>		3,497	542	844	921	141	467	418
<u>Female</u>		1,478	105	20	77	15	20	71
<u>Spanish Surname</u>								
<u>Total</u>		1,208	149	301	220	59	69	19
<u>Male</u>		890	131	295	185	52	68	17
<u>Female</u>		318	18	6	35	7	1	2
<u>Asian American</u>								
<u>Total</u>		293	71	58	21	12	3	5
<u>Male</u>		185	49	58	20	12	3	4
<u>Female</u>		108	22		1			1
<u>American Indian</u>								
<u>Total</u>		96	12	17	31	9	8	1
<u>Male</u>		75	11	17	30	9	8	1
<u>Female</u>		21	1		1			
<u>Minority</u>								
<u>Total</u>		6,572	879	1,240	1,270	236	567	514
<u>Male</u>		4,647	733	1,214	1,156	214	546	440
<u>Female</u>		1,925	146	26	114	22	21	74

* 568 units

APPENDIX I (Cont'd.)

<u>TOTAL EMPLOYED</u> %	<u>WHITE</u> <u>COLLAR</u> %	<u>PROF.</u> %	<u>TECH.</u> %	<u>BLUE</u> <u>COLLAR</u> %	<u>CRAFT</u> %	<u>LABOR</u> %	<u>SERVICE</u> <u>WORKERS</u> %
<u>Black</u>							
Total	7.1	5.1	5.0	13.0	4.8	40.4	34.4
Male	6.7	4.8	4.9	13.4	4.6	41.8	34.3
Female	8.3	6.9	9.0	10.1	10.5	22.2	35.5
<u>Spanish Surname</u>							
Total	1.7	1.2	1.7	2.9	1.8	5.7	1.3
Male	1.7	1.2	1.7	2.7	1.7	6.1	1.4
Female	1.8	1.2	2.7	4.6	4.9	1.1	1.0
<u>Asian American</u>							
Total	.4	.6	.3	.3	.4	.2	.4
Male	.4	.4	.3	.3	.4	.3	.3
Female	.6	1.4		.1		.5	.5
<u>American Indian</u>							
Total	.1	.1	.1	.4	.3	.7	.1
Male	.1	.1	.1	.4	.3	.7	.1
Female	.1	.1		.1			
<u>Minority</u>							
Total	9.4	6.9	7.2	16.6	7.3	47.0	36.2
Male	8.8	6.5	7.1	16.7	6.9	48.9	36.0
Female	10.8	9.5	11.6	14.9	15.3	23.3	37.0

APPENDIX II

EEO REPORT SUMMARY OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING* (SIC 483) 1971

TOTAL EMPLOYED	WHITE COLLAR	PROF.	TECH.	BLUE COLLAR	CRAFT	LABOR	SERVICE WORKERS
<u>Total</u>	61,666	13,539	14,112	4,690	2,373	325	1,182
Male	45,210	11,529	13,962	4,316	2,202	298	1,022
Female	16,345	2,010	150	374	171	27	160
<u>Black</u>							
Total	4,721	870	640	487	107	70	533
Male	3,005	669	624	457	171	67	462
Female	1,716	201	16	30	16	3	71
<u>Spanish Surname</u>							
Total	1,181	213	238	129	50	10	37
Male	804	170	234	120	56	10	31
Female	377	43	4	9	3		6
<u>Asian American</u>							
Total	338	70	65	19	10	4	11
Male	205	51	64	16	9	4	9
Female	133	19	1	3	1		2
<u>American Indian</u>							
Total	84	13	20	8	6		5
Male	65	12	20	8	6		5
Female	19	1					
<u>Minority</u>							
Total	6,324	1,166	963	643	261	92	586
Male	4,079	902	942	601	241	89	507
Female	2,245	264	21	42	20	3	79

* 477 units

APPENDIX II (Cont'd.)

<u>TOTAL EMPLOYED</u> %	<u>WHITE COLLAR</u> %	<u>PROF.</u> %	<u>TECH.</u> %	<u>BLUE COLLAR</u> %	<u>CRAFT</u> %	<u>LABOR</u> %	<u>SERVICE WORKERS</u> %
Black							
Total	7.7						
Male	6.6	6.4	4.5	10.4	7.9	21.6	45.1
Female	5.2	5.8	4.5	10.6	7.0	22.5	45.2
	10.2	10.0	10.7	8.0	9.4	11.1	44.4
Spanish Surname							
Total	1.9	1.6	1.7	2.0	2.4	5.5	3.1
Male	1.8	1.5	1.7	2.8	2.5	6.0	3.0
Female	2.3	2.1	2.7	2.4	1.8		3.8
Asian American							
Total	.5	.5	.5	.4	.4	1.2	.9
Male	.5	.4	.5	.4	.4	1.3	.9
Female	.8	.9	.7	.8	.8		1.3
American Indian							
Total	.1	.1	.1	.2	.3		.4
Male	.1	.1	.1	.2	.3		.5
Female	.1						
Minority							
Total	10.3	8.6	6.8	13.7	11.0	28.3	49.6
Male	9.0	7.8	6.7	13.9	10.9	29.7	49.6
Female	13.7	13.1	14.0	11.2	11.6	11.1	49.3

APPENDIX III

EEO REPORT SUMMARY OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING* (SIC 483) 1972

<u>TOTAL EMPLOYED</u>		<u>WHITE COLLAR</u>	<u>PROF.</u>	<u>TECH.</u>	<u>BLUE COLLAR</u>	<u>CRAFT</u>	<u>LABOR</u>	<u>SERVICE WORKERS</u>
Total		60,779	12,806	13,753	4,919	2,734	368	1,275
Male		44,918	11,220	13,582	4,664	2,607	335	983
Female		15,861	1,586	171	255	127	33	292
Black								
Total		4,934	932	636	588	213	118	464
Male		3,074	748	613	562	199	115	392
Female		1,860	184	23	26	14	3	72
Spanish Surname								
Total		1,333	225	268	150	80	7	39
Male		887	188	261	144	76	7	32
Female		446	37	7	6	4		7
Asian American								
Total		487	93	69	22	10	6	7
Male		240	67	68	22	10	6	6
Female		167	26	1				1
American Indian								
Total		126	29	25	15	9	1	
Male		87	25	25	15	9	1	
Female		39	4					
Minority								
Total		6,800	1,279	998	775	312	132	510
Male		4,288	1,028	967	743	294	129	430
Female		2,512	251	31	32	18	3	80

* 518 units

APPENDIX III (Cont'd.)

<u>TOTAL EMPLOYED</u> %	<u>WHITE COLLAR</u> %	<u>PROF.</u> %	<u>TECH.</u> %	<u>BLUE COLLAR</u> %	<u>CRAFT</u> %	<u>LABOR</u> %	<u>SERVICE WORKERS</u> %
<u>Black</u>							
Total	8.1	7.3	4.6	12.0	7.8	32.1	36.4
Male	6.8	6.7	4.5	12.0	7.6	34.3	39.9
Female	11.7	11.6	13.5	10.2	11.0	9.1	24.7
<u>Spanish Surname</u>							
Total	2.2	1.8	1.9	3.0	2.9	1.9	3.1
Male	2.0	1.7	1.9	3.1	2.9	2.1	3.3
Female	2.8	2.3	4.1	2.4	3.1		2.4
<u>Asian American</u>							
Total	.7	.7	.5	.4	.4	1.6	.5
Male	.5	.6	.5	.5	.4	1.8	.6
Female	1.1	1.6	.6				.3
<u>American Indian</u>							
Total	.2	.2	.2	.2	.3	.3	
Male	.2	.2	.2	.3	.3		
Female	.2	.3					
<u>Minority</u>							
Total	11.2	10.0	7.3	15.8	11.4	35.9	40.0
Male	9.5	9.1	7.1	15.9	11.2	38.5	43.7
Female	15.8	15.8	18.1	12.5	14.1	9.0	27.3

APPENDIX IV

EEO REPORT SUMMARY OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING* (SIC 483) 1973

TOTAL EMPLOYED		WHITE COLLAR	PROF.	TECH.	BLUE COLLAR	CRAFT	LABOR	SERVICE WORKERS
Black								
Total	65,501	52,926	12,137	12,386	9,187	5,369	690	3,388
Male	48,247	37,530	10,240	12,178	8,582	5,125	642	2,135
Female	17,254	15,396	1,897	208	605	244	48	1,253
Spanish Surname								
Total	7,218	4,141	1,025	758	1,024	397	112	2,053
Male	4,482	2,321	741	740	926	372	97	1,235
Female	2,736	1,820	284	18	98	25	15	818
Asian American								
Total	1,942	1,100	224	235	362	231	34	480
Male	1,286	702	186	228	335	212	34	249
Female	656	398	38	7	27	19		231
American Indian								
Total	466	423	108	57	34	20	5	9
Male	268	231	71	53	30	17	5	7
Female	198	192	37	4	4	3		2
Minority								
Total	239	161	31	35	51	29	4	27
Male	178	108	30	34	46	27	4	24
Female	61	53	1	1	5	2		3
Other								
Total	9,865	5,825	1,388	1,085	1,471	677	155	2,569
Male	6,214	3,362	1,028	1,055	1,337	628	140	1,515
Female	3,651	2,463	360	30	134	49	15	1,054

* 506 units

APPENDIX IV (Cont'd.)

<u>TOTAL EMPLOYED</u> %	<u>WHITE COLLAR</u> %	<u>PROF.</u> %	<u>TECH.</u> %	<u>BLUE COLLAR</u> %	<u>CRAFT</u> %	<u>LABOR</u> %	<u>SERVICE WORKERS</u> %
<u>Black</u>							
Total	11.0	8.4	6.1	11.1	7.4	16.2	60.6
Male	9.3	7.2	6.1	10.8	7.3	15.1	57.8
Female	15.9	15.0	8.7	16.2	10.2	31.3	65.3
<u>Spanish Surname</u>							
Total	3.0	1.8	1.9	3.9	4.3	4.9	14.2
Male	2.7	1.8	1.9	3.9	4.1	5.3	11.7
Female	3.8	2.0	3.4	4.5	7.8		18.4
<u>Asian American</u>							
Total	.7	.9	.5	.4	.4	.7	.3
Male	.6	.7	.4	.3	.3	.8	.3
Female	1.1	2.0	1.9	.7	1.2		.2
<u>American Indian</u>							
Total	.4	.3	.3	.6	.5	.6	.8
Male	.4	.3	.3	.5	.5	.6	1.1
Female	.4	.1	.5	.8	.8		.2
<u>Minority</u>							
Total	15.1	11.4	8.8	16.0	12.6	22.5	75.8
Male	12.8	10.0	8.6	15.5	12.2	21.8	70.8
Female	21.1	18.9	14.4	22.1	20.0	31.2	84.1

APPENDIX V

EEO REPORT SUMMARY OF RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING*
(SIC 483) 1974

TOTAL EMPLOYED	WHITE COLLAR	PROF.	TECH.	BLUE COLLAR	CRAFT	LABOR	SERVICE WORKERS
Total	66,345	14,622	14,721	6,638	3,901	448	1,265
Male	47,852	11,994	14,335	6,147	3,715	368	1,041
Female	18,493	2,628	386	491	186	80	224
Black	5,665	1,223	931	555	194	91	457
Total	3,409	856	878	473	184	48	389
Male	2,256	367	53	82	10	43	68
Female							
Spanish Surname	1,621	333	333	199	87	26	47
Total	1,065	262	322	185	81	26	37
Male	556	71	11	14	6	0	10
Female							
Asian American	525	111	69	20	8	2	4
Total	285	69	64	17	8	2	4
Male	240	42	5	3	0	0	0
Female							
American Indian	192	45	44	28	16	1	4
Total	134	39	43	21	12	1	4
Male	58	6	1	7	4	0	0
Female							
White	58,342	12,910	13,344	5,836	3,596	328	753
Total	42,959	10,768	13,028	5,451	3,430	291	607
Male	15,383	2,142	316	385	166	37	146
Female							
Minority	8,003	1,712	1,377	802	305	120	512
Total	4,893	1,226	1,307	696	285	77	434
Male	3,110	486	70	106	20	43	78
Female							

* 550 units

APPENDIX V (Cont'd.)

	<u>TOTAL EMPLOYED</u> %	<u>WHITE</u> <u>COLLAR</u> %	<u>PROF.</u> %	<u>TECH.</u> %	<u>BLUE</u> <u>COLLAR</u> %	<u>CRAFT</u> %	<u>LABOR</u> %	<u>SERVICE</u> <u>WORKERS</u> %
<u>Black</u>								
Total	8.5	8.0	8.4	6.3	8.4	5.0	20.3	36.1
Male	5.1	4.4	5.9	6.0	7.1	4.7	10.7	30.8
Female	3.4	3.6	2.5	.4	1.2	.3	9.6	5.4
<u>Spanish Surname</u>								
Total	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.3	3.0	2.2	5.8	3.7
Male	1.6	1.4	1.8	2.2	2.8	2.1	5.8	2.9
Female	.8	.9	.5	.1	.2	.2	.0	.8
<u>Asian American</u>								
Total	.8	.9	.8	.5	.3	.2	.4	.3
Male	.4	.5	.5	.4	.3	.2	.4	.3
Female	.4	.4	.3	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
<u>American Indian</u>								
Total	.3	.3	.3	.3	.4	.4	.2	.3
Male	.2	.2	.3	.3	.3	.3	.2	.3
Female	.1	.1	.0	.0	.1	.1	.0	.0
<u>White</u>								
Total	87.9	88.6	88.3	90.6	87.9	92.2	73.2	59.5
Male	64.8	63.1	73.6	88.5	82.1	87.9	65.0	48.0
Female	23.2	25.4	14.6	2.1	5.8	4.3	8.3	11.5
<u>Minority</u>								
Total	12.1	11.4	11.7	9.4	12.1	7.8	26.8	40.5
Male	7.4	6.4	8.4	8.9	10.5	7.3	17.2	34.3
Female	4.7	5.0	3.3	.5	1.6	.5	9.6	6.2

APPENDIX VI

The following statistics on minority and female employment in both commercial and public television throughout the United States are drawn from a January, 1977, study by Ralph M. Jennings and Allan T. Walters of the Office of Communication, United Church of Christ, entitled *Television Station Employment Practices, 1976: The Status of Minorities and Women*. The sources of these figures are annual employment reports submitted to the Federal Communications Commission by every licensed television station having five or more employees.

The 1977 study compares employment records for the years 1971, 1975, and 1976, and analyzes the trends in employment of minorities and women over the period 1971-1976. The proportion of minorities (mainly blacks) and women in commercial television has increased in every year since 1971, although the most significant growth occurred in 1972 and 1973 and the growth rate, especially for minorities, has decreased considerably since then. Between 1975 and 1976, the percentage of minorities within the total work force rose only from 14 to 15 percent. In 1975, the hiring of minorities slowed perceptibly, but the rate again picked up in 1976. Minorities are represented in much higher proportion among the part-time than among the full-time employees. In like measure, their percentages in the lower five job categories (office and clerical, craftsmen, operatives, laborers, and service workers) are more than double their proportions in the upper four categories (officials and managers, professionals, technicians, and sales workers).

In the field of non-commercial television, the proportion of total minority employment rose substantially between 1971 and 1976, but, again, the major growth occurred in the first years of that period and was much slower in 1975 and 1976. The underrepresentation of both minorities and women continues in the upper occupational categories:

In 1976, 40 (25 percent) of the 158 non-commercial stations reported no minority group members on their full-time staffs. Forty-eight (30 percent) had no minority group members in the upper three job categories. Nine (6 percent) had no women on their full-time staffs and 24 (15 percent) reported none in the upper three job categories.

COMMERCIAL TELEVISION (592 STATIONS)

FULL-TIME, PART-TIME
AND TOTAL MINORITY GROUP EMPLOYMENT

	<u>Full-Time</u>	<u>Part-Time</u>	<u>Total</u>
1971	3,254 (9%)	591 (16%)	3,845 (9%)
1975	5,324 (13%)	820 (21%)	6,144 (14%)
1976	5,769 (14%)	875 (22%)	6,644 (15%)

TOTAL FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT
MINORITIES IN UPPER FOUR, LOWER FIVE
JOB CATEGORIES

	<u>Upper 4 Categories</u>	<u>Lower 5 Categories</u>
1971	1,522 (6%)	1,732 (14%)
1975	3,236 (10%)	2,088 (22%)
1976	3,588 (11%)	2,181 (24%)

FULL-TIME, PART-TIME
AND TOTAL EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

	<u>Full-Time</u>	<u>Part-Time</u>	<u>Total</u>
1971	8,426 (22%)	904 (24%)	9,330 (22%)
1975	10,367 (25%)	1,213 (31%)	11,580 (26%)
1976	10,871 (26%)	1,292 (33%)	12,163 (27%)

APPENDIX VI (Cont'd.)

TOTAL FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT
WOMEN IN UPPER FOUR, LOWER FIVE
JOB CATEGORIES

	<u>Upper 4</u> <u>Categories</u>	<u>Lower 5</u> <u>Categories</u>
1971	1,638 (6%)	6,788 (56%)
1975	3,989 (13%)	6,378 (69%)
1976	4,581 (14%)	6,290 (70%)

TOP 50 MARKETS*
PROPORTION OF MINORITY FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES
IN UPPER FOUR JOB CATEGORIES

1976

<u>Job Category</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Minority Employees</u>	<u>Proportion of</u> <u>Minority Employees</u>
Officials and Managers	282	(8%)
Professionals	946	(16%)
Technicians	1,095	(14%)
Sales Workers	155	(12%)
Total, Upper Four	2,743	(13%)

*655 stations

NON-COMMERCIAL TELEVISION (103 STATIONS REPORTING)

FULL-TIME, PART-TIME
AND TOTAL MINORITY EMPLOYMENT

	<u>Full-Time</u>	<u>Part-Time</u>	<u>Total</u>
1971	257 (8%)	128 (11%)	385 (9%)
1975	490 (12%)	148 (11%)	638 (12%)
1976	552 (13%)	149 (11%)	701 (12%)

APPENDIX VI (Cont'd.)

TOTAL FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT
MINORITIES IN UPPER THREE*, LOWER FIVE
JOB CATEGORIES

	<u>Upper 3 Categories</u>	<u>Lower 5 Categories</u>
1971	155 (7%)	102 (12%)
1975	326 (10%)	164 (20%)
1976	368 (11%)	184 (22%)

*Non-commercial stations do not employ sales workers.

FULL-TIME, PART-TIME
AND TOTAL EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

	<u>Full-Time</u>	<u>Part-Time</u>	<u>Total</u>
1971	879 (28%)	298 (26%)	1,177 (27%)
1975	1,323 (32%)	453 (34%)	1,776 (32%)
1976	1,398 (33%)	507 (38%)	1,905 (34%)

TOTAL FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT
WOMEN IN UPPER THREE, LOWER FIVE
JOB CATEGORIES

	<u>Upper 3 Categories</u>	<u>Lower 5 Categories</u>
1971	307 (13%)	572 (69%)
1975	680 (20%)	643 (79%)
1976	721 (21%)	677 (81%)

APPENDIX VII

COMPARISON OF UNEMPLOYMENT FOR WRITERS,
ARTISTS AND ENTERTAINERS WITH ALL PROFESSIONAL,
TECHNICAL AND KINDRED WORKERS: 1970 - 1975

	<u>% Unemployment Writers, Artists & Entertainers</u>	<u>% Unemployment All Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers</u>
1970 <u>1/</u>	4.6%	1.8%
1971 <u>2/</u>	7.1%	2.9%
1972 <u>2/</u>	5.6%	2.4%
1973 <u>2/</u>	4.8%	2.2%
1974 <u>2/</u>	4.8%	2.3%
1975 <u>2/</u>	7.4%	3.2%

1/ Table 51, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970 Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-7A, Occupational Characteristics.

2/ Unpublished data furnished by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

APPENDIX VIII

PERSONS NOT IN LABOR FORCE BUT LAST
WORKED IN ARTISTIC OCCUPATIONS 1960
TO 1970, AS A PERCENT OF SELECTED
ARTISTIC OCCUPATION LABOR FORCE: 1970

Architects	10.0%
Actors	63.3%
Authors	21.2%
Dancers	74.2%
Designers	16.5%
Musicians & Composers	28.5%
Painters & Sculptors	22.2%
Photographers	17.0%

Source: Table 51, U.S. Bureau of the
Census, Census of Population: 1970 Sub-
ject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-7A,
Occupational Characteristics.

APPENDIX IX

SELF-EMPLOYMENT AS A PERCENT OF SELECTED
ARTISTIC OCCUPATIONS LABOR FORCE: 1970

Architects	30.8%
Actors	12.4%
Authors	32.5%
Dancers	4.1%
Designers	8.3%
Musicians & Composers	29.3%
Painters & Sculptors	28.7%
Photographers	45.8%

Source: Same as Appendix VIII

APPENDIX X

TOTAL AND MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP IN 14 IATSE LOCAL REFERRAL UNIONS IN THE LOS ANGELES-LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA), 1974

	TOTAL	BLACK	SPANISH SURNAMED			ORIENTAL	AMERICAN INDIAN	TOTAL MINORITY
			AMERICAN	Membership in Referral	Bargaining Units			
T	11692	383	3.3	770	6.6	115	1.0	12.7
M	10575	342	3.2	685	6.5	94	0.8	12.6
F	1117	41	3.7	85	7.6	21	1.9	14.1
Referrals During 2-Month Period								
T	14416	1058	7.3	1206	8.4	217	1.5	21.9
M	13780	985	7.1	1183	8.6	208	1.5	22.2
F	636	73	11.5	23	3.6	9	1.4	16.7
Applicants for Union Membership								
T	1442	91	6.3	84	5.8	16	1.1	14.1
Applicants for Job Referral								
T	1331	94	7.1	69	5.2	26	2.0	14.4

Source: EEOC EEO-3 reporting forms