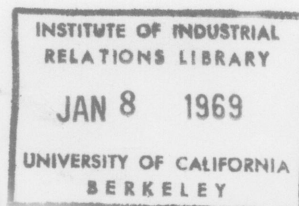


EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED NEGROES IN BERKELEY :

A Summary of Selected Findings of the
Berkeley Unemployment Study

Summary by Margaret S. Gordon
of study by Jan E. Dizard

Institute of Industrial Relations (Berkeley),
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TO: Members of the Berkeley Manpower Commission and Other Interested Groups and Individuals

FROM: Margaret S. Gordon

As many of you know, the Berkeley Unemployment Study is being conducted by the Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley, under a grant from the Ford Foundation. A number of community leaders, including officers of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce, were influential in suggesting the need for such a study. The faculty member who has been in charge of the study is Jan Dizard, Assistant Professor of Sociology, under the general guidance of a faculty advisory committee headed by my husband. Dizard's report summarizing selected findings has been completed and is about ready for distribution.

As a member of the faculty advisory committee, I have kept in fairly close touch with the study. Since Dizard's report is quite lengthy and is concerned only with employed and unemployed men, it has seemed to me that a briefer summary of some of the findings, relating to employed and unemployed Negro men and women, would be useful. With Dizard's permission, I have therefore prepared the enclosed summary. In addition, Mrs. George Break is preparing a semi-popular pamphlet on the major findings, which will be disseminated in the community when it is published.

Among other things, this summary discusses certain aspects of some of the findings relating to vocational training at greater length than does the Dizard report, since I felt that this information would be particularly useful for the Manpower Commission. However, I have avoided dealing with policy implications, since these are matters which I believe should be debated by the Manpower Commission and other interested groups.

Berkeley's Unemployment Problem

In the spring of 1967, when the first phase of the Berkeley Unemployment Study was conducted, it was found that 15 per cent of the Negroes in the labor force in the survey area -- the area of Berkeley west of Grove Street from Hopkins on the north to Dwight Way on the south, and west of Fulton Street from Dwight Way south to the Oakland border -- were unemployed. The problem was more serious among young Negroes than among the more mature and older members of the labor force, with 28 per cent of the Negroes aged 16 to 24 unemployed.

A substantial proportion of whites, also, were unemployed -- the unemployment rate was 9 per cent for all whites in the survey area and 14 per cent for whites aged 16 to 24. Since there is very little unemployment in the Berkeley hills, the rates for whites in the city as a whole would undoubtedly be much lower.

Employed Negro Men

Although the study was designed primarily to shed light on the characteristics of unemployed Negroes, extensive data were collected on employed and unemployed whites, and on employed Negroes, to provide a basis for comparisons. Some of the data relating to employed Negroes are of particular interest, and in many respects are as significant in relation to the formulation of programs to combat unemployment in Berkeley as are the data relating to the unemployed. It should be kept in mind that the study was confined to persons aged 16 to 64. Included in the final interview sample were 458 employed Negro men.

Employed Negro males residing in Berkeley tended to have a considerably higher level of education, on the average, than nonwhite males in the country as a whole. Relatively few of them were newcomers to the community, and nearly three-fourths had lived in Berkeley five or more years. Most of them were born in the South or Southwest but came to the West Coast a good many years ago, migrating to Berkeley more recently after having lived in other West Coast communities. Although a decided majority (71 per cent) were manual and service workers, the proportion employed in white-collar jobs was somewhat higher than among employed nonwhite males in the nation as a whole, while the proportion employed as professional workers was also comparatively high. Among the manual and service workers, moreover, the proportion employed at the skilled level was relatively high, whereas the proportion employed as semiskilled workers was lower than among nonwhite workers in the nation as a whole, reflecting the fact that, although manufacturing (in which many semiskilled workers are employed) has developed rapidly in the Bay Area, the proportion of workers employed in manufacturing is still well below the average for all metropolitan areas.

Although the occupational distribution of employed Negro males compared favorably with that of nonwhite males in the country as a whole, it contrasted sharply with the occupational distribution of employed white males residing in the survey area. Reflecting the unique characteristics of Berkeley employment patterns, more than two-thirds of the employed white males -- even in this section of the city where many blue-collar workers would be expected to reside -- were white-collar workers, and more than two-fifths were professional workers.

An exceptionally large proportion (39 per cent) of employed Negro males

work in public agencies, other than educational institutions, with such federal government installations as the Oakland Naval Supply Center and the Alameda Naval Air Station playing particularly important roles as employers of Berkeley Negro men. Employment in public agencies was especially prevalent among the younger men. Moreover -- and this is perhaps the single most important finding of the survey -- nearly three-fourths of the employed Negro males were employed outside of Berkeley. A third were employed in Oakland, and two-fifths in other Bay Area communities. In comparison, about half of the employed white males residing in the survey area were employed in Berkeley.

Well over half of the employed Negro males had been working on their present jobs three or more years, while 31 per cent had been on the present job ten or more years. A surprisingly large proportion (70 per cent) reported that they had never been unemployed. Among those who had experienced unemployment, more than a third had been unemployed within the last year, while the others were about equally divided between men who had experienced unemployment from one to six years ago and those whose most recent unemployment had been six or more years ago.

The majority (57 per cent) had had some type of vocational training, but the proportion who had received any training tended to decline with advancing age. The most frequently reported types of training were vocational training under military auspices (46 per cent), on-the-job training (46 per cent), and apprenticeship (30 per cent). Except for the fact that the proportion with apprenticeship training was somewhat smaller among the Negroes, there were no pronounced differences between the employed Negro males and employed white males with respect either to the proportions who

had had some job training or the types of training they had received. Nearly four-fifths of the employed Negro males with vocational training had completed their most recent training course, and nearly a third of those who had not were still attending the course. Among those who had completed training, most had finished it a good many years ago, and a very large proportion had obtained jobs related to the training. Although well over half of the employed Negro men expressed interest in more training, relatively few had looked into any training programs.

Most of the employed Negro men (70 per cent) did not think employers discriminated against Negroes, but, nevertheless, a large majority thought that "most jobs place the Negro in a lowly position, even when the pay is good." The great majority of these men had found their present jobs through informal channels -- i.e., through friends and relatives or through applying directly to the company -- rather than through formal channels such as public or private employment agencies.

Unemployed Negro Men

There were 84 unemployed Negro men in the final interview sample, as well as 30 Negro men who were out of the labor force. Approximately a third of those who were out of the labor force evidently expected to be in the labor force in the very near future -- they had a job lined up or were expecting to begin looking soon.

Although the number of unemployed Negro men included in the final interview sample was somewhat smaller than had been anticipated when the study was planned, it represented 15.5 per cent of Negro men in the labor force in the final interview sample, or almost exactly the proportion of

Negroes unemployed that had been found in the locator survey. The final number of completed interviews was reduced somewhat by such factors as high residential mobility, particularly among the unemployed, and a certain number of refusals to be interviewed.

Unemployed Negro men tended to be younger, on the average, than employed Negro men, as would be expected on the basis of the results of the locator survey, but there was also a significant unemployment problem among older Negro men. Forty-three per cent of the unemployed group were aged 16 to 24, while only 23 per cent were in the 25 to 39 age group, and 34 per cent were aged 40 and older. The educational level of the unemployed Negro males tended to be somewhat higher, on the average, than that of nonwhite males in the labor force in the nation as a whole, but distinctly below that of the employed Negro males. More than half (54 per cent) had not finished high school, as compared with 36 per cent of the employed Negro males. At the other end of the scale, 20 per cent had had at least some college education, as compared with 28 per cent of the employed group. As would be expected, the older men tended to have had less education than the younger men. The proportion who had not finished high school ranged from 44 per cent in the 16 to 24 age group to 69 per cent in the 40 and older group. Moreover, 28 per cent of the older unemployed men had not gone beyond the fifth grade.

Although the proportion of newcomers was somewhat larger among the unemployed than among the employed Negro males -- 9 per cent of the unemployed had lived in Berkeley less than a year, as compared with 5 per cent of the employed -- and the proportion of longer-term residents was somewhat smaller, nevertheless, a large majority (61 per cent) of the unemployed had lived in

the community five or more years. Analysis of employment status by length of residence, however, clearly indicated that newcomers were more likely to be unemployed than those who had lived in Berkeley for some time. Although the unemployed Negro males were somewhat more likely to have been born in Berkeley or on the West Coast than the employed Negro men, two-thirds had been born in other parts of the country, and 44 per cent had been born in the South. Even so, as in the case of the employed, most had migrated from the South a good many years ago.

Nearly half of the unemployed Negro males were single, as compared with less than a fifth of the employed Negro men. Although this difference was largely attributable to the more youthful age composition of the unemployed group, it could not be entirely explained on this basis. There was some tendency for a larger proportion of married men to be employed than of men who were single or not living with a spouse in each of the age groups. Even so, most of the older unemployed men were married, whereas in the youngest age group, 89 per cent were single.

Very few of the unemployed Negro males had held their most recent jobs in professional or managerial occupations, although the proportion of clerical and sales workers among them was slightly higher than among the employed Negro males. However, the great majority of unemployed Negro men had held their most recent jobs in manual or service occupations -- 79 per cent, as compared with 71 per cent of the employed Negro males. Moreover, the proportion of skilled workers was slightly higher among the unemployed (22 per cent, as compared with 18 per cent among the employed). In all probability, a considerable number of the unemployed skilled workers were in the building trades, where unemployment occurs frequently because of the

prevalence of short-term jobs in the industry.

Most of the unemployed Negro males (78 per cent) had held their most recent jobs in private industry, while the proportion whose most recent jobs were outside of Berkeley (77 per cent) was even higher than among the employed Negro males. A smaller fraction (5 per cent) had held their most recent jobs in other states. More than three-fourths had held their most recent jobs less than a year, while, at the other end of the scale, a tenth had held their most recent jobs ten years or more. About a fourth had quit their most recent jobs voluntarily, for a variety of reasons, while the others had left involuntarily -- chiefly, apparently, because of layoffs, termination of temporary jobs, and the like. Only a small minority indicated that they had been discharged for incompetence.

A tenth of the unemployed Negro men -- all in the 16 to 24 age group -- had never worked. The great majority were men with substantial work experience, but a large proportion had been out of work for a considerable period of time. Nearly 60 per cent had last worked from two months to a year ago, while 12 per cent had last worked more than a year ago. These data appear to compare most unfavorably with nationwide data on duration of unemployment. In September 1967, for example, 55 per cent of the unemployed nonwhite males in the nation as a whole had been out of work less than five weeks. However, the unemployment rate in the Bay Area at the time of the study was somewhat higher than in the nation as a whole, and the proportion of unemployed who have been out of work a relatively long time tends to vary with the unemployment rate. Moreover, there is a tendency for "ghetto" unemployment to be somewhat longer in duration than average unemployment. However, I suspect the chief reason for the

comparatively long duration of unemployment revealed by the study results -- which prevailed for white unemployed men and Negro unemployed women, as well as for the Negro unemployed men -- lay in a difference in the way the question was asked. In the Berkeley survey, the unemployed were simply asked how long ago they had last worked, whereas the national data on duration of unemployment relate to the length of the period during which unemployed persons have been continuously looking for work. Some of the Berkeley respondents -- there is no way of knowing what proportion -- may have dropped out of the labor force during part of the period since they had last worked. Moreover, in conformity with nationwide data, the proportion who had not worked for a long period tended to increase somewhat with advancing age, and it seems likely that at least some of the older unemployed men had given up much real hope of finding a job.

Among the unemployed Negroes with previous work experience, a very substantial proportion had held stable jobs at some time in the past. About half had held their longest jobs three or more years, and about a fifth had held the longest job 10 years or more. By comparison, only 19 per cent had held their most recent jobs three or more years, while only 10 per cent had held the most recent job ten or more years. On the other hand, nearly a third had held the longest job less than a year, whereas 77 per cent had held the most recent job less than a year. And, not surprisingly, among those aged 16 to 24, two-thirds had held the longest job less than a year.

These comparisons, along with certain other data relating to work experience, suggest that to some extent it may be useful to think of Berkeley unemployed Negro men as falling predominantly into two groups -- young men

who have yet to attain a stable job and older men who at some time in the past held a stable job but, for some reason, lost it and have had difficulty getting back into another stable job. There is probably also a third group of some significance, consisting of men associated with the building trades, the longshore and maritime industries, and certain other industries in which unemployment is frequently experienced because many of the jobs are short-term in nature.

In contrast with the employed Negro males, most of whom reported never having experienced unemployment, about three-fifths of the unemployed Negro males had experienced previous spells of unemployment, in addition to the present episode. For more than two-fifths of these, the most recent previous spell of unemployment had been less than a year ago.

Contrary to a widely held impression that most unemployed Negroes have had no vocational training, the Berkeley survey indicated that 57 per cent of the unemployed Negro males had had some type of job training -- almost identically the same proportion as among the employed Negro males. In comparison with the employed groups, however, the unemployed Negroes were somewhat less likely to have had apprenticeship training and considerably less likely to have had vocational training under military auspices. On the other hand, they were more likely than the employed Negroes to have had on-the-job training, junior college vocational training, special training for adults, or Neighborhood Youth Corps experience. Of particular interest is the large proportion of unemployed Negroes who had had on-the-job training. However, it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this in the absence of more detailed information on the extent and quality of their on-the-job training. In view of the generally held impressions that both apprenticeship

training and training under military auspices tend to be more thorough than most other types of training, there are some grounds for inferring that the training that had been received by the unemployed Negro men may not have been as valuable as the training received by the employed Negro man in a significant proportion of cases.

Examination of age differences in types of training experience also reveals some significant tendencies. For example, the proportion of men with apprenticeship training tended to increase with advancing age among employed and unemployed men, white and Negro. Moreover, although the proportion of unemployed Negro men in the 25 and older group who had received apprenticeship training was approximately the same as among the employed Negro men, the percentage of youthful (aged 16 to 24) unemployed Negroes (6 per cent) who had received any apprenticeship training was distinctly smaller than among employed Negro men (16 per cent) or employed white men (26 per cent) in this age group. And, not surprisingly, Negro men in all age groups were less likely to have received apprenticeship training than white men. Thus, although significant steps have been taken very recently to open doors to apprenticeship to minority group men in this area, very few young unemployed Negro men had had any apprenticeship training in 1967, when most of these interviews were conducted.

Interestingly, also, the proportion of unemployed young Negro males who had received high school vocational training (28 per cent) was considerably smaller than among employed young Negro men (47 per cent). Although high school vocational training is often criticized for its inadequacies, these findings suggest that it is not to be dismissed as a factor of some value in opening doors to employment. The study also indicates that the

proportion with high school vocational training tended to decline with advancing age among both employed and unemployed Negro men, as did also, of course, the proportion with high school education.

Another interesting result is that the proportions of unemployed Negro men who had had any military vocational training were smaller in all age groups than among the employed Negro men or employed white men. The difference was particularly pronounced in the 25 to 39 age group, in which only a third of the unemployed Negro men had had this type of training, as compared with 62 per cent of the employed Negro men and 58 per cent of the employed white men.

Unemployed young Negroes, on the other hand, were somewhat more likely to have had junior college vocational training, special training for adults, and NYC experience than employed young Negroes, while the proportion (55.6 per cent) with some on-the-job training was about the same as among the employed young Negroes (55.8 per cent). Although these findings are of considerable interest, they should not necessarily be interpreted to suggest that some of these types of training are of little or no value. Especially in connection with NYC, and probably also to some extent in the case of special training for adults, it must be kept in mind that young Negroes who have received these types of training are rather likely to be high school dropouts and that NYC is limited to those from very low income families, where cumulative disadvantages associated with low socio-economic status may be a factor in unemployment.

Most of the unemployed Negroes (63 per cent) had completed their most recent training courses, but the proportion who reported completion was smaller than among the employed Negroes (79 per cent). However, a third

of the unemployed who had not completed the course were still attending it. Among those who reported having completed their most recent training program, about three-fourths said it had been completed two or more years ago, while a third had completed it ten or more years ago. Two-thirds of the unemployed Negroes who had completed a training program said they had obtained a job related to the training.

A very large proportion of the unemployed Negro males (85 per cent) — considerably larger than among the employed Negro males — indicated an interest in vocational training or more training if they had already had some, but only 37 per cent said they had looked into job training programs other than those they might have completed.

The unemployed Negroes were more likely to have used almost every possible method of seeking work than the employed Negroes or the employed and unemployed white males. A very large proportion reported using the state employment service (82 per cent), while an equally large proportion sought work through friends (83 per cent). Other jobseeking channels used by unemployed Negro males, in order of relative importance, were unions, newspapers and other media, relatives, private employment agencies, OEO service centers, and the Urban League. However, friends and relatives or unions had played the most important roles as sources through which the unemployed Negroes had found their most recent jobs, each accounting for a fourth of these jobs. In addition, the proportion who had found their most recent jobs through the state employment service or an OEO service center (21 per cent) was considerably higher than in the case of the employed Negro males.

Employed Negro Women

There were 366 employed Negro women in the final interview sample. They tended to be older, on the average, than any of the white groups in the sample and somewhat older than the employed Negro men. Their age composition was also distinctly older than that of the unemployed Negroes of either sex. More than half of the employed Negro women were in the 40 and older age group, while only 14 per cent were aged 16 to 24 and about a third were aged 25 to 39.

The fact that the employed Negroes of both sexes tended to be somewhat older, on the average, than the employed whites in the area is to some extent explained by the differing geographical mobility patterns of the two groups. Whites in this part of Berkeley are likely to be relatively young married couples -- as we have seen, many of them in professional work and associated with the University as teaching or research assistants -- who will move on to other areas as their incomes rise. On the other hand, Negroes are less likely to move into other areas, in large part reflecting patterns of residential discrimination and also the fact that they cannot, in many cases, afford the more expensive homes available in other parts of Berkeley or in nearby suburban areas. Furthermore, it seems likely that older Negroes who are longtime residents of the area are less likely to move out than younger Negroes.

In their occupational characteristics, employed Berkeley Negro women compare rather favorably with employed nonwhite women in the nation as a whole. In 1967, they were considerably more likely to be engaged in white-collar occupations (43.5 per cent, as compared with 31.0 per cent of the nonwhite women in the nation). The difference was particularly pronounced

in the clerical and sales group, which accounted for 30 per cent of the employed Berkeley Negro women, as compared with 20 per cent of the nonwhite employed women in the nation. On the other hand, the proportions employed in manual and service occupations tended to be somewhat smaller than in the nation. Even so, a large proportion (46.4 per cent) of the employed Berkeley Negro women were in unskilled and service occupations. Moreover, in conformity with the nationwide pattern and with differences in educational levels of younger and older Negroes, the proportion in clerical and sales jobs declined sharply with advancing age, whereas the percentage in unskilled and service jobs increased markedly with advancing age.

As in the case of the employed Negro men, a relatively large proportion of the Negro female workers (34.2 per cent) were employed in public agencies, other than educational institutions, while 59.0 per cent were in private employment. The Negro women were somewhat more likely than the men to be in private employment and somewhat less likely to be working in public agencies. I suspect that this difference is largely explained by the relative importance of private household employment for Negro women, but the data were not coded in such a way as to reveal just what proportion were employed in private households.

As in the case of the men, relatively small proportions of the Negro women were self-employed or employed in educational institutions.

Although the proportion of Negro women employed in Berkeley (39.4 per cent) was larger than in the case of the Negro men (25.5 per cent), it represented well under half of the total. A sizable proportion of the women (35.9 per cent) were employed in Oakland, and about a fourth in other Bay Area communities.

Despite the fact that the employed Negro women were slightly older, on the average, than the employed Negro men, the proportion who had held their present jobs ten years or more (22.4 per cent) was somewhat smaller than in the case of the men (30.8 per cent). Moreover, relatively few of the women had held their longest jobs ten years or more (33.0 per cent, as compared with 44.0 per cent of the men). Furthermore, the tendency for the present job to have been shorter in duration than the longest job was pronounced in the case of the women. More than three-fourths had held their longest jobs three years or more, as compared with 52 per cent who had been on the present job three years or more.

On the other hand, a very large proportion of the employed Negro women (74 per cent) said that they had never been unemployed -- an even larger proportion than in the case of the men. However, among those who had experienced unemployment, the percentage with some unemployment within the last three years was somewhat higher than in the case of the men.

To the extent that the work histories of the employed Negro women reveal some types of job instability to a somewhat greater degree than do those of the employed Negro men, the explanation probably lies chiefly in the tendency -- well documented in labor mobility studies -- for married women to move into and out of the labor force, particularly when their children are young. At the same time, it must be recognized that some of the types of jobs held by Negro women -- particularly in service occupations -- are frequently short-term in character, just as are some of the types of jobs held by Negro men. While the data suggest that a large proportion of employed Negro women tend to hold stable jobs, there is clearly a sizable minority afflicted with problems of job instability, probably largely

associated with the nature of their work. In this connection, it is pertinent to point out that the locator survey indicated that, among employed Negro married women, 15 per cent had been unemployed at some time during the preceding year, while among "related females" -- female members of households other than wives -- 24 per cent of those who were currently employed at the time of the survey had been unemployed at some time during the preceding year.

About half of the employed Negro women reported that they had had some type of vocational training, although the proportion was somewhat smaller among the older women than among those in the younger age groups. As might be expected, among those with some training, the types of vocational training which the women had received tended to differ in certain respects from those reported by the Negro men. Relatively few of the women had received apprenticeship training or military vocational training, whereas the proportion (of those with some training) who had had special training for adults (44 per cent) was distinctly higher than among the employed Negro men (18 per cent) and, interestingly, about the same as among the employed white women (45 per cent).

A large proportion of the employed Negro women with training, also, reported on-the-job training (47 per cent) -- about the same proportion as in the case of the employed men of both races. In this connection, it should be kept in mind that interviewees frequently reported more than one type of training, and it would be expected that many of those with some on-the-job training might also have received some other type of training.

Among the employed Negro women with training, the proportion with high school vocational training was considerably smaller (17 per cent) than

in the case of the employed white women (35 per cent). Although the difference was most pronounced in the older age groups, probably reflecting to some extent the smaller degree of exposure of the older Negro women to any high school education, it tended to prevail in the younger as well as in the older age groups. On the other hand, the employed Negro women with training were somewhat more likely (19 per cent) to report junior college vocational training than employed men of either race or employed white women.

There was little age variation in the proportions who had had either on-the-job training or junior college vocational training. However, the young employed Negro women were more likely to have had high school vocational training than the older employed women, while about an eighth of the younger women had had NYC experience. On the other hand, the younger women were less likely to have had special training for adults than the older women.

Among the employed Negro women with some vocational training, the proportion who had completed their most recent training course was high (81 per cent), and, among those who had not completed it, more than a fourth were still attending. Moreover, a very large proportion of those who had completed the course (86 per cent) had obtained jobs related to the training.

The proportion of employed Negro women who said they would be interested in some (or more) vocational training was higher (64 per cent) than in the case of the employed Negro man (58 per cent), but, as in the case of the men, the percentage who had looked into training courses, other than those already experienced, was well below the proportion expressing interest.

Unemployed Negro Women

There were 55 unemployed Negro women in the final interview sample, and 183 Negro women who were not in the labor force.

Some (about 15 per cent) of those who were out of the labor force either had a job lined up or were planning to begin looking for work soon. About half were either students or were expecting a child. A relatively large proportion (28 per cent) -- probably chiefly older women -- indicated that illness or disability kept them from seeking work. In general, these findings suggest that a sizable proportion of Negro women who are not in the labor force are likely to become labor force participants at some future time.

The exclusion of female dependents of household heads from the final interview sample was an important factor in limiting the number of unemployed Negro women who were interviewed. As a result, moreover, the proportion of married women in the unemployed group, particularly among the young women, was much higher than it would have been if all unemployed Negro women had been interviewed. As in the case of the unemployed Negro men, however, the study indicates the difficulty of collecting data which permit an intensive analysis of the characteristics of the unemployed. Although the proportions of unemployed Negroes were about what was to be expected on the basis of the locator survey, the numbers were not large enough to permit extensive cross-tabulations to reveal the relative influence of various factors on unemployment. The final number of unemployed white women was too small to permit any analysis, partly because white wives, as well as female dependents, were not interviewed.

The unemployed Negro women were, as already suggested, considerably younger, on the average, than the employed Negro women. About 27 per cent

were aged 16 to 24, and about 52 per cent were in the 25 to 39 age group. Like the unemployed Negro men, they were predominantly women who had lived in Berkeley more than five years. More than half were married, and less than 10 per cent were single. About 35 per cent were either separated or divorced. Moreover, the proportion who were married (65 per cent) was relatively high in the youngest age group, while the proportion who were separated or divorced tended to increase with advancing age.

The educational level of the unemployed Negro women tended to be somewhat higher than that of the unemployed Negro men. Only 36 per cent had had less than a complete high school education, while 31 per cent had had at least some college education (although none had completed four years of college). The differences in educational attainment among the younger and older Negro women were also less pronounced than among the men.

The vast preponderance of unemployed Negro women had held their most recent jobs either in clerical and sales positions or in unskilled and service positions. And there were wide differences between the younger and older unemployed Negro women in this regard. The great majority of those in the youngest age group (16 to 24) had held their most recent jobs in clerical or sales positions, whereas most of the women aged 40 or more had most recently been employed in unskilled or service jobs. Those in the 25 to 39 age group occupied an intermediate position.

The proportion of unemployed Negro women who had held their most recent jobs in public agencies was sizable (29 per cent), though not as high as in the case of the current jobs of the employed Negroes. However, there were distinct age variations in this respect, with the proportion whose most recent job was in a public agency declining from 43 per cent in the 16 to 24

age group to 18 per cent in the 40 and older group.

As compared with the other Negro groups, a relatively large percentage of the unemployed Negro women (46 per cent) had held their most recent jobs in Berkeley. For the most part, their most recent jobs had not lasted very long. The percentage (58 per cent) whose most recent job had lasted less than a year was, however, somewhat smaller than in the case of the unemployed Negro men (77 per cent), while the proportion whose most recent job had lasted ten years or more was about the same (10 per cent). The differences between the younger and older unemployed women in this respect were wide and striking. Among the young women aged 16 to 24, 86 had held their most recent jobs less than a year, whereas this was true of only 18 per cent of the women in the 40 and older bracket. Relatively more of the unemployed women had quit their last jobs (37 per cent) than among the unemployed Negro men (25 per cent), and in the case of the women relatively more of the quits had been for personal reasons or because the pay was too low.

Most of these women had not been working for quite a long time, as in the case of the unemployed men. There was a distinct tendency for the proportion who had not worked for more than a year to increase with advancing age. On the other hand, in the youngest age group, 18 per cent had never held a job.

Some of the unemployed women had at one time held stable jobs -- 40 per cent, for example, indicated that their longest job had lasted at least three years -- but the duration of the longest job tended to be somewhat lower than for the unemployed Negro men, and distinctly lower than for the employed Negro women. Age differences in this respect were again very

pronounced. All the unemployed women whose longest job had lasted ten years or more were in the oldest age group, and more than 80 per cent of the older women had held their longest job at least three years. On the other hand, in the youngest age group, 71 per cent of those who had ever held a job said their longest job had lasted less than a year, and all the others from one to three years.

A large proportion of the unemployed Negro women had had some vocational training (62 per cent) -- relatively more than among the employed Negro women or the two male Negro groups. The difference, however, was largely found in the youngest age group, in which a very high proportion (77 per cent) had had some vocational training.

There were rather pronounced differences in the types of training these women had received, as compared with the Negro men, and to some extent as compared with the employed Negro women. Relatively few of those with training (only 21 per cent) had received any on-the-job training, and the proportion with high school vocational training (21 per cent), while slightly larger than in the case of the employed Negro women, was considerably smaller than in the case of the employed white women. On the other hand, relatively large proportions of the unemployed women with some training had received junior college vocational training (29 per cent) or special training for adults (50 per cent). However, most of those with junior college training were in the 25 to 39 age group, while very few were in the youngest age group. In the case of special training for adults, on the other hand, age differences were not pronounced. Finally, about 31 per cent of the young employed Negro women with some training (31 per cent) had had NYC experience -- a larger proportion than among any of the other young Negro groups.

About 65 per cent of the unemployed Negro women with some training had completed their most recent training course -- roughly the same percentage as in the case of the unemployed Negro men -- but the proportion still attending among those who had not completed it (17 per cent) was relatively small. A third had quit the course because a job had turned up, while a relatively large proportion (42 per cent) reported some type of bad experience with the course. Moreover, the ratio of success in getting a training-related job, among those who had completed a training course, was lower for the unemployed Negro women (50 per cent) than for any of the other groups.

It seems useful to conceive of the problem of unemployment among Negro women as taking several forms, as we found in the case of Negro men. Perhaps even more than in the case of the young unemployed men, most of the young unemployed women did not appear to have obtained a foothold in a stable job -- and this despite the fact that 35 per cent of them had graduated from high school and 29 per cent had had at least some college. To the extent that they had had vocational training, it was particularly likely to have been special training for adults or NYC experience -- again suggesting that these types of training may not be as valuable as some of the other types of training. On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that a large proportion of these young unemployed Negro women were married, and a considerable proportion of them had quit their most recent job (36 per cent). It seems likely that, at least in a significant proportion of the cases, interruptions associated with raising children played a role. However, it is also important to keep in mind the hazards of drawing inferences from a small sample.

The older unemployed women, like the older unemployed men, had in most cases held a steady job, but for some reason had lost it. The great majority had left their most recent jobs involuntarily -- only 18 per cent had quit. On the other hand, the proportion who had quit their longest job was considerably higher, suggesting that personal or family reasons had played a role in a good many cases in the separation from the longest job. By comparison with the unemployed older men, moreover, the unemployed older women were not as handicapped by inferior education in obtaining other employment. In fact, 36 per cent of the unemployed older women had had some college education, while 46 per cent had had some type of vocational training.

In some respects, unemployment in the 25 to 39 age group appears more difficult to explain. Two-thirds of the unemployed women in this age group had had at least a complete high school education, while 30 per cent had had some college education. For a sizable proportion (44 per cent), the longest job had lasted from three to ten years. Moreover, 59 per cent had had some type of vocational training, and that training was considerably more likely to have been junior college vocational training and somewhat more likely to have been high school vocational training than among unemployed Negro women as a whole. However, 44 per cent of the unemployed women in this age group had quit their most recent jobs, a larger proportion than among the younger or older women, while 32 per cent had not worked for from four months to a year, and 28 per cent for over a year. It seems likely that at least some of the women in this age group had left their jobs for family reasons and had in some cases been out of the labor force at least part of the time since their most recent jobs. This does not

necessarily mean, however, that they were not genuinely unemployed at the time of the interview, since they may well have begun looking for work again, as their statements to the interviewers indicated.

Concluding Remarks

To the labor market analyst, the results thus far available from the Berkeley unemployment study are not particularly surprising. For the most part, they tend to be consistent with nationwide data and with what has been known about the characteristics of the Berkeley Negro population. It may be that some of the results yet to be analyzed by Professor Dizard will represent more of a unique contribution.

On the other hand, the results explode some of the myths about Negro unemployment that tend to be prevalent among less well informed persons. For example, unemployed Berkeley Negroes are not, for the most part, persons who have recently flocked here from the South. In educational and occupational level, they compare favorably with nonwhites in the nation as a whole, while the differences between employed and unemployed Negroes in these respects are not, for the most part, very great. Moreover, the proportions with some vocational training are large, particularly among the unemployed Negro women. However, the results do seem to suggest that some types of vocational training are more likely than others to lead to stable employment.

As already suggested, probably the most important single finding relates to the large proportion of Negroes who are employed outside of Berkeley, particularly among the men. And, although in general I am avoiding discussion of policy implications, I believe that this finding

points up the fact that, while we need to improve employment and training opportunities for Negroes in Berkeley, we can never hope completely to solve the unemployment problem of Berkeley Negroes within the confines of the city. Our efforts must be more effectively integrated with areawide programs.

Finally, the evidence that extremely small proportions of Berkeley Negroes are employed in educational institutions or are engaged in self-employment is striking. It tends to underscore the importance of efforts to expand employment opportunities for Negroes in educational institutions, particularly the University, and the growing interest in developing small business opportunities for Negroes.