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WARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY  
IN LOS ANGELES

Errata:

2nd page of Introduction, 9th line from bottom: "an" should be "and."

p. 27, bottom line: Should read "Downtown area, reflecting the factors of age...."

p. 51, 9th line from bottom: Should read "there is a strong predilection to reject any approach that would make redeveloped properties unavailable to the former residents. The war on poverty is not to be won by keeping its victims on the run and giving them no place to live."

p. 59: The last sentence should read: "Use of those records would not make possible a county-wide comparison."

p. 114: 7th line from top: Should read "less than the 7 percent. . . ."

p. 117: In the section on How the Unemployed Live, the 3rd line should read "a substantial proportion of the male unemployed are "on welfare" during the period of unemployment."

p. 119, 8th line from top: Should read "employed males with history of unemployment. . . ."

p. 121, 11th line from top: a comma should be inserted after "result," and in 16th line, should read "immigrant in finding work is related to his more realistic and more reasonable. . . ."

p. 130, 1st line: Change "8.3" to "12.4"

Armstead-Townsend report

p. 7, 2nd line from bottom: "realized" should be "realize."

Singleton report on redevelopment in Philadelphia and New York

p. 9, 13th line from top: "OJT" should read "on the job." 4th line from bottom: semi-colon should be changed to comma.

p. 11, 3rd & 4th lines from top: cross out "really" in both sentences.

p. 14, 10th line from bottom: "solutions" should be changed to "developments."

p. 19, 4th line from top: Should read "and data collection before any program of development was conceived."

p. 22, 4th line from top: insert PIDC after (e.g.).

p. 29: A footnote should be added as follows: Since this report was prepared, an article by Murray Kempton, "When the Poor Mobilize," in the December 5th issue of New Republic, presents an entirely different view of the Mobilization for Youth project.

p. 30: 7th line from bottom should read "In a speech of January, 1964. . . ."

Lehman report

p. 67, 12th line from bottom: should read "problems must be solved before he can be placed on a job overlooks the interrelation of employment and psycho-social environmental problems."

p. 74, 8th line from top: insert "(group counseling)" after the phrase "present counseling approach."

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pages  
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by rev.  
Ch. VIII

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California University Institute of Industrial Relations (Los Angeles)

HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY IN LOS ANGELES.

Prepared by the staff of the Institute of Industrial Relations at U.C.L.A. under a contract with the Area Redevelopment Administration of the U. S. Department of Commerce.

[Paul Bullock, Project supervisor]

= Los Angeles = December 14, 1964

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Institute of Industrial Relations

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## Introduction

This report represents the findings of more than one year of intensive research conducted by the staff of the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California, Los Angeles, under a technical assistance contract with the Area Redevelopment Administration of the Department of Commerce. The contract focuses particularly upon problems of industrial or commercial redevelopment and business financing, but a preliminary investigation of the characteristics of the study area made it evident that those problems could be properly understood and evaluated only in a broader context. Therefore, this study has ranged widely to encompass a variety of social and economic factors which ultimately may determine whether redevelopment in the narrower sense is feasible.

The nature of the study area and the basis for defining its boundaries are described in the opening chapter of this report. Because the area of investigation is located in the heart of an otherwise prosperous and expanding urban region, this research represents in some respects a pioneering effort. One major purpose is to ascertain whether a program of economic redevelopment, either through existing private and public channels or through new instrumentalities, could effectively reduce unemployment in the central section of Los Angeles. All parts of this report are directed in some degree to that overriding problem.

In addition to undertaking the comprehensive research reflected in subsequent chapters, the Institute has commissioned an extensive field survey of unemployed or underemployed persons in the study area. This survey, administered by the Survey Research Center at UCLA, provides an

invaluable source of current information on the backgrounds, characteristics, problems, and attitudes of the area's residents. Major findings are summarized in the text of the report. It is anticipated that further evaluation of the survey results will produce additional findings which will be described in the future.

The report is divided basically into two parts: (1) the text of the official report submitted to the Area Redevelopment Administration by the Institute staff, and (2) a series of special reports, appended thereto, by staff members or consultants. Each of the latter reports, focused upon a specific subject, reflects the individual views and recommendations of the author, and therefore need not necessarily represent the opinions of the Institute or of the project supervisors.

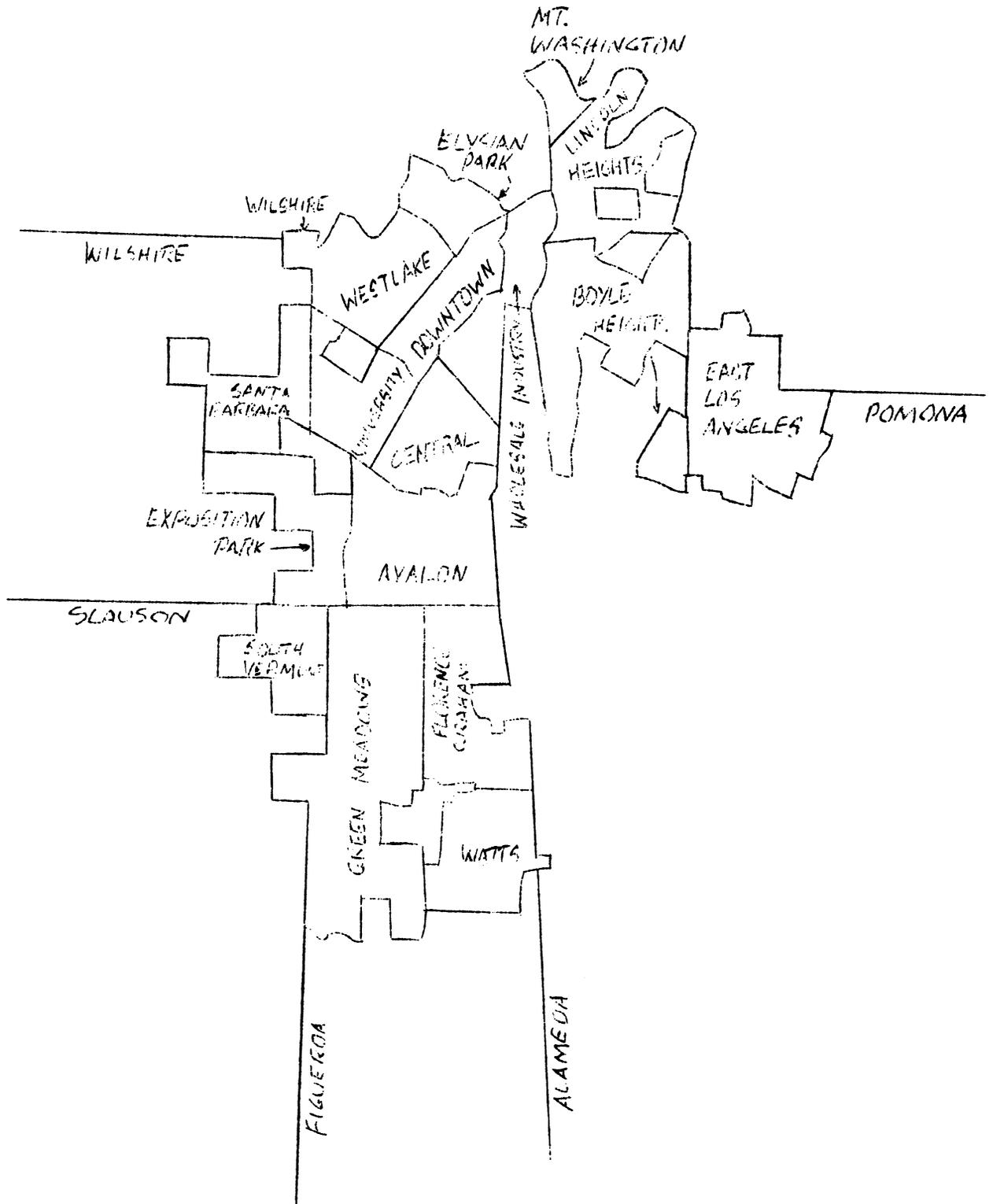
The final report is intended initially for use by the Area Redevelopment Administration, the Los Angeles Area Economic Development Agency (which functions under a separate but related ARA contract), and other agencies as a source of factual information relative to social and economic problems in the central section of Los Angeles. For this reason, distribution is now restricted and no reference to or quotation from this report is to be made without the express written permission of the staff of the Institute of Industrial Relations.

Institute staff members mainly responsible for preparation of the text of this report are Paul Bullock, project supervisor; Fred H. Schmidt, associate project supervisor; and Robert Singleton, chief researcher. Benjamin Aaron, Professor of Law and Director of the Institute of Industrial Relations, is general director of the project. A full list of researchers, consultants, and other staff members is appended.

## THE STUDY AREA: ITS PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS

In 1781, a tired and demoralized band of twenty-two adults and their families settled near a river in the southern part of California and founded El Pueblo de Nuestra Senora La Reina de Los Angeles de Porciuncula. By present definitions, twenty of these original twenty-two were nonwhite, among whom ten were Negro. In 1960 the site of this settlement, whose founding is commemorated at the Plaza of central Los Angeles, was located within Census Tract 2072 in the heart of the ARA study area. Appropriately, this tract reflects the ethnic diversity of the Los Angeles area: about 28 percent of its residents are Negro and 22 percent are Mexican American. The surrounding area, unfortunately, also exhibits the demoralization which plagued the initial settlers. Poverty and unemployment characterize much of the central, south central, and east Los Angeles areas which constitute the core of the broad area under study.

The boundaries of the study area (see accompanying map) were drawn on the basis of three criteria: rate of male unemployment, family income, and years of school completed, all as of the 1960 census. The "neighborhood study" prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the city of Los Angeles was used as a basis for identifying those tracts which fell within the first quartile (the worst 25 percent) for any or all of these criteria and were reasonably contiguous. Tracts falling in the first quartile for both rate of unemployment and family income were automatically included within the study area, but in marginal cases the criterion of years of school completed was added. Tracts in unincorporated county areas adjacent to the city tracts were included if they



MAJOR STUDY AREA BOUNDARIES  
AND SUBAREA BOUNDARIES

MAP #1

met the above criteria. Only about 11 percent of the tracts are located outside the Los Angeles city limits.<sup>1</sup>

As a result, a total of 141 tracts (excluding certain tracts in the USC and south central areas which will be discussed later) are encompassed within the boundaries of the area, of which 92 tracts, or two-thirds of the total, fall in the first quartile for all three variables. Another 17 tracts fell in that quartile for both rate of unemployment and family income, and 28 others were in the quartiles for education and unemployment or education and income, respectively. Two tracts were included in the first quartile for rate of unemployment only, and two others barely missed inclusion in one or more of the three variables.

For the overwhelming majority of tracts, male unemployment rates vary from 9 percent to almost 30 percent, median family income from \$2,341 to \$5,370 (1959 figures), and years of school completed from a median of 5.6 years to 10.6 years. The severity of poverty and deprivation in the ARA study area is reflected in the fact that 28.0 percent of all families with income fall below the \$3,000 family income per year level, contrasted with only 11.3 percent of the families in the remainder of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The President's Council of Economic Advisers has defined this as a "poverty" income bracket for a four-member family.<sup>2</sup> Another 13.2 percent of the families in the ARA area make between \$3,000 and \$3,999 a year, again more than twice the corresponding proportion for the rest of the metropolitan area. In short, over 41 percent of the

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<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise indicated, all figures in this section are drawn from, or derived from calculations based upon, Census Tracts: Los Angeles-Long Beach Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, PHC(1)-82, 1960 Census, a publication of the Bureau of the Census, United States Department of Commerce.

<sup>2</sup>Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, January 1964, p. 58.

families in this area fail to earn enough income in a year to lift them above the "deprivation" level. No other areas in the entire county of Los Angeles suffer as much concentrated poverty and unemployment as does the area which we are now studying (see maps 2-4).

An examination of the ethnic composition of the ARA area reveals another characteristic which is often associated with areas of poverty and high unemployment. About 70 percent of the present residents are either Negroes or Mexican Americans, with the proportion steadily growing. The remaining "Anglo" concentrations are to be found in the downtown and northwestern sections of the area, which are characterized by a high incidence of problems related most closely to age or personal maladjustment. Thus the central part of Los Angeles has become, in effect, a convenient "dumping ground" for the problems which the community has failed to solve and which the comfortable suburbanites would rather ignore.

The study area, however, retains some vestiges of former affluence. Many of the distinguished old mansions along Adams Boulevard remain as monuments to past splendor, now occupied mainly by Negro families or by institutions of various kinds. A few blocks to the south lies the campus of the University of Southern California, in the midst of an area now slated for "urban renewal." MacArthur Park (for years named Westlake Park), a landmark of the Los Angeles area, is a few miles to the north, its benches and lawns occupied largely by the elderly residents of hotels, apartment houses, and rooming houses surrounding it. Across town, the Boyle Heights community remains in perpetual transition: from a high-income "Anglo" area at the turn of the century, it has been transformed in sequence to a Jewish ghetto in the twenties and thirties and a Mexican American ghetto in the forties and fifties, with a steady upward climb in the Negro percentage of population. The Central Avenue and Santa Barbara sections,

now almost entirely Negro in population, had significant Jewish concentrations earlier in this century.<sup>3</sup>

The study area, then, is a region of diverse population with a growing percentage of Negro and Mexican American representation, characterized by extensive movement in and out with a net decline in the total population figure during the 1950's, and burdened with socio-economic problems related to the exclusion of particular groups from full participation in the economy. The nature of these problems may be seen in a more intensive description of selected census tracts in different parts of the area.

About 30 percent of the population of the area is neither Negro nor Mexican American. Included in this total is a small Oriental population in the downtown section, but mainly this represents "Anglo" concentrations in the northern and western parts of the study area. All of these predominantly "Anglo" areas lost population during the fifties, and have continued to decline since 1960 though at a somewhat slower pace. Representative of these areas are Tract 2089 in the "Westlake" area and Tract 2062 in the "Wholesale Industry" area.

The "Westlake" area surrounds MacArthur Park, and its residents are older and better-educated than most other persons within the study area. The median family income of \$4,621 in Tract 2089 is almost identical with the median income for the whole study area, but the typical "family" is quite small. Average population per household is only 1.5 persons, compared with an average of 2.7 for the study area. Relatively few children are to be found here: only 358 persons under age 18 are included within its population of 4,859. The median age of 48 years for males contrasts with the median of 30.7 for the whole area, and about two-thirds of its inhabitants are either single, separated, divorced,

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<sup>3</sup>Much of the information in this paragraph is drawn from a special study conducted by Professor Fred Massarik of the UCLA School of Business Administration.

or widowed. The male unemployment rate of 12 percent is precisely the same as the average for the larger area, but it is likely that a high proportion of the unemployed are pensioners who are seeking jobs in order to supplement an income from other sources. Many of the difficulties experienced by the residents of this tract are undoubtedly connected with age.

Many of these conditions are to be found in Tract 2062, but the characteristics of the residents differ in certain fundamental ways. This tract is situated in the heart of "Skid Row," the site of the Midnight Mission and other institutions which offer meals and lodging to the thousands of derelicts wandering aimlessly and unsteadily through the area. Negroes and Mexican Americans are included in their ranks, but three-quarters are "Anglo." The 1960 census figures on "Population in Group Quarters" (excluding inmates of public institutions) give some hint of the nature of this area: 554 of its 2,199 residents were in "group quarters," i.e., in the dormitories of the missions and flophouses. The stated unemployment rate of 14.5 percent is high, but there is serious question as to the proportion of the unemployed who are, in fact, "employable." In a survey of 500 men conducted in September of 1963, the Midnight Mission found that alcoholism was responsible for unemployment in at least two-thirds of the cases.<sup>4</sup> Clearly the residents of this area need intensive counseling and therapy in addition to an opportunity for employment.

The Mexican American population is concentrated in the far northern and eastern parts of the study area, mainly in the "Lincoln Heights," "Boyle Heights," and "East Los Angeles" areas but with smaller settlements in the "Mount Washington" and "Elysian Park" sections. Here again we find certain characteristics

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<sup>4</sup>Survey made of 500 men, September 16 to 30, 1963, by the Midnight Mission, Los Angeles.

which distinguish these tracts from others in the study area. In contrast with the "Anglo" tracts described previously, the Mexican American areas have high proportions of children, relatively large households, and very low levels of educational attainment. The tracts in the Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles areas receive substantial numbers of immigrants from Mexico and from other Southwestern states, notably Texas. Problems of low educational levels and functional illiteracy are especially acute in these centers of greatest Mexican American concentration, but it must be added that the ghettoization of Mexican Americans in the Los Angeles area is not as complete as it is in the case of the Negroes. Almost half of the Negro population and a little less than a quarter of the "Spanish Surname" population within the metropolitan area lived in the study area in 1960. Thus, the greater part of the "Spanish Surname" population resides outside the ARA study area and, despite a lower average of years of school completed, enjoys a somewhat higher economic status than does the Negro population as a whole.

Tract 2049 in the Boyle Heights community is reasonably representative of conditions in the Mexican American section of the study area. Its population of 3,289 is a little over three-quarters Mexican American, with persons under 18 constituting about 37 percent of the total. Population per household of 3.5 persons is above the average for the study area. The median family income of \$5,181 is also above the average, but the families are larger too. The labor market adaptability of its residents is restricted by a low level of educational attainment: the median of school years completed for those over age 25 is 8.3. Despite the inadequacy of education, the employed men in this tract do considerably better than do Negro men elsewhere in the study area in penetrating the skilled and semiskilled occupations. Almost 60 percent of all the employed

men are to be found in the skilled and semiskilled categories (predominantly in the latter), a much higher percentage than is usually the case in Negro areas. The male unemployment rate of 9.2 percent is below average for the whole area, but substantially higher than the corresponding rate of 5.6 percent for the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Again we must look behind the raw figures on unemployment: an unemployment rate of 9 percent in an area of relatively large families may affect more persons and cause more suffering than does a rate of, say, 14 percent in an area of smaller families or considerable numbers of single men.

Moving south from the predominantly Mexican American or Anglo sections of the ARA area, we enter the Negro community, starting just beyond the downtown area and extending southward into the city of Compton. All of the oldest Negro settlements in Los Angeles are encompassed within the ARA area, while many of the newer, more recently developed sections lie outside its perimeter.

The record of California on the role of the Negro is considerably mixed. In its early days of statehood (California was admitted to the Union in 1851), the Southerners exerted a potent influence in state affairs, and California refused to ratify the 15th Amendment to the Constitution (guaranteeing the right to vote) following the Civil War. Somewhat later, especially in Los Angeles, the climate changed to the extent that opportunities for Negroes were reputed to be relatively good here. The migration of Negroes to Los Angeles was small in total, but substantial numbers of railroad employees from the midwest, an "elite" among Negro workers in this time of severely restricted opportunity, moved into this area. The early settlements along Central Avenue and along Jefferson Boulevard, particularly the latter, were favorably situated when contrasted with most other ghettos in the country. In the post-Civil War period,

one of the shrewdest and wealthiest property developers in central Los Angeles, Mrs. Biddy Mason, was a former slave. Of course, racial covenants and other devices have been frequently used, into the post-World War II period, to restrict Negroes to designated areas. Even war veterans have been denied the right to live in "restricted" all-white areas if they were of nonwhite (including Oriental) ancestry.<sup>5</sup>

One of the early Negro concentrations in the Los Angeles area contrasted sharply with the thoroughly urbanized settlements mentioned above. Located on the edge of a small suburb named Watts (Watts was latter annexed to the city of Los Angeles in 1926) was a rural community known as "Mudtown." A novelist has described Mudtown as it existed just prior to World War I and probably for many years after: "The streets of Mudtown were three or four dusty wagon paths. In the moist grass along the edges cows were staked. . . Ducks were sleeping in the weeds, and there was on the air a suggestion of pigs and slime holes. Tiny hoot-owls were sitting bravely on fence posts while bats wavered overhead like shadows. . . Mudtown was like a tiny section of the deep south literally transplanted. . .

In 1964, several large public housing projects occupy much of the land that was once Mudtown and the rustic setting has vanished completely, but little else has changed basically. It remains a Negro ghetto with a steady immigration from the Deep South, populated by people who are seeking escape from a system which denies them and their children even the barest of opportunity, people who

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<sup>5</sup>Historical background has been drawn largely from three books: The Negro Ghetto, by Robert C. Weaver; Southern California Country, by Carey McWilliams; and Forty Years, by Carlotta Bass. As an example of discrimination in this area after World War II, Mrs. Bass cites the activities of the late Charles B. Shattuck, prominent realtor and a leading spokesman for the California Real Estate Association, who in 1946 sponsored organizations to enforce racial covenants against both Negroes and Orientals, including decorated war veterans, with the statement that "we can't let the bars down to anyone." Bass, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>6</sup>Arna Bontemps, God Sends Sunday, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931, pp. 117 and 119.

are often unfamiliar with the complexities of living in a large and impersonal metropolitan area. Tract 2426 is the poorest in the entire south central area, though ironically its median of 10.1 years of school completed is markedly higher than the median for the surrounding area. Its 1960 male unemployment rate of 29.8 percent was the highest, and its median family income of \$2,370 in 1959 the second lowest, of any tract in the study area. This is particularly tragic in view of the heavy concentration of small children in the tract: the median age for all males was 9.5 years.

This is admittedly an extreme example, but the experience in many other tracts throughout the south central area is not too dissimilar. Perhaps a more representative tract is #2423, also in the Watts area, in which the Negro population is 85 percent and the Mexican American 10 percent of the total. Here the median of school years completed is 9.3 years, the median age for males is 22.8 years, the male unemployment rate is 13.4 percent, and the median family income is \$4,260. As is the case in most of the south central tracts, there is a heavy continuing migration from the South into this tract. Of the 402 persons who had moved into the tract between 1955 and 1960, 70 percent had previously lived in the South. But another and contrasting fact must be noted: of the total 2,771 persons age 5 and over, almost 50 percent had not moved at all in that five-year period. Clearly this is an area of reasonably long-term residence for substantial numbers of people.

The degree of deprivation varies from one tract to another, and the families living in the "Santa Barabara" area, for example, tend to have higher living standards even though their rates of unemployment and incomes are enough to qualify them for inclusion in our study area. The one characteristic which most obviously distinguishes these families from others in the study area is

the median of school years completed. In Tract 2222, for instance, the median is 11.1 years, almost two full years above the median for the whole study area. Despite this advantage in education, however, the rate of male unemployment in this tract is 13.5 percent, above the average for the study area. Median family income, on the other hand, is \$5,107 (1959), about \$500 above the study area median. In this area, which is on the western edge of the study area, housing conditions are reasonably good. It should be added that incomes, unemployment rates, and ethnic composition vary markedly among tracts in this area, though usually within a range more favorable than the averages for the south central area.

It is clear that the study area has great diversity and potential which is currently untapped for reasons which are varied and sometimes complex. Discrimination in employment, housing, and education, both in the Los Angeles area and in the regions from which large numbers are migrating, is an obvious factor which we shall have occasion to discuss in some detail in this report. Another problem of concern is that the decentralization of both population and industry, set in motion particularly during World War II, has caused the central area to decline in recent years. While changes in census tract boundaries make it impossible to compare 1950 and 1960 population figures for the entire study area, the downward trend is apparent from comparisons of selected tracts and subareas in that period (see appendix Tables I, II, and III).

For example, the "Central," "Avalon," "Boyle Heights," "Downtown," "University," "Exposition Park," "Lincoln Heights," "Santa Barbara," "South Vermont," "Westlake," and "Wholesale Industry" areas, each encompassed in whole or in major part within the study area, declined in population by a total of 88,465 between 1950 and 1960. From April, 1960 to October, 1963, these same areas

experienced a net decline of only 1,266. Indeed, four of the areas--Exposition Park, Santa Barbara, South Vermont, and Westlake--had modest increases in population, according to estimates by the Los Angeles City Planning Commission. Total population in all ARA Los Angeles City tracts dropped by 1,057 in this period.<sup>7</sup>

It is significant that the rate of decline within the study area has ~~slowly~~ considerably in the past few years, indicating the possibility that population might start upward again in a short time. In a three and one-half year period since the 1960 census, total population dropped only 1,671 in 113 Los Angeles City tracts within the area. This compares with a net decline of 69,909 in the 1950-60 period for these same tract areas. Clearly the forces which induced decline in the 1950's have been controlled, at least in substantial degree, in the 1960's. The prospect, therefore, is for renewed population advance in the near future if present trends continue.

It would appear that certain special factors, operating during the 1950's, have been responsible for past declines. Freeway construction and an urban renewal project in the "Bunker Hill" area of downtown have displaced some residents, a certain proportion of whom undoubtedly moved outside the area. Of prime importance, perhaps, is the change in the nature of population in several of the areas. Downward trends in the 1950's reflect the movement of Anglos out of the study area and toward the suburbs, in response partly to imminent expansion of the minority-group ghettos and partly to the attractiveness of suburban living. The areas of most recent Negro settlement or expansion, particularly those on the edges of the ARA study area, have uniformly experienced modest

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<sup>7</sup>All figures for the post-1960 period are derived from reports of the Los Angeles City Planning Commission.

increases in population since 1960. Seven ARA tracts in the Santa Barbara area (2211, 2214, 2219, 2221, 2222, 2225, and 2226), which had had a net decline of 1,465 persons between 1950 and 1960, increased population by a net of 527 in the three and one-half year period after 1960. Fifteen ARA tracts in the Green Meadows area, which bucked the general trend in the central Los Angeles area by increasing 5,081 in the 1950's, continue to increase but at a markedly slower rate. This is an area in which both the number and proportion of Negro population are sharply rising, and the slower pace of expansion is almost certainly due to an accelerating outmigration of whites as Negroes enter the area. Nevertheless, the growth of this and other "fringe" areas, associated with a generally high level of immigration of Negroes and persons of Spanish surname into the Los Angeles area, makes it virtually certain that population in the ARA area will soon start to rise again.

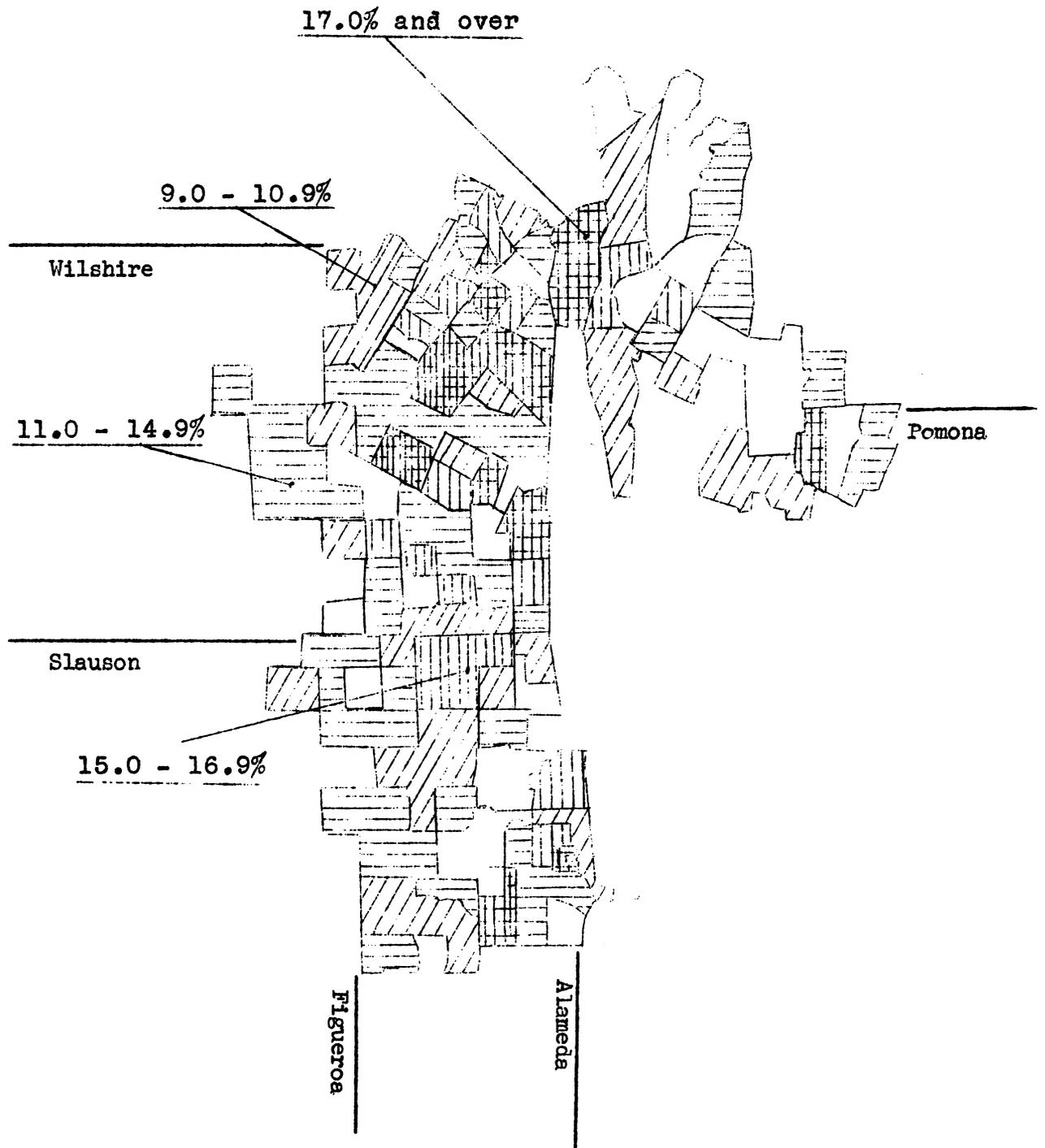
Of course, certain of the subareas within the study area continue to decline, notably the downtown areas, and the actual or immediately anticipated growth in other subareas is very modest compared to the phenomenal population explosion in other sections of Los Angeles County. In the post-1960 period, when the entire Central Los Angeles region (of which the ARA study area is but one part) rose in population by about 17,000, the San Fernando Valley jumped by over 110,000, and the much smaller Western Los Angeles area by about 26,000.<sup>8</sup>

In summary, the ARA study area is characterized by a diverse population in which the Negro and Mexican American percentage is rising rapidly and by an economy which has suffered the adverse impact of population and industrial

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., October 1, 1963.

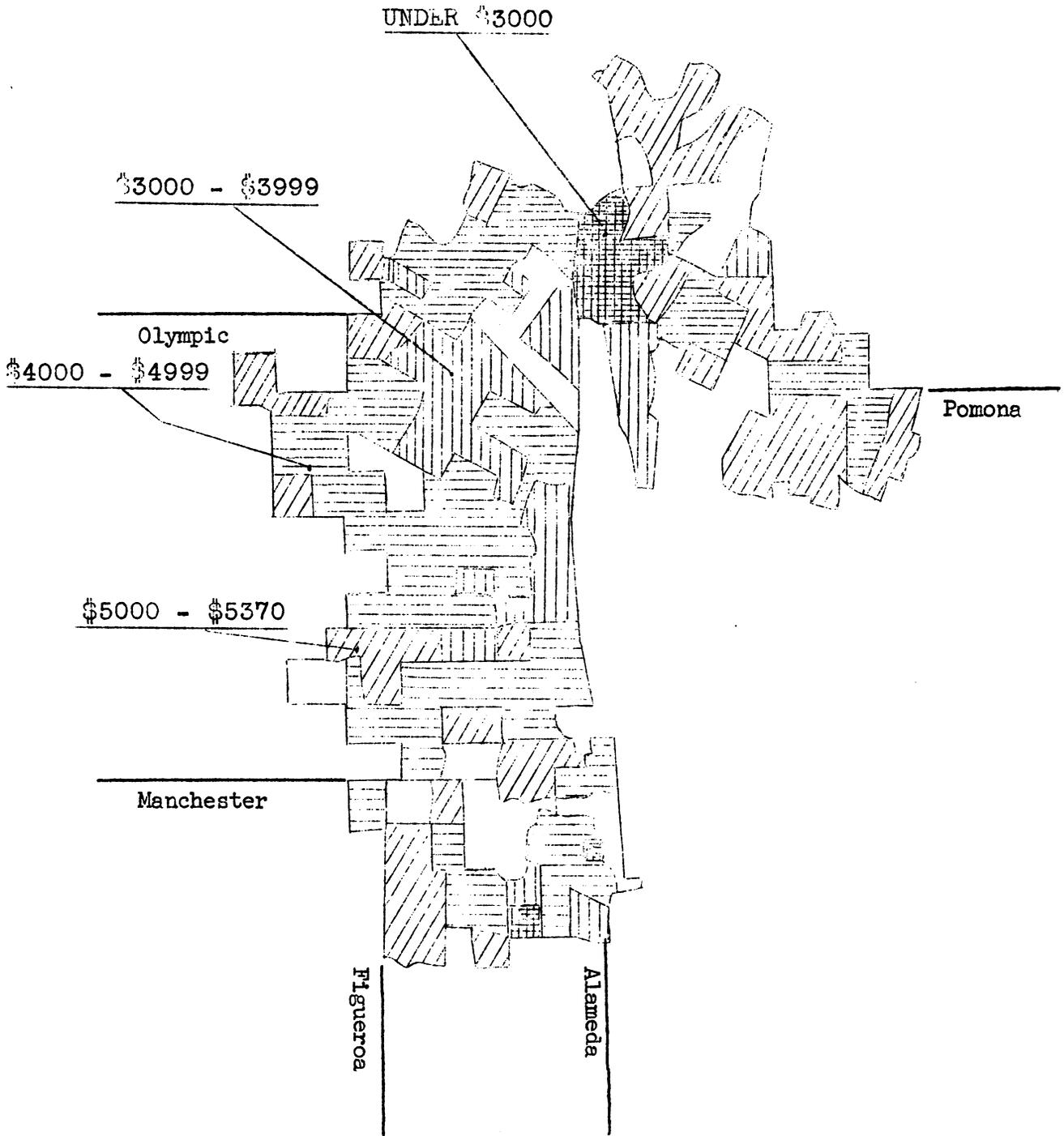
decentralization within the Los Angeles area and the denial or disappearance of job opportunities for many of its residents. No single approach, however, is sufficient to meet the variety of problems confronted by segments of the population. In some areas, notably in the Westlake, Wilshire, and Downtown-Wholesale Industry sections, the problems appear to be associated with personal characteristics of the unemployed or underemployed--age, physical or mental disability, alcoholism, and so forth. In the Mexican American areas of the north and east, inadequate education, language difficulties, and problems of cultural adjustment, plus discrimination, are sources of poverty and unemployment. In the predominantly Negro south central area, with a heavy immigration from the South, past and present discrimination in employment, education, and housing is the fundamental cause. It is clear that the problem of economic decline and area redevelopment must be attacked from several different directions.



**MALE UNEMPLOYMENT**

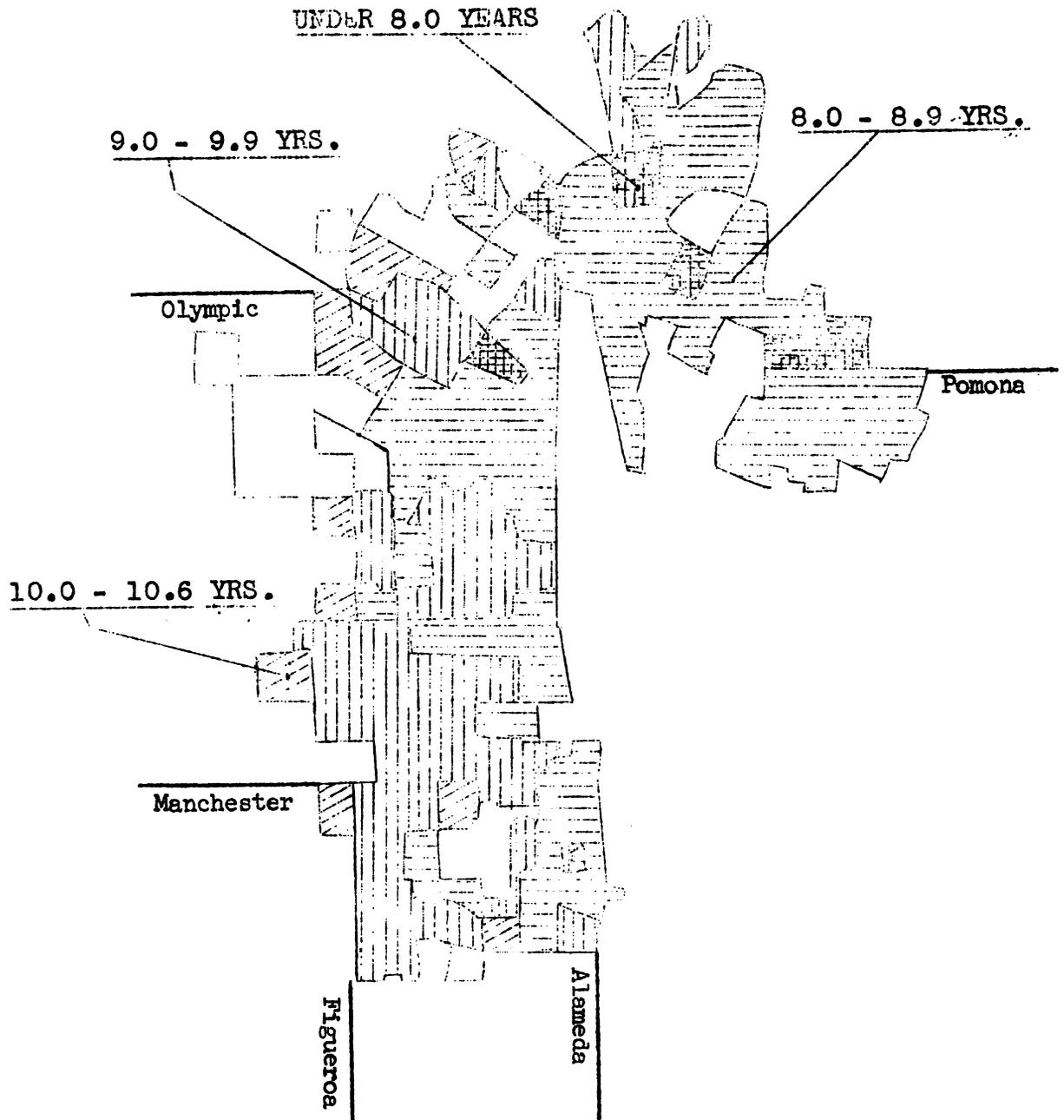
(as percent of civilian labor force 14 yrs. and older)

Map #2



FAMILY INCOME

Map #3



**EDUCATION**

(School years completed; persons 25 yrs. and older)

Map #4

## II

## AREA REDEVELOPMENT IN PERSPECTIVE

The obvious focus of the ARA study and program is upon unemployment, and there can be little doubt that unemployment is a major source of the present difficulties which characterize the area. But unemployment itself is a symptom of a more profound malady: the poverty, social and family disorganization, poor health, inadequate education, and excessive dependency which are the marks of any "depressed" area. Generations of frustration and disillusion can breed a despair which feeds upon itself, entrapping whole communities. A meaningful program must attack the roots, not merely the symptoms, of the problem.

Area redevelopment, in a broad and innovative sense, is a prime necessity. The multiplicity and complexity of the problems require a massive effort which is limited neither in scope nor in imagination, an effort which strikes boldly at the sources of unemployment. "Urban renewal," as it has developed in practice, provides no answer. By concentrating on large-scale commercial or higher-income residential projects, from which property developers and building contractors are the major immediate beneficiaries, it has only aggravated the problems of the displaced poor families. At best it "renews" a very few neighborhoods, without touching the deficiencies in the larger area.

In the following sections of this report, we will describe some of the major problems afflicting the ARA study area and offer some recommendations for action. The overall question which we confront and to which we seek a feasible answer is substantially this: What can be done, through either existing or new programs, to meet the problem of concentrated pockets of poverty within a

large and otherwise prosperous metropolitan area? Current programs which use a county-wide (or even a city-wide) unemployment rate as the basis for designating "redevelopment" areas fail to meet this problem, but there are obvious difficulties involved in delineating subareas.

A fundamental defect in the existing approach is that artificial or irrelevant designations of a "labor market" are used as a basis for policy. Most programs proceed from the premise that the "labor market" is coterminous with a county or metropolitan area, mainly because the unemployment estimates and other statistical data are gathered and published on this basis. Much of this information, however, does not presume to relate to a realistic and explicitly defined labor market, but, rather, to a geographic unit which is traditional, administratively convenient, and commonly accepted. The need to maintain continuity and consistency of statistics sometimes influences the choice of a statistical unit. Many agencies do not now have the staff or the resources to gather detailed and regular data on local areas within a county.<sup>1</sup>

The size and heterogeneity of Los Angeles County have compelled virtually every public and private agency of importance, particularly in the broad fields with which we are concerned in this report, to establish administrative subunits within the county. Both the Department of Employment and the Bureau of Public Assistance, for example, have divided the county into smaller areas each of which is served by a specified office. The city and county health departments have carved their respective jurisdictions into administrative subunits for which health statistics are published regularly. Some of these districts correspond with census tract areas, and others do not. The problem of accumulating current

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<sup>1</sup>See the attached report by Dr. Herman P. Miller for a description of a projected data-gathering process which may meet part of this need for data on subareas.

data on any given area within the county is rendered more difficult by the lack of consistency among agencies in defining their subareas and reporting statistics thereon.

The difficulties are compounded by the ten-year gap between censuses. The ARA study area is characterized by extreme mobility and fluidity, and statistics derived from a prior decennial census soon lose their relevance. Indeed, the entire metropolitan area changes with such rapidity that much of the census information is obsolete even before it can be published. In an age of advanced computer technology and new data-processing techniques, it is almost incredible that the ten-year lag is retained.

Assuming that these technical problems can be overcome and the necessary data made available, what then are the possibilities and problems of defining more realistic areas for purposes of redevelopment and policy planning? The answer to this question depends in turn upon a number of policy decisions involving political, economic, and administrative factors:

(1) Is unemployment rate per se a sufficient basis for identifying areas of greatest need? The remainder of this report demonstrates that a variety of problems afflict the study area, not all of which will be resolved through employment-generating or job retraining measures as presently conceived. Further, consideration must be given to upgrading the skills and raising the incomes of the employed, as well as the unemployed, in depressed areas.

(2) What weight should be given to contiguity and jurisdictional factors in determining boundary lines? If, for example, census tracts were to become the basis for designation, a problem arises when certain tracts meet the given criteria while contiguous ones do not. In a particular section of the community three-quarters of the tracts, perhaps scattered through the region, may qualify for assistance and the others may not. If these others are included, the basis

for drawing boundaries becomes indefinite and obscure. If, on the other hand, they are excluded, a question arises as to the viability of this bifurcated area. Any decision on boundaries will inevitably generate strong protests from businessmen, public officials, unions, and others in surrounding areas, who fear that their constituencies will be placed at a competitive disadvantage.

(3) In the light of these and other considerations, is it realistic to fix specific area boundaries for purposes of industrial and commercial development? In a county such as Los Angeles, a firm may locate outside the boundaries of a given area and yet recruit within that area. Would such a firm be eligible for low-interest loans and technical assistance though it is located outside the area? If not, will this then exclude potential sources of employment for residents of the area?

The dilemma posed is that the existing county-wide unit for designation is too broad, because it obscures the severity of poverty in several areas by lumping them together with more affluent sections, and the designation of areas smaller than the county is too restrictive and complex. As a possible answer to this dilemma, the authors of this report suggest for consideration a broadening of the formula for determining eligibility under area redevelopment and similar programs. Existing legislation sets up the following criteria for area designation: unemployment must average at least 6 percent during the qualifying period; and (a) 50 percent above the national average for three of the preceding four calendar years, or (b) 75 percent above the national average for two of the three preceding calendar years, or (c) 100 percent above the national average for one of the preceding two calendar years (Public Law 87-27, Section 5 (a)). However, judging from the phrasing of the Area Redevelopment Act, its legislative history, and the conference committee report, it appears clear that these criteria are intended for application only to urban industrial areas. Quite different standards are set

forth in Section 5(b) of the Act, designed to determine the eligibility of rural areas for designation as "redevelopment areas."

In the case of rural areas, the Secretary of Commerce is not restricted to consideration of the rate of unemployment as determined by the Secretary of Labor. He may designate an area as eligible if he determines it is among the highest in numbers and percentages of low-income families, and that there exists within it a condition of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment (underscoring has been added to emphasize that no per centum rates are defined). The Secretary is required to prescribe detailed standards on which designations under Section 5 (b) are made, but he may consider a variety of relevant factors in doing this, such as low incomes as related both to the area and the national levels, the extent of previous rural development projects in the area, the prospective employment opportunities, the availability of manpower, the extent of migration, and the proportion of the population receiving some form of public assistance. In making such designations, the Secretary is instructed to distribute projects widely among the several states. Finally, the law pointedly provides that he is to be guided, "but not conclusively governed," by the information and data gathered by other departments and agencies, whether public or private.

A comparison of these two approaches to area designation, one intended for urban and the other for rural areas, points up how unduly restrictive the administration of the Act is in the case of a highly disadvantaged urban area that is, in effect, encapsulated within the larger, more advantaged urban area that surrounds it. The existing formula thus is inadequate, when applied to urban areas, for two reasons: (1) it is limited to unemployment, which is but one indicator of poverty and need, and (2) the basis for determination is the unemployment rate for a county or metropolitan area, which is misleading because of the coexistence of highly depressed and highly affluent subareas within that larger area.

Rate of unemployment is an inadequate indicator of poverty and area deterioration for several reasons. In many areas, particularly urban regions where minority groups are concentrated, underemployment rather than unemployment is a more critical problem. Many workers are trapped in low-skill "dead end" jobs which pay them a net income little above the current rate of unemployment compensation or public assistance. Employment is casual and intermittent for large numbers of persons, and even at relatively high union wages the average annual income may not be sufficient to meet the basic needs of a family. Some are compelled to take jobs at a level far below their real capacity and potential. Unemployment, therefore, is not the sole or even the primary cause of poverty. Indeed, only one-sixteenth of the poor families are headed by an unemployed person.<sup>2</sup>

The Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training has recognized this in a recent bulletin, Family Breadwinners: Their Special Training Needs, which states in part that: "The full economic implications of unemployment for breadwinners have been masked in recent years by their relatively low overall unemployment rate. . . . The low unemployment rate for these workers obscures serious problems of underemployment and underutilization which occur when, in order to meet pressing family responsibilities, they are forced to take jobs at levels of skill which do not fully utilize their training and experience."<sup>3</sup>

The adequacy and significance of the unemployment criterion can be questioned also on the basis of observation of hard, demeaning poverty in many areas of the

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<sup>2</sup>Edmund K. Faltermayer, "Who Are the American Poor?", Fortune, LXIX (March 1964), pp. 118-9.

<sup>3</sup>Family Breadwinners: Their Special Training Needs, Manpower Research Bulletin Number 5, January 1964 (Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U.S. Department of Labor), p. 3.

South, a poverty that has persisted even when there has been no unemployment and labor has been in short supply. None of these areas would qualify for the various redevelopment programs, because of our myopic concentration on the unemployment index. In other words, areas most acutely in need of the kind of assistance available in some of these programs could be those with extremely low unemployment rates. It is unrealistic to assume that work on a job releases a person from the deprivation and disadvantages of his position in life. As early as 1938, when the National Emergency Council issued a 64-page Special Report on Economic Conditions of the South, unemployment was not emphasized as a major cause of poverty: no attention was devoted to unemployment in that report, the case for emergency programs being made on entirely different grounds relating to income, education, health, housing, credit, and so forth. The situation is essentially the same today.

As an alternative to the single unemployment criterion, we suggest the necessity and merit of applying more flexible and qualitative standards, such as contained in Section 5 (b), to the determination of area designations within urban complexes. The rigid quantitative standards Section 5 (a) applies to urban areas result in walling off a large part of the nation's unemployed from the public redevelopment program envisioned in the Act. Although the program is defined as one addressed to geographic areas, we believe that this is the case only because of the needs of the people within those areas. Hence, if the declaration of purpose set forth in the Act is to be realized, the program must define its areas in terms of the needs of people wherever they are, rather than evaluating the needs of people by measurements of whole areas that were previously and often artificially defined. Furthermore, there is every reason for arguing that the program must be directed to much more than the commercial and industrial development

within an area. In view of the fact that perhaps the biggest job-generating "industries" of the future will be those of education, health services, and recreation, more emphasis must be given to utilizing sections 7 and 8 of the Act, providing for loans and grants for public facilities.<sup>4</sup>

Any area meeting the criteria would be eligible to receive large-scale assistance in public programs which relate to problems of unemployment, health, housing, education and training, delinquency, and community facilities, all such programs to be focused upon subareas of greatest need without the delineation of fixed boundaries. In addition, firms located, or to be located, anywhere within the metropolitan area would be eligible for low-interest government loans (where local financing is unavailable) if a showing can be made in each instance that new jobs will be generated in which unemployed persons can be employed and that the firm has recruited or intends to recruit in areas of high unemployment. Similar evidences of recruitment policy might also be required as a precondition for award of government contracts, with additional enforcement staff authorized for federal agencies operating in the designated area.

The views expressed in this report appear to differ from those of Professor Sar A. Levitan in his recent book, Federal Aid to Depressed Areas. In evaluating the effectiveness of the ARA program, Professor Levitan has argued that the criteria for area designation have been too loosely applied, with the result that far too many areas have been designated and the limited resources of the agency

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<sup>4</sup>We recognize that there are legal questions as to the scope of the public-facilities actions of the Act, centering on whether the facilities to be financed must have a direct relationship to given commercial or industrial enterprises which are to be developed. The authors of this report are not competent to evaluate such legal issues, but merely advocate a broad interpretation and application of those sections as a matter of policy.

have been spread too thinly. In his words:

The federal area redevelopment program was conceived as a modest proposal to aid a few score depressed communities. As it went through the legislative mill, the resources allocated to help stagnating areas remained virtually unchanged, but more areas qualified for assistance. It is reported that when President Kennedy signed the bill he thought that assistance under the program should be limited to some two hundred areas. But Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges and others convinced the President that, in light of the legislative history of the Area Redevelopment Act, more areas than the President suggested must be designated. During the first two years, the ARA designated even more areas than Congress apparently expected. Under the circumstances, the meager resources of the agency are being spread ever more thinly. And still the clamor for designation continues....

...A realistic and effective depressed-area program must also recognize that not all depressed communities can be "saved." The solution for most of the unemployment in depressed areas whose resource base has been depleted may lie in equipping the unemployed with skills which would be marketable elsewhere. Many resource-based depressed communities are located in isolated areas where new economic activity can be introduced only at prohibitive costs. Other depressed areas, particularly rural ones, have never developed an adequate economic base, and the social capital invested in such areas is normally insignificant.

This overextension of ARA designation places a burden upon the potential accomplishment of the modest program to aid depressed areas. The test of the program's success will be the extent to which it will bring jobs to declining communities in order to prevent the waste of social capital in these areas and obviate the need of people to migrate in search of a job. It can hardly be claimed that social facilities in communities are wasted when the population is increasing.

...A depressed-area program can be effective only when the number of depressed areas is reduced to manageable proportions and only when areas with a potential for development at a reasonable economic cost are made eligible to participate in the program. In short, the program must recognize that some areas are more equal than others. If such a selection were to be made, it would then be desirable to consider additional programs to aid depressed areas. It would make little economic sense to strengthen the ARA's tools if the program remains so thinly spread.<sup>5</sup>

Professor Levitan does not deal directly or specifically with the problem considered in this section of the report: the desirability and feasibility of

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<sup>5</sup>Sar A. Levitan, *Federal Aid to Depressed Areas*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1964. pp. 79-80, 251, 253.

designating urban subareas of poverty in the midst of an otherwise prosperous metropolitan area. However, the clear implication of his reasoning is that any broadening of designation criteria would be a mistake, and that the Area Redevelopment Administration should concentrate instead on a reduction in the number of areas eligible for assistance.

Even if Professor Levitan's reasoning is accepted at face value, it is not clear that it necessarily precludes the designation of a number of urban areas in place of the large number of sparsely populated rural areas which have been made eligible. Our previous discussion of the Area Redevelopment Act and its administration makes it obvious that the criteria for designating urban areas are considerably more rigid and inflexible than the corresponding criteria for rural areas. Much of the excess in area designations, to which Professor Levitan refers, is unquestionably the result of the greater consideration given in the legislation to the needs and demands of the less populated counties, and the concomitant political pressure which rural legislators, business groups, and others inevitably exert. In short, the adoption of more flexible standards suggested in this report need not result in the designation of many more areas, but perhaps only in the designation of different types of areas with no increase (or possibly even a reduction) in number.

It is true, however, that the possible inclusion of urban subareas within the scope of the legislation will necessarily generate pressures from various sources for further designations.<sup>6</sup> No program of this nature could conceivably avoid such pressures, which are, after all, an inescapable fact of political life. The question is not whether such influences will operate and in many cases prevail, but, rather, whether the existing limitations of ARA legislation make it possible

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<sup>6</sup>The pressures, incidentally, are sometimes in the opposite direction. Some community groups and leaders deeply resent and oppose any designation of their area as a "depressed area."

to extend the program to urban "pockets of poverty" in a technically and economically effective way.

This latter point, of course, relates very directly to the objections raised by Professor Levitan to the designation of an excessive number of areas. He argues with much persuasiveness that the funds provided to ARA are insufficient to sustain programs in all the areas which have been and will be designated. However, the appropriations to the agency are not fixed for all time, and a record of solid achievement in urban as well as rural areas might well provide the justification for increases in its funding. Certainly the urban legislators would have greater incentive to support additional appropriations if the heavily populated districts they represent were eligible for possible designation.

Again we must push the argument one step further. Assuming that added appropriations were made, there is no certainty that a program initially designed for a relatively few areas of lesser population (as Professor Levitan asserts) is suitable for a densely populated area in the middle of a complex Megalopolis. This question particularly relates to the industrial development aspect of this legislation, which is based on a premise that low-interest government loans can generate new jobs through the creation of technically feasible and economically sound business enterprises.

It should first be noted that every proposal for a loan under this program must stand on its own merits. No loan is to be approved in a designated area unless there is a prior determination that the project to be financed is sound and that local financing is not available. Only a minority of designated areas actually receive ARA-approved loans; according to Levitan, as of May 1, 1963, "...about one of every eight designated areas was the beneficiary of an ARA-approved loan--forty-nine areas had a labor force of about 15,000 or more (5(a) areas) and seventy-nine were smaller areas (5(b))."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Levitan, op. cit., pp. 108-9.

The designation of an urban subarea, therefore, does not mean that loans for commercial and industrial development would automatically become available. Each loan proposal, whether in a rural or urban area, must meet the test of feasibility. If a sound and otherwise acceptable proposal is advanced in an urban region such as Los Angeles, there does not appear to be any valid reason for rejecting it simply because of the accident of location. On the other hand, area designation per se is not, and should never become, a reason for approving loans which fail to meet the established standards.

The most relevant question is whether the whole process of industrial and commercial development, financed in part by government, can significantly reduce unemployment among unskilled and semiskilled workers in the midst of a large and growing urban labor market. As yet, there is no adequate precedent on which to base even a tentative answer to this question. The preliminary results of research conducted by the Institute would suggest that a multifaceted approach, encompassing but not limited to business redevelopment, is required in an urban subregion such as the ARA study area.<sup>8</sup>

A flexible approach of this type would make possible a concentrated attack on poverty and unemployment in metropolitan areas which are now ineligible for a number of assistance programs because of failure to meet technical requirements. Programs of industrial and commercial development and retraining could be linked with new anti-poverty measures which strike at the sources of unemployment: community and housing deterioration, inadequate education, poor health, family disorganization, youth problems, and discrimination. The importance of these factors in a meaningful plan for "area redevelopment" is demonstrated in subsequent sections of this report.

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<sup>8</sup> Professor Levitan also suggests additional measures: "Two additional tools which might be added are preferential treatment in securing government contracts and the offering of rapid tax-amortization or other tax incentives to induce business to locate or expand in these areas. In addition, special consideration might be given to depressed areas under federal grants-in-aid programs." Ibid., p. 253.

## III

## POVERTY IN THE STUDY AREA: A GENERAL VIEW

In his 1964 Economic Report, the President has emphasized the magnitude and severity of poverty in this country: "Americans today enjoy the highest standard of living in the history of mankind. But for nearly a fifth of our fellow citizens, this is a hollow achievement. They often live without hope, below minimum standards of decency. The per capita money income of these 35 million men, women, and children was only \$590 in 1962 -- against \$1,900 per capita for the Nation as a whole. We cannot and need not wait for the gradual growth of the economy to lift this forgotten fifth of our Nation above the poverty line. We know what must be done, and this Nation of abundance can surely afford to do it."<sup>1</sup>

The extent of poverty in the study area is illustrated by a comparison of median family incomes in that area and in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area as it was defined in 1960. Median family income (in 1959) in the study area was \$4,613, compared with \$7,066 for the metropolitan area as a whole. Income was thus 53 percent higher in the whole metropolitan area than it was in the study area alone. Nonwhite families in the study area had an even lower median (\$4,378), though their family size is above average. As noted previously, about 41 percent of all families in the area had incomes below the "deprivation" level of \$4,000 a year (see Tables V and VI).

These figures, of course, understate the case, because the lower incomes within our study area are included in the metropolitan area totals. A few specific comparisons will dramatize the disparity even more clearly. Just six

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<sup>1</sup>Economic Report of the President, January, 1964, pp. 14-15.

tracts within the study area, with an aggregate population of 30,844, contained more families with below-\$3,000 incomes than did the entire 29 tracts in the populous Van Nuys area of Los Angeles, with a population of 112,118. About 28 percent of all families in the ARA area were in this "poverty" bracket, compared with about 11 percent of all families in the remainder of the metropolitan area.

Unemployment figures show the same basic trend. The male unemployment rate of 12.05 percent in 1960 was more than double the corresponding rate for the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area, and the female unemployment rate of 9.55 percent was about 50 percent higher. It is interesting to note that the unemployment rates for male nonwhites and Anglos were roughly the same, 12.6 and 12.3 percent respectively, while males with Spanish surnames recorded a lower rate of 10.6 percent. This reverses the usual pattern for Anglos and Mexican Americans, and undoubtedly reflects the extraordinarily high unemployment reported for Anglos in the Downtown and Wholesale Industry sections of Los Angeles.

Two factors must be considered in relation to unemployment rates, one of which tends to understate and the other to overstate the volume of unemployment. Since the unemployment rate is a percentage of the civilian labor force, it is influenced by variations in the number of persons who are identified as being available for work at any given time. The rate of labor force participation among males in the study area is 72.5 percent, much below the rate of 81.2 percent for the rest of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area. This reflects the relatively large numbers of elderly persons and of transients in the area and, to some extent, the lower-than-average labor force participation of nonwhite and Spanish surname males. Nonwhite and Spanish surname males each average about a 77 percent participation rate, somewhat lower than the metropolitan area average but above that of the study area. Some of the lowest participation rates are in the Downtown, area reflecting the factors of age and physical or mental disability. In

addition, several areas contain public institutions -- notably, jails and hospitals -- whose inmates would not be counted in the labor force.

Some persons unquestionably are included in the labor force when technically they should be excluded, and the converse is also true. Two questions arise in this regard: (1) Do many nonwhites, older people, and persons with minor physical handicaps leave the labor market because they become convinced that they are unemployable, and (2) do many persons with serious physical, mental, or emotional difficulties, which may tend to make them unemployable in fact, remain in the labor market? The findings of our study thus far do not permit quantitative estimates of the size of these two groups, but it is certain that they are of some significance and that their problems demand a very specialized approach. All the available evidence indicates that unemployment figures tend to be understated for these reasons.<sup>2</sup>

The problems of personal maladjustment and family disorganization, both sources of poverty, are not effectively met through economic development and retraining. Many of the "Skid Row" residents would not be employable under existing conditions and would require extensive rehabilitation before entering the labor market as regular workers. The female heads of households in the study area, who represent a measurable proportion of the total, obviously find it difficult to raise many small children while at the same time holding full-time jobs. Indeed, the problem of broken homes is an important source of poverty throughout this country: about 48 percent of all homes headed by women fall in

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<sup>2</sup>Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, in an address at UCLA on June 4, 1964, declared that present unemployment figures are inadequate because they fail to reflect the large numbers of persons who have no attachment to the labor force but are potentially employable. "I end up with this conclusion. . .that we are presently accumulating a scrap heap of humanity at the rate of between 250 thousand and 500 thousand a year--most of them youngsters."

the "poverty" bracket.<sup>3</sup> In the ARA study area, this problem is reflected in the high proportion of youngsters under 18 who do not live with both parents. About 30 percent of the young people live in homes from which at least one parent is missing, compared with a figure of 12 percent for the remainder of the whole metropolitan area. The proportion of nonwhite youngsters is about 37 percent.

The significance of this problem is also revealed in the relatively high proportions of persons who are separated, widowed, or divorced. Approximately 25 percent of all persons over 14 in the study area fall in one of these categories, in contrast with about 14 percent in the remainder of the area. Some of the past "desertion" rate, however, may have been attributable to welfare policies which conditioned family assistance on the absence of the male head of household. This defect in policy has been remedied as of February 1 of this year, at which time a new Aid to Families with Dependent Children program took effect. Under this program, families are entitled to public assistance in cases where destitution is caused by unemployment of head of household.

It goes without saying that the study area receives an extremely high proportion of public assistance payments under the various welfare programs of the federal, state, and county governments. Some of these programs are related directly to unemployment, while others are focused upon problems of health, family disorganization, and related factors. Here we shall consider the traditional Aid to Families with Dependent Children (formerly Aid to Needy Children), the new Aid to Families with Dependent Children-Unemployed, Old Age Security, and General Relief. Programs related to physical disability are discussed in the section of this report on "Health."

The Aid to Families with Dependent Children-Unemployed program is so new

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<sup>3</sup>Faltermayer, op. cit., p. 220.

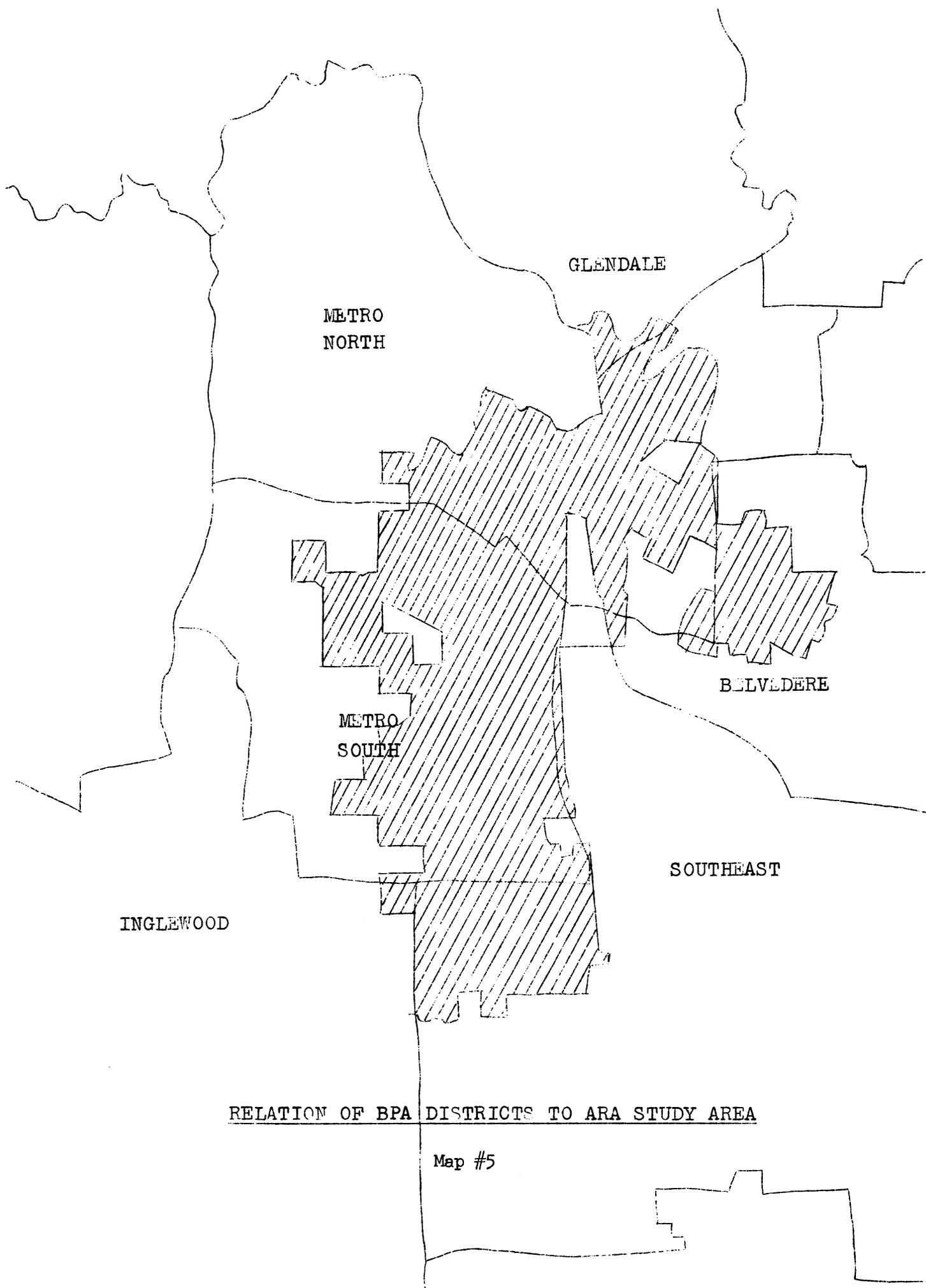
that little information is now available on its scope, but it is certain that this will be one of the major programs administered by the Bureau of Public Assistance. The Bureau has transferred many families from other programs to AFDC-U, and employable men have been assigned to work projects in connection with the program. Information available on the other, long-established programs makes it apparent that the study area residents account for a major proportion of welfare assistance recipients.

The BPA district lines do not correspond at all with the study area boundaries, and there is presently no way by which the payments to study area residents can be segregated from payments to those outside that area. However, significant parts of the study area are included within the "Metro North," "Metro South," "Belvedere," and "Southeast" districts of BPA, mainly the first two.<sup>4</sup> In , January, 1964, these four districts together accounted for almost 68 percent of all cases aided, and nearly 84 percent of total expenditures, under the AFDC program. The corresponding percentages under the General Relief program were 64 percent and 63 percent. In addition, about 45 percent of the approved Old Age Security case load was centered in the four districts.

In terms of dollars, almost \$4.7 million in Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and about \$675,000 in General Relief, were distributed in these four BPA districts in the month of January alone. Again, it must be noted that not all of these expenditures were made in the ARA study area, but it is reasonable to presume that an extremely high proportion of the total goes into that area. The magnitude of public assistance expenditures, plus the excessive rate of spending protective, punitive, or ameliorative measures related to poor health, crime and delinquency, housing deterioration, and social disorganization within the area, suggests that a meaningful long-run program of area redevelopment and rehabilitation may ultimately save tax dollars.

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<sup>4</sup>See accompanying map of BPA districts in relation to the ARA study area.



RELATION OF BPA DISTRICTS TO ARA STUDY AREA

Map #5

## IV

## SOME SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY AREA

" . . . But man is in question! So when will it be a question of man himself -- Will someone in the world raise his voice? . . . Make haste! make haste! testimony for man!"

-- St. John Perse

The President has raised his voice for man. In his 1964 Economic Report to Congress, the President called for a two-pronged attack on poverty: first, to enable every individual to build his earning power to full capacity and second to assure all citizens of decent living standards regardless of economic reverses or the vicissitudes of human life and health.

This section of the report is largely an audit of these two accounts within the study area. Reflecting the ledger forms suggested in the President's Economic Report, these data are grouped according to the objectives shown there.

### Health

The Economic Report repeatedly focused attention on the relationship of poor health to the problem of poverty in this country:

The poor, and the children of the poor, are handicapped by illness and disability that could be avoided. Largely as a result of ill health that grows out of poverty, we rank below many other countries in the conquest of infant and maternal mortality, in average life expectancy and nutrition!<sup>1</sup>

Later in this message to the Congress, President Johnson sharpened the focus to show how matters of health narrow the exits from poverty for the children of the poor. Specifically, he listed deficiencies of health as one of the factors

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<sup>1</sup> Economic Report, op. cit., p. 16.

depressing the earnings of Negroes and other nonwhites, adding: "Infant mortality is nearly twice as high, maternal mortality four times as high, for nonwhites."<sup>2</sup>

There exists no single measure of the general health of the people in an area. To make a judgment on this for the study area, several yardsticks have been applied. Some of them simply indicate how the people in the area fare in their contest with one disease, such as tuberculosis; others stand in final judgment of all else--the death rates, which are the final and binding arbiters of any disputes over the significance of the data that follow.

Most of the data currently published in the city and the county do not fit the exact dimensions of the study area. The area falls largely within the jurisdiction of the Los Angeles City Health Department, but portions, being outside the city limits, come under the jurisdiction of the Los Angeles County Health Department (the two departments have recently merged, but the statistical data available at this writing remain separated). Both agencies have had statistical divisions which report detailed analyses bearing on the question of health of people within all sections of their jurisdiction. Unfortunately for the present purposes, these reports are made on the basis of statistical areas matching those administrative boundaries, or health districts, utilized by the agencies. None of these conforms exactly with the boundaries of the study area.

For comparative purposes, the statistics of the City Health Department are preferable. The county figures would result in a comparison of the densely populated urban study area with one that also embraced areas of much lesser urban density. There are only 16 census tracts in the study area that lie outside the city. One hundred twenty-five of the area's tracts are within the city. Unless otherwise stated, the latter group of tracts will be used in making comparisons with the city figures. They contained 451,997 persons in 1960, or 18.48 percent

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<sup>2</sup>Loc. Cit.

of the city's population. They were visited with a considerably higher percentage of the city's diseases.

The Los Angeles City Health Department was asked to run its coded cards on the incidence of disease within the city and to provide a print-out of this by census tract. Through the helpful cooperation of that Department, a careful examination of the prevalence of disease in the area is available.

This area, with 17.0 percent of the population, had a higher percentage of the incidence of every major disease reported as occurring in 1960. It had 48.5 percent of the cases of amebiasis, an infection with amoebae, 42.2 percent of the food poisoning, 44.8 percent of pertussis (whooping cough), and 25.0 percent of coccidomycosis, a parasitic infection by fungi. In addition, 22.2 percent of the cases of encephalitis were found there, 39.2 percent of epilepsy, 25.2 percent of all hepatitis infections, 25.8 percent of measles, 26.1 percent of mumps, 42.8 percent of rheumatic fever, 22.8 percent of meningitis, 26.9 percent of streptococcal infections, and 28.4 percent of all forms of tuberculosis. It had 26.3 percent of all salmonella infections and 44.6 percent of kindred dysentery-producing shigella infections. It recorded 100 percent of the few cases of poliomyelitis, brucellosis, and diphtheria, and 50 percent of the cases of acute conjunctivitis and typhoid fever carrier. For the entire group of venereal diseases, the area showed 46.1 percent of the reported cases; it had 36.3 percent of the reports on meningitis viral or aseptic and 65.7 percent of reported tuberculin reactors and convertors.

All these percentage figures on particular diseases do not fully measure the debilitating effect they have on the area's population. When the total number of cases for each disease as reported to the City Health Department is added up, it is easier to see the scope of this problem. There were a total of

25,727 cases of disease reported in 1963, and 11,191 of these were known to have occurred within the tracts in the study area. Only 14,536 occurred in the balance of the city, or were indeterminate in origin.

Stated in a more meaningful manner, these figures indicate that almost two and a half percent (2.47 percent) of the people in the study area suffered from illness caused by one of the reported diseases in 1963, whereas in the balance of the city only two-thirds of one percent (0.66 percent) were so discommoded. Thus, to the extent that these diseases debilitate the health and energies of a people, those in the study area suffered such debilitation at a rate almost four times as high as the remainder of the city.

Unknown here is the extent to which the area's population might have suffered from the more common, though unreported, diseases such as pneumonia, arthritis, influenza, arteriosclerosis, vascular lesions, cirrhosis of the liver, malignant neoplasms, and the like. Many of these are major causes of death, and they are reported in the case of mortality figures, as will be shown, but their incidence among the population in the study is not discernible. Perhaps it is a reasonable assumption that a population that shows a high susceptibility to the reported diseases will also succumb more frequently to many of the other disabilities that can plague the human body. In any event, it is known that, with reference to morbidity reports analyzed here, almost  $2\frac{1}{2}$  percent of the population suffered from one of the reported diseases in 1963. This is not an insignificant factor in a situation where a percentage point gain in something like unemployment rates is a matter of public concern. Its possible bearing on matters such as unemployment should be self-evident.

An examination of this situation may induce objections that the importance of these figures on the incidence of disease is being overstressed, that they

cannot support the weight of the conclusions drawn. Two possible objections might be interposed. First, it might be argued that the figures are weighted heavily with a large number of so-called "social diseases," such as gonorrhoea and syphilis. It is not uncommon to dismiss the plight of a person or a people as of lesser concern when it is thought that their ailments stem from their own misconduct, but this is a judgment on their "sins" rather than the medical evidence of their disability. Syphilis is a deadly, wasting disease, whatever the circumstances of its contraction. Where it is present, it becomes a part of the problems of an area and must be dealt with as such.

Second, the figures might be subject to discount on other grounds, having to do with the imperfect nature of the means used by the Health Department to gather them. The Department must depend on the submission of reports by physicians and others, and it could be argued that these might not fully reflect the incidence of certain diseases, that, for instance, in some quarters of the city where people of more affluence are involved, no report on epi-syphilis might be made when a husband submits himself for private treatment and, hopefully, private handling of his case. This may be true. It may also be true that many persons without adequate means suffer their illnesses in silence, and thus these go unreported. It is not possible to evaluate these factors, nor can the City Health Department assess their effect on its statistics. This much can be said of the Department's figures: they are the best and the only ones available. Even so, the case need not rest with them. There is other evidence to consider.

Inasmuch as virtually all of these diseases are overwhelmingly contagious in their nature, it is clear that a disproportionate amount of the total public health efforts must be expended in this area. These efforts, and their costs, have implications for the entire Los Angeles area. The problem of the study area in this regard becomes a problem and a threat to the larger community

surrounding it. It is a contagion that cannot be contained, very probably encouraged by the environment and the standards of living available to the persons in the area. As such, it is a very proper part of any efforts toward further development or redevelopment of the area.

The most graphic demonstration of the interrelatedness of environment, income, and disease is seen in a study of the incidence of tuberculosis within the study area. This area, selected in part because of its lower income levels, displays a fantastic incidence rate of tuberculosis, the White Death which throughout history has been associated with poverty.<sup>3</sup> The Tuberculosis and Health Association of Los Angeles County has compiled data for the years 1959, 1960, and 1961 showing the reported incidence and mortality from tuberculosis in Los Angeles County by resident census tract.<sup>4</sup> This compilation has been used to compare all of the census tracts in the study area with the entire county.

There were 7,308 cases of reported incidence of tuberculosis in the county in the three-year period, 1959-61. The Association listed the population for the county in this period as 6,041,920. The census tracts in the study area were shown to have had 2,201 cases of reported incidence in this same period and are known to have had a population of 545,286 in 1960. Thus, the study area contained only 9.02 percent of the county's population. Yet, it accounted for 31.48 percent of the cases of tuberculosis reported in the three-year period.

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<sup>3</sup>J. S. Whitney, cited by Esmond Ray Long, M.D., Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1961, Vol. 22, p. 532.

<sup>4</sup>Duane O. Crummett and Margery St. John, Reported Tuberculosis Incidence and Mortality According to Resident Census Tract and Health District, L.A. County, 1959, 1961, Tuberculosis and Health Association of L.A. County.

The study area had a mean rate of incidence (number of cases--1959-61--per 100,000 population) of 134.4 whereas the county, with the study area excluded, showed a mean rate of only 30.9. The incidence rate for active tuberculosis was over four times as high in the study area as in the balance of the county. This figure is consistent with the incidence rate of the other diseases cited previously. The fact is important, for surely it cannot be alleged that tuberculosis stems from any "social misconduct" or is stigmatized in the public mind. More important for present purposes is the fact that in Los Angeles County over one-third of those persons who die from tuberculosis were not known to have had the disease prior to their death.<sup>5</sup> In an area where there are undoubtedly large numbers of families not committed to a program of regular medical check-ups and examinations, it is likely that the figures on incidence of tuberculosis in the area understate the case, that there are large numbers of persons in this area in whom the disease has not been detected and who will continue to spread the infection until relieved of it by death.

It has been suggested that any indecision about the significance of the health statistics can be quickly resolved by examining the finality of the death rate statistics in the area. Certainly the quality of life within the area is reflected in part by statistics on the general health of the people there, but longevity itself has long been taken as one meaningful measure of the advancement of the people. What do the figures show for the study area?

Reference is made to the vital statistics of the Los Angeles City Health Department, and, again, the comparison will be made between the study area's 125 city tracts and the balance of the city. The Department includes in its death rate computations those deaths caused by accident and suicide. Obviously these do not necessarily result from factors of ill health. It is

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

necessary, therefore, to consider the extent to which these might distort the data being compared.

The deaths in the entire city from accidents and suicides constitute 6.3 percent of the deaths from all causes, 4.4 percent for accidents and 1.9 percent for suicides.<sup>6</sup> Although the number of these cases originating in the study area is not known, it can be demonstrated that there is a proportionately lesser number than in the balance of the city. Almost all of the study area being used in this comparison is contained within the bounds of three of the city's health districts, the South, Southeast, and Southwest Health Districts. In these three districts the deaths from accidents and suicides constitute a smaller percentage of the total deaths there than in any of the city's other seven districts. The percentages of deaths from accidents and suicides combined in the three districts are 4.4, 5.0, and 5.1, respectively. None of the other seven districts is below 5.9 percent, and one reaches as high as 8.2 percent.<sup>7</sup>

Accordingly, no effort has been made to extract the number of accidents and suicides from the total death figures, since it is apparent that they could not cause any upward bias in the count of deaths attributable to factors of health. Accidents and suicides increase the number of deaths in the study area less than in the remainder of the city. It is most likely that they tend to produce downward bias on the figures for total deaths in the study area, thus, through their relative absence, tending to shrink the otherwise high death rate figures for the area.

The other principal causes of death in districts throughout the city are unquestionably related to health factors. These are: diseases of the heart,

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<sup>6</sup>Los Angeles City Health Department, Vital Statistics, Statistics and Analysis Division, Los Angeles City, 1961, Statistical Reports, Section 14, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-19.

malignant neoplasms, vascular lesions affecting central nervous system, certain diseases of early infancy, influenza and pneumonia, cirrhosis of the liver, general arteriosclerosis, diabetes mellitus, congenital malformations, and tuberculosis. The rate of their appearance as a factor where death results is in the order listed.<sup>8</sup> It is assumed that as a plain fact of experience an environment has an effect on the length of life of any organism. Involved here is not only the degree of resistance to these failures of health, but also the quantity and quality of health education and health services.

Taking the census tracts in the study area, the number of deaths in each will indicate a death rate of 13.2 per 1,000 persons, based on July 1961 population estimates. Although this figure represents a rate that is 41.9 percent higher than that in the balance of the city, it is not of great significance as it stands. Further analysis must be made to determine if the age distributions of the population within the area are the cause of the excessive figure.

Since data on the age distribution of the population in the study area are available from the 1960 census, it is possible to group the population into age units against which the mortality rates prevailing for such groupings in the entire city can then be applied. In this way, the number of deaths can be calculated that would have resulted had the same level of health existed in the study area as existed in the entire city. This calculation corrects for the effect a disproportionate number of very young and very old persons would have in raising the overall death rate for the area.

In 1961, 6,233 persons died within the study area's city tracts. Using the above described calculation, it is found that had this area enjoyed, in the same measure as did the whole city, whatever factors go to promote the general health and longevity of a people, only 5,094 should have died. A total of 1,139

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-25.

are presumed to have died because this was not so. Thus, with this adjustment for age distribution, it is indicated that the death rate for the study area lying within the city is 22.3 percent higher than that for the remainder of the city.

This disproportionate rate of deaths is reflected and confirmed by some of the more specific vital statistics kept by the Los Angeles City Health Department. Statistics for infant deaths, fetal deaths, and neo-natal deaths are computed on the basis of incidence of mortality per 1,000 births or conceptions and, hence, do not require adjustment for age distributions existing within the study area. A comparison of death rates shows that the deaths classed as infant deaths are 40.0 percent higher, fetal deaths 49.2 percent higher, and neo-natal deaths 36.6 percent higher in the city's study area than in the remainder of the city. These figures suggest that much of the tendency for an overall excessive death rate in the study area stems from deficiencies in pre-natal care, medical attention given at birth, and the generally prevailing conditions of infant care following birth.

With respect to live births within the city, it is known that less than 1.0 percent of those occur without an attendant physician in a hospital, but, significant because of the racial composition of the study area, the chance of a nonwhite child being included in this minimal figure is almost twice as great as that of a white child.<sup>9</sup>

The birth rate in the study area appears to present an interesting phenomenon. The vital statistics report of the Los Angeles City Health Department for 1961 records the rate of live births for the entire city that year

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<sup>9</sup>U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Public Health Service, National Vital Statistics Division, Vital Statistics of the U.S., 1961, Vol. 1, Sec. 3, Natality-Local Area Statistics.

as 21.9 per 1,000 population. This is based on a July, 1961 population estimate of the City Planning Department. The report recorded the number of live births and estimated population in each census tract, making it possible to compute the number of live births in those city census tracts within the study area. The rate for these tracts is found to be 29.2, or over one-third higher than that for the total city. Another significant reflection on this situation is found in the fact that in 1960 the birth rate for Negroes in the city of Los Angeles was 33.5, compared to a rate of 20.0 for the white population and 22.2 for all races combined. Thus, it is clear that the birth rate in the Negro population is over two-thirds higher than that in the white population. Although Negroes constitute only 13.5 percent of the city's population, over 20.0 percent of the babies born there are Negro.

While, as we have seen, there is no exact correspondence between the administrative areas served by the Bureau of Public Assistance throughout Los Angeles County and the ARA study area, figures on public assistance costs in the Metro North, Metro South, Southeast, and Belvedere districts, related to total figures for the county, will give some indication of the extent to which substandard health conditions in the central part of the county are reflected in high social costs. Of the various county assistance programs which we are able to analyze by district, the two most relevant to the current study of health problems are Medical Aid to the Aged and Aid to Totally Disabled. In January, 1964, the approved MAA case load for Los Angeles County was 9,048, to which the combined Metro North and South districts contributed 2,152 or 23.8 percent, and the combined Southeast and Belvedere districts 1,357 or 15.0 percent. In total, then, these four central districts included about 39 percent of the aggregate case load in the county. The statistics on the ATD program are even more startling: Metro North and South contained about 31 percent, and Southeast

and Belvedere 25 percent, of the total 14,764 cases. This central area, thus, had 56 percent of all ATD cases.

### Education

"Poverty and ignorance go hand in hand."<sup>10</sup>

-- President's Economic Report

The median education for the population over 25 in the study area has been shown to be 9.26 years of schooling completed (see Table IV). This is 2.84 years of schooling less than the 12.1 median years of school completed by those over 25 in the county and the city, which have the same median. On the basis of this statistic, lack of education would not seem to be a factor of decisive weight in affecting either the earning capacity of the population or its ability to secure employment. Can it be a cause of excessively high rates of unemployment?

In this instance, the core of the educational problem in the area lies largely hidden in the shadows of this statistical device, the median. The median as a measure of central tendency fails to illuminate the number of persons clustered at the bottom of the educational array. It fails to tell how many are completely unschooled in the rudiments of education, reading and writing, which more and more have become essential if one is to have access to and a claim on income in our society. The 9.26 median school years completed tells nothing of the number of functional illiterates in this community who are lacking in these rudimentary educational skills.

The Bureau of the Census defines a functional illiterate as a person who has completed less than five years of school. This number can be determined for the area from Census data (see Table VII). There are 341,334 persons over

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<sup>10</sup>Economic Report, op. cit., p. 15.

25 in the study area. Of this number, 14,477, or 4.24 percent, have had no schooling whatsoever; 32,180 persons, or 9.43 percent of the population, have completed only one to four grades of schooling. Thus, there are at least 46,657 persons, or 13.67 percent of the population, who are functional illiterates, having completed less than five years of school. Even these numbers are very likely to understate the scope of this educational deficiency. There is good reason to question the use of the highest grade completed as a reliable predictor of the educational achievement level. The Cook County Department of Public Aid (Chicago) conducted an extensive study to test the adequacy of this when it applied actual achievement tests to a group of welfare recipients.<sup>11</sup> It found a significant difference between the highest grade completed and the actual functioning level of the recipients, determining that there was no grade level at which the average achievement score equaled the highest grade completed. Although there was only a 6.6 percent proportion of its study group classed as functional illiterates on a grade-completed basis, this 6.6 percent jumped to 50.7 percent who, on the basis of tested achievement, actually functioned on a level of less than five years of school completed. This disparity was even more extreme in the case of persons who received their education in seven southern states.

Should these observations and conclusions from the Chicago study hold, even to a lesser degree, for the population in the Los Angeles study area, they would indicate that there is an educational deficit accumulated in this area that exceeds anything previously estimated. The accumulation may well be a continuing problem rather than one on the way toward solution. Of the people

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<sup>11</sup>Deton J. Brooks, Jr., The Blackboard Curtain: A Study to Determine the Literacy Level of Able-Bodied Persons Receiving Public Assistance, Science Research Associates, Inc., published by the Cook County Department of Public Aid, Chicago, 1962, p. 167.

over five in the study area who immigrated there from 1955 to 1960, 42.5 percent came from points in the South (see Table IV). Again on the basis of the Chicago study, it is apparent that through this area Los Angeles is inheriting from elsewhere in the United States very large numbers of persons who cannot function as literate persons in this industrialized city. Even the most far-reaching and comprehensive expansion of the local school program would not fully relieve the community of the problems inherent in this situation, for it is clear that the study area serves as a "staging area" for those of very limited resources who leave other points in the United States and seek to establish themselves in the larger and, hopefully, more promising economic community represented by greater Los Angeles.

The education of study area residents is deficient for two basic reasons: (1) A large proportion of the immigrants come from regions in which both the quantity and quality of the schooling offered them are inferior, and (2) even those who attend school in the Los Angeles area drop out at a rate significantly above the rate for the community as a whole. An analysis of high school records in three schools located within or close to the study area, undertaken by the Institute staff in 1962, shows that about two-thirds of all pupils not born in California were born in the following southern or border states, ranked in order of frequency: Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Missouri, and Florida. These results are confirmed by the findings of a survey conducted by Institute staff at a meeting of unemployed persons on May 7, 1964, in which 67.4 percent of 347 respondents reported their birthplace as being in those states. Perhaps more significantly, exactly 60 percent of 329 respondents reported that they had moved directly from one of these states to California.

The quality of education in these states, therefore, has a considerable impact upon conditions in California and particularly within our study area. We can judge the educational standards of such states by reference to the research report of the National Education Association -- Rankings of the States. 1963 -- in which the various states are ranked in accordance with several criteria of quality. Taking three indices of educational quality -- average salaries of classroom teachers in public schools (1962-63), per-capita expenditures of state and local governments for all public education (1961), and number of pupils per classroom teacher in public elementary and secondary schools (Fall, 1961) -- we find that four of the above-listed states (Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, and Tennessee) are ranked among the worst ten states in the Union in every one of these categories. All of the listed states rank 25th or below for every category. It should be noted that these rankings relate to all schools within each state, and that the nonwhite or Mexican American schools are traditionally inferior to other schools. (See tables VIII, IX, and X.)

The relative dropout rates in the Los Angeles area can be determined by identifying those senior high schools which serve significant portions of the study area and comparing their rates of dropout and transiency with those for all other 3-year schools in the Los Angeles system. Attendance zone maps indicate that the following senior high schools have large numbers of pupils who reside within our area: Jefferson, Jordan, Fremont, Manual Arts, Roosevelt, Garfield, and Belmont. In addition, a combination junior and senior high school -- Lincoln -- serves the northernmost part of the ARA area. Most recent figures, for the school year 1962-63, are published in Research Report No. 258 of the Los Angeles City Schools, January 1964. Rates for the "special" schools for delinquent or poorly adjusted children, most of which are located within the study area, are not included in the following tabulations.

A dropout is defined as "any pupil who leaves high school before graduation and is not known to have enrolled in any other school." The dropout rate is computed as the percentage of total dropouts during the given school year to the mean of the enrollment of the second school month of each semester. On this basis, the dropout rate for the three-year schools in the study area averaged 17.7 percent, compared with an average of 7.5 percent for all other comparable schools in the system. The disparity can be dramatized by noting that the combined number of dropouts for just two schools in our area (Fremont and Roosevelt) exceeds the combined totals for all ten schools at the bottom of the list. The aggregate of 2,897 dropouts in the seven schools listed above exceeds the total for 21 schools out of the 40 operating in the 1962-63 term.

The severity of this problem is further illustrated by the excessive transiency rates in the listed schools. When figures for pupils transferring to or entering from other schools during the school year are added to the dropout totals, the result is a percentage of mean enrollment which reflects the total movement into and out of the various schools. Again the seven schools average far in excess of the corresponding percentages for all other Los Angeles three-year schools: their average transiency rate is 73.7 percent, compared with 45.5 percent for the other schools. In one school (Fremont), over 1000 pupils were transferred out during the 1962-63 school year, many of them on "social adjustment" transfers initiated by school officials and unrelated to residence.

While it is true that some of these dropouts will ultimately earn their diplomas in continuation or adult school, there is no reason to believe that this represents a significant proportion of the dropouts in our area. Indeed, it seems likely that the proportion would be much higher in the more affluent areas of the city, because financial and motivational barriers to resumption

of schooling would be weaker in such areas. To this extent, the gap between the areas is probably even wider than the foregoing figures indicate.

It is also true that a certain amount of "double counting" is involved in the figures on transfers and entrants, since the same pupil will be counted once when he transfers from one school and once when he enters a second school. Our previous studies have shown that some pupils are transferred several times during a year, moving from one school to another until a high proportion of them finally drop out. None of this, however, mitigates that fact that the transiency rate in the listed schools is markedly above the corresponding and comparably defined rate for other schools. Furthermore, the higher incidence of multiple transfers in our area is itself a reflection of serious maladjustments in the educational process to which Negro and Mexican American youngsters are exposed.

The dropout figures are especially significant in the light of recent Census Bureau-BLS findings that the unemployment rate for dropouts is much higher than the corresponding rate for high school graduates. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that in October 1963, within the 14-24 age brackets, the unemployment rate for dropouts was 15 percent and for graduates 9 percent. Unemployment is extremely serious in the group 16 to 21 years of age and most critical among nonwhites. The unemployment rate for nonwhites in this age group was 25 percent in October, double the rate for white youngsters.<sup>12</sup>

Any analysis of education problems and their relation to unemployment in the study area must inevitably conclude that a solution requires a massive national effort, since the heavy immigration from the South means in effect that the Los Angeles area is importing many of the problems resulting from continuing Southern failure to provide adequate and nondiscriminatory educational

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<sup>12</sup> Employment of School Age Youth, October, 1963, Advance Summary, Special Labor Force Report, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, April, 1964.

opportunities. This failure sets in motion a series of vicious circles, in which dropping out of school becomes an accepted pattern from one generation to the next.

Federal aid to school districts which have long records of discrimination and low educational standards is not likely to be effective in meeting the basic problem. The problem is of such critical nature that school boards and administrators subject to local political control and committed to unequal education are unlikely to move rapidly enough, if indeed they move at all, in the direction of an adequate program. Clearly the continuing denial of educational opportunity in the Deep South, in defiance of national policy and with disastrous effects upon the economy of every state, cannot longer be tolerated.

No more meaningful demonstration could be made of the fact that education is not a local problem, in the sense that each locality determines for itself what its educational needs are to be and what proportion of its resources is to be allocated to meet that need. With the mobility of Americans that is readily observed, no state, and certainly no county or locality, is any longer addressing itself solely to its own educational needs; it is also determining in part the level of achievement of the growing populations in Chicago, Los Angeles, and elsewhere. The problems created in this study area by the educational deficiencies of other areas, and also of the Los Angeles area itself, are unlikely to be resolved by the Balkanized patchwork of our present national approach to educational needs. The necessity for further federal assistance and encouragement in meeting these known needs is clear.

We believe that the educational deficit in the study area is both a problem and a promise. It may hold a promise of one significant way in which a more meaningful approach can be taken toward the development and redevelopment potential of an area. Development of an area cannot be conceived in the absence of the further development and training of the people in the area to their highest potential. Job retraining that may succeed in imparting skills for employment, but leaves the

trainee still unequipped to read the language of his country or to communicate through the written word, may also leave him unable to acquire the knowledge necessary to his assuming the role that our society seeks to give and must give, under present institutions, to every citizen.

There is every reason to explore the feasibility of some form of comprehensive remedial educational program for those over 25 and an overall improvement of educational facilities for those under 25. This consideration must not stop with the conception of a program relying solely on the inducements to the student of the present educational systems. These inducements may be inadequate. If education of a people is to be considered as a social gain and as something which adds to our national substance, rather than subtracts from it, there is reason to consider ways and means by which income can be provided to those who seek to acquire it. A society that has developed no abiding qualms about paying one person to stop growing cotton may find it possible to pay another to learn algebra. It is a suggestion worth exploring in an area troubled by the presence of large numbers of persons unused and, from appearances, unwanted by the larger society about them.

### Housing

"The fight. . .requires constructive action by all governments and citizens to make sure--in practice as well as in principle -- that all Americans have equal opportunities for education, for good health, for jobs, and for decent housing."<sup>13</sup>

--President's Economic Report

If it can be said that home ownership represents a desirable factor in a community, one which promotes stronger family relationships and community stability, there is a need for measures, beyond those presently existing, to

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<sup>13</sup>Op. cit., p. 16

encourage this ownership. The degree of home ownership in the long-established residential neighborhoods within the study area is less than one half that for the remainder of the city and that for the remainder of the county (Table XII).

Over half the homes in Los Angeles County are owner occupied. In the study area only 23.1 percent of the 213,718 homes are found to be so; for nonwhite families, this percentage drops to 10.7 percent. Whereas 42.6 percent of the homes in the county are renter occupied, 68.1 percent of those in the study area are so occupied. Of all the rental property occupied by nonwhite families in the city, 61.7 percent of this is found in the study area. Thus, the area appears to be characterized by a high degree of absentee ownership. These owners are apparently not disposed to part with their property. Although the rate of available and vacant homes at the time of the last Census was higher than that for the county, 6.9 percent and 4.5 percent respectively, their owners were not listing them for sale. Only 3.3 percent of the 14,865 available and vacant homes in the area were listed for sale, compared to 16.9 percent for the county. Restated, this means that a mere 0.24 percent of all the homes in the area were listed for sale at the time of the Census; 74.8 percent of the homes in the area were either rented or listed as available for renting.

There is evidence that all the absentee owners of housing within the study area are not motivated solely by the desire to realize rental income on their holdings. Some other factor of economic persuasion appears to be influencing their desires. At the time of the Census, 22.8 percent of the area's housing was shown to be either deteriorating or dilapidated. This, of course, can be regarded as a consequence of the age of the housing units, but it is also suggestive of a tendency on the part of owners to avoid new expenditures on property from which they are satisfied to receive some income while waiting for gains

which, hopefully, can be realized at a later date from general appreciation of land values. Whatever the case, one of the most immediate and likely prospects for expending redevelopment efforts is found in the housing in the area.

Over half of all the dilapidated housing and deteriorating housing within the city of Los Angeles is found within the 125 census tracts of the study area that lie within the city boundaries. This represents in excess of 48,000 homes that are in need of considerable maintenance, major repair, or removal. Truly, this is a sizable target for any program in search of projects designed to employ unemployed persons.

One purpose of this study is to explore various ways in which such a program could be developed. The development of any such program requires making some value judgments at the outset. Quite obviously, it is possible to plead the usual case that is made for any urban renewal project, when the goal is to remove substandard housing and replace it with new, modern housing. The authors of this study take a dim view of this approach. Starting, as we do, with the view that any redevelopment, renewal, or restoration program should be undertaken with the people of the area foremost in mind, rather than the physical properties, there is a strong predilection the war on poverty is not to be won by keeping its victims on the run and giving them no place to live.

There is poverty in the study area, and it must be dealt with there. Much of the housing is cheap and second-rate, but there are people who can afford only this kind of housing. The area has been called a "staging area" for persons entering the urban complex searching for something better, but perhaps every city requires such an area, and perhaps keeping it for that purpose offers an opportunity to provide more effectively for the education, retraining, and reorientation that many urban newcomers so obviously need.

These are considerations which require further attention in this study. There are alternatives to customary urban renewal projects that start with a bulldozer. Consideration can be given to starting with a paint brush and hammer and nails. But this approach would require creation of new sets of incentives, not now available to property owners and renters.

One such approach, which may be mentioned if for no other reason than that it has not been previously proposed or investigated, is to effect a revision of the tax laws on real property in areas that are designated as restoration areas. The real estate taxes in California are in two parts, part on the land and part on the improvements on the land. Our focus here is on an area where the value of land is increasing while the value of the improvements on the land is literally being eroded by time, weather, and hard usage. Taxing jurisdictions have a stake in this situation, for as the value of improvements on the land is diminished, the revenue from existing taxes is correspondingly diminished. It is to their interest that values be maintained or increased. Hence, it can be proposed that they yield something to help accomplish this end.

A specific area in which taxing authorities could yield, for their own eventual gain, is in the area of taxes on improvements. This could be done in the form of a tax forgiveness, or a carrying forward of the tax due in a particular year, in exchange for actual physical improvements to residential property. For instance, if a landlord or property owner in an area that has been declared a restoration area agrees to upgrade his property (a new roof, a paint job, new plumbing, new wiring, etc.) in the amount of \$1,000, the taxing authority might exempt him from paying half that amount by voiding that part of the taxes levied on improvements on the land for sufficient years to equal the amount of exemption. This would give the owner the opportunity to make improvements at half cost and

would help to maintain the value of the tax base itself. Of course, it would be necessary to have advance certification of the need for the improvements by some authority, such as the city's building inspector or similar agency. Also, there would be need for firm understandings and limitations on the conditions under which rents could be raised as a consequence of the property improvements. What is initially lost to the city or county in the form of tax revenues can well be made up in maintenance of present assessments on these improvements, or by lessening the growing liabilities and social costs which have been so directly linked to inferior housing.

In accordance with the need to propose comprehensive approaches to the main social and economic ills that beset the area, and to fulfill the purposes for which the present study was designed, it is this type of new approach to ancient problems that must be explored to the fullest extent possible. There are others to consider, among which the problem of mortgage foreclosures is prominent.

A recent Housing and Home Finance Agency study sheds fresh light on some of the obstacles that hinder realization of our national housing policy objective of a decent home in a decent neighborhood for every American family.<sup>14</sup> The ability of families to have and to hold their homes was searchingly examined in this study. Mortgage foreclosures under FHA, VA, and conventional loans were studied. Both the borrowers and the lending institutions were questioned on the reasons surrounding foreclosures that occurred in Chicago, Dallas, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles. The portion of the study devoted to Los Angeles seems to have particular pertinence to the present study project.

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<sup>14</sup> Morton J. Schussheim, Assistant Administrator, HHFA, Mortgage Foreclosures in Six Metropolitan Areas, Office of Program Policy, Housing and Home Finance Agency, June 1963, p. 191

The HHFA study clearly showed a positive relationship in all six cities between the unemployment rate and the rate of increases in the annual number of nonfarm real estate foreclosures. The unexpected curtailment of income was found to be the leading primary reason for foreclosures given by borrowers under each type of loan, FHA, VA, and conventional. This curtailment of income was caused in most cases by layoffs or a cut in the work week or the wages of the borrower. Between one-half and two-thirds of the FHA and VA loan borrowers, and one-quarter to one-half of the conventional loan borrowers, in each of the cities were in the manual occupations of laborers, operatives, and craftsmen, occupations frequently beset by high unemployment rates.<sup>15</sup>

In Los Angeles 60.0 percent of borrowers with foreclosed FHA mortgages cited curtailment of income as a reason for their loss of home. For VA and conventional mortgages this figure stood at 59.6 percent and 58.2 percent respectively. The persons questioned in the interviews in the HHFA study were permitted to state more than one reason for their financial distress, and, quite significantly, 55.0 percent of the FHA borrowers cited illness or injury and the consequent medical or dental expenses as a reason for the foreclosure of their home mortgage. This same reason was given by 46.2 percent of those who had had VA mortgages and 34.5 percent of those with conventional mortgages.<sup>16</sup> This fact further suggests the need for establishing additional means by which the costs of medical care can be met without destructive effects on other things of value within the community.

Another aspect of the HHFA study, which reflects on a problem within the study area, is the finding that the color of the occupant was related to the

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3, 12-13.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 23-27.

down payment as a percentage of the purchase price of the houses foreclosed in the six cities.<sup>17</sup> In the purchase of homes financed both with FHA-insured and with VA-guaranteed loans that went to foreclosure, there was found a tendency for nonwhites to have had a relatively higher down payment than whites. This could be a reflection of higher down payments being demanded to help offset generally lower income, or it could mean that there was less availability of low down payment home-purchase financing for nonwhites than for whites at the time the foreclosed homes were acquired.

It is clear that most of the foreclosures in the Los Angeles area during the period of the HHFA study, April 1961 - March 1962, were due to a combination of economic factors, such as occupation, unemployment, and loss of income, and other factors such as death, illness, and marital difficulties.<sup>18</sup>

Consideration should be given to the feasibility of revising present housing programs to the end that an orderly means of forbearance of home mortgage payments can be instituted in those cases where the income of a worker has been disrupted. It is conceivable that such programs could be devised within the framework of present public policies on these matters. The federal government is already deeply involved in the programs of FHA-insured and VA-guaranteed home financing, and has assumed certain obligations and liabilities under them. In the case of conventionally financed home purchases, it has various obligations with respect to the operations of federally-chartered banks and savings and loan associations. It would seem proper to consider, and the American people might very well support, a program which would help to define and delimit the liabilities and the responsibilities that the federal government has assumed

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

in this regard. In other words, a procedure for forbearance of monthly mortgage payments during periods of lost or severely reduced income on the part of the borrower could have the salutary effect of reducing home mortgage foreclosures, and the resulting social problems often associated with them. At the same time it would erect an additional buttress against possible future governmental liabilities should the displacement rate of workers accelerate hereafter.

A program of deferred mortgage payments could be accomplished by having the deferred amounts added to the end of the schedule of payments with a corresponding extension, or "ballooning," of the time and terms of the mortgage with appropriate extended or additional governmental guarantees or insurance to the mortgagee. There are costs attached to any such program, but there are also savings to be realized from the multiple social costs that are avoided. Much of this study is devoted to assessing the social costs of past failures to provide for similar exigencies in our growing urban society. Under this proposal, several needs can be more easily met: a meaningful form of unemployment compensation supplement for family needs, which cannot be diverted to other purposes, a possible reduction in the down payments required of low-income persons, an added stability to home-finance institutions, a reduction of family movements under the most unfavorable circumstances, and a further inducement to home ownership and community stability. Indeed, there is already provision in the law governing FHA-insured homes whereby the Federal Housing Administration Commissioner may now give relief to hard-pressed mortgagors in the form of mortgage reassignment or forbearance of payments, where he feels that the default is beyond the control of the mortgagor and that the mortgage will be restored to good standing within a reasonable period. In an area of high unemployment there is need for a public policy based on the premise that a situation will be restored in which a person can

acquire income and meet the obligations of home ownership. A single individual residing in an area of unemployment can scarcely reassure the FHA Commissioner on this, especially when he is surrounded by evidences of failure of others who are similarly situated.

### Dependency and Delinquency

The President's Economic Report spotlighted the dismal and vicious cycle of poverty found in many areas:

"The cycle of poverty: inadequate schools, drop-outs, poor health, unemployment--creating delinquency, slums, crime, disease, and broken families--thereby breeding more poverty."<sup>19</sup>

One aspect of this cycle came under intensive study in Los Angeles County, and a preliminary report, Delinquency-Dependency Patterns and Related Socio-Economic Characteristics of Population 1960-1961, has been published by the Los Angeles County Department of Community Services. The following references to delinquency-dependency patterns are drawn from that report.

The report establishes a process by which delinquency and dependency data can be related to selected socio-economic characteristics. Both delinquency and dependency are defined on the basis of petitions filed under the Juvenile Court Law, Sections 600, 601, and 602. These represent requests for petitions to the court in behalf of individual children and youth (up to 17 years) which, respectively, allege dependency situations (parental neglect, unfit home, destitution, etc.), pre-delinquency (truancy, incorrigibility, etc.), or delinquent behavior (car theft, narcotics, theft, rape, etc.). The petitions are filed with the Los Angeles County Probation Department and the data for the study were taken from the Department's IBM intake cards and field book sheets relating these factors to the resident address of the youth. They show some correlations

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<sup>19</sup>Op. cit., p. 16.

between dependency-delinquency and social and economic characteristics that are pertinent to the present study.

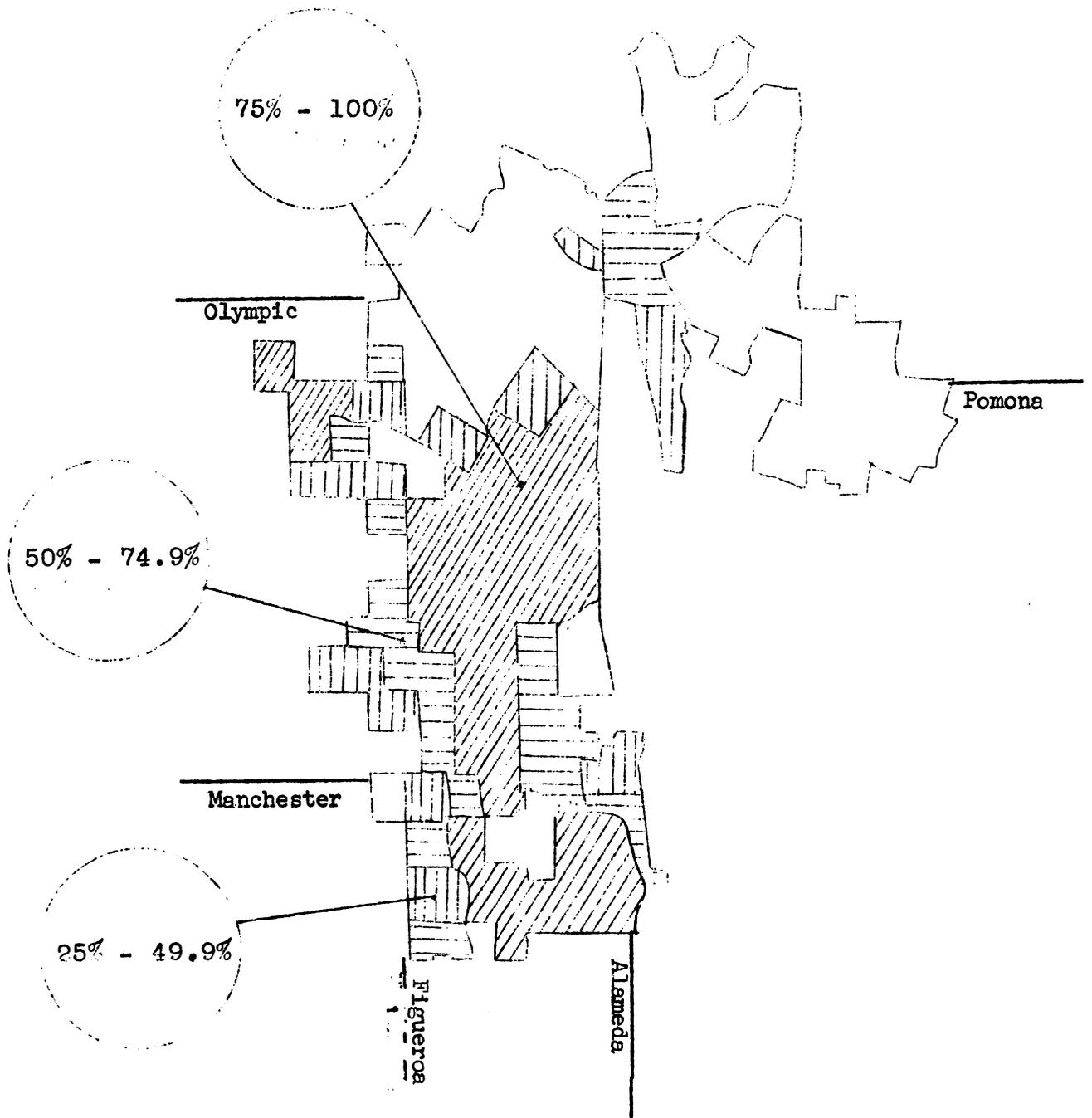
All areas of the county were included in the study, and in 96 percent of the geographic areas having a high degree of dependency or delinquency, there was present a serious degree of one or more social problems. Thus, coefficients of correlation establish that in Los Angeles County the factors most substantially linked with the dependency or delinquency of a youth are, in order, low income, low education, marital disintegration, undeveloped skills, and crowded housing in the area from which the youth comes. This is not to assert that all of these have a causal connection, but it is clear that none exists in isolation. The report does assert that the variables appear related not only in pattern but in magnitude and degree as well, adding that "it appears that when a particular variable in the social situation is 'unhealthy,' the general social situation will tend to be 'unhealthy.'"

Can the study area under consideration be identified in this context as including the "unhealthy" areas mentioned in the Department's report? The Department was asked, and agreed, to provide a breakdown by census tract of all the 600, 601, and 602 petitions examined in its study. This information was used to discover what portion of the overall dependency-delinquency problem in the county had its origin in the study area.

Tables XIII and XIV present figures on youth delinquency and dependency in the study area and in the county as a whole. The study area is seen to have had 171,905 of the county's youth population up to 17 years of age in 1962, or 7.95 percent. It had 57,863 of the county's youth from 10 to 17 years of age, or 7.13 percent. Although the area thus contained only a minor fraction of these two populations within the county, it accounted for a considerably higher proportion of the cases of delinquent and dependent youth. In 1962 the area was the locus

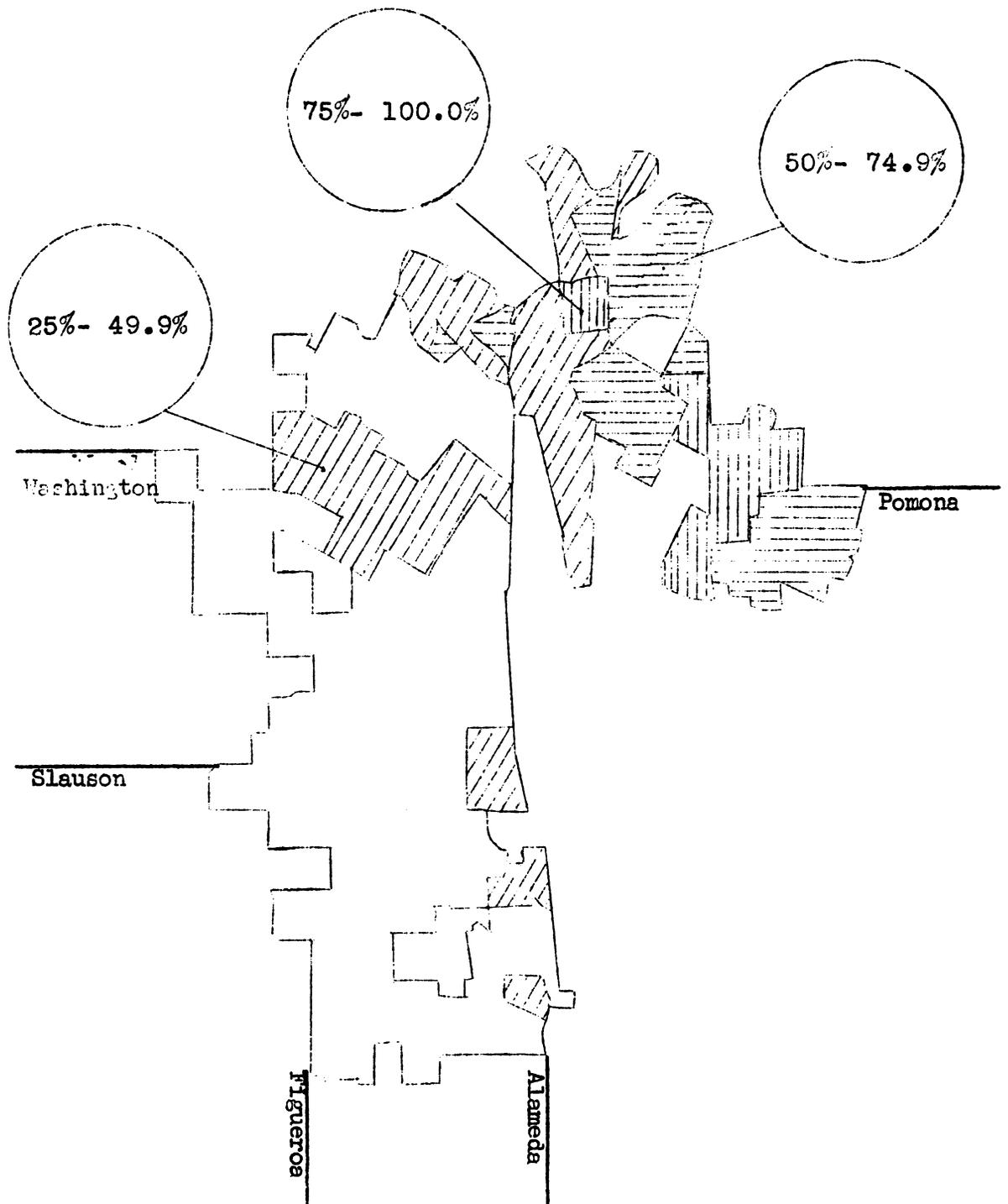
of 20.48 percent of the Section 600 petitions in the entire county alleging the dependency and neglect of children from birth to age 17; it gave rise to 16.02 percent of the Section 601 petitions alleging pre-delinquency incorrigibility of youth from 10 to 17 years of age; its youth accounted for 20.34 percent of the county's total Section 602 petitions claiming actual delinquent behavior following police arrest. In other words, in all of these categories the study area accounted for two to three times the rate of dependency situations and delinquent behavior for the whole county.

We believe that these dependency-delinquency petitions are a more acceptable and meaningful measure of anti-social situations and acts than would be the actual police arrest records. An arrest of a youth may or may not result in a petition to the court alleging delinquent behavior, and the petitions may be freer from charges of discrimination on the part of law enforcement officers against members of one or another racial or ethnic grouping. At any rate, there is no agency in Los Angeles County which tabulates all of the police arrest records for the entire county. The records of the County Department of Community Services contain only about two-thirds of the arrests made in the various police jurisdictions within the county. Use of those records would not make possible a county-wide comparison. Use of those records would not ~~make~~ possible a county-wide comparison.



NEGROES AS A PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION

Map #6



MEXICAN - AMERICANS  
AS A PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION

Map #7

## V

"DEPRESSED AREAS": ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES AND  
PROGRAMS

The problem of the urban "depressed area," often nestled in the center of an otherwise prosperous community, has not been effectively met by any of the existing governmental programs. Unrealistic technical requirements, discussed earlier in this report, are responsible for much of this failure to alleviate hard-core poverty in the central city. Other factors, however, have been perhaps even more decisive. The residents of the most disadvantaged areas are difficult to reach through the traditional channels of communication and leadership. Few possess a sophisticated knowledge of the workings of government, and many come from regions where "government" is an enemy. Mobility is high, with the result that there is little identification with a particular community. Rigid segregation in housing, and consequently in education, removes the minority-group community from contact with the ethnic majority and the dominant power structure.

Major problems also emerge from the inability of many "Anglos," particularly those who are college-educated, to establish rapport with persons who are poorly educated and inarticulate. Some programs now seem to be administered by those who, consciously or unconsciously, regard the poorest members of our society as being beyond salvation or rehabilitation, at least in terms of their own program, and who therefore concentrate their primary efforts upon the somewhat less disadvantaged persons with apparently greater motivation. Whatever their personal attitudes, almost all administrators are under constant pressure to produce "results," mainly in the form of impressive statistics. With limited resources, the administrator is not inclined to take chances with the ill-prepared and the seemingly unmotivated members of

the most poverty-stricken group. Largely for this reason, existing programs tend to enroll disproportionate numbers of those whose educational and skill levels are above the levels predominating in the urban "depressed areas."

The net result of these forces is a further isolation of the disadvantaged area. At the present time, even an intensive effort to identify and assist the very poor is likely to encounter perplexing obstacles. For example, Dr. William F. Brazziel of Virginia State College reported, in June of 1964, that the interviewers in a study of persons who had rejected MDTA training "experienced great difficulty in making contact with the men in the sample of rejecters, especially those who lived in low income and low education neighborhoods. Many of the men did not have telephones, and many had moved since their last contact with the Employment Commission, leaving no forwarding address. Others were at home only occasionally or at irregular hours. The interviewers resorted to leaving word with neighbors and former neighbors that the prospective interviewee was being sought for a beneficial purpose (this qualification seemed quite important); contact was often established by this method. The interviewers often encountered distrust in the low income districts, and in the early stages of the study, rapport was not established quickly. As the interviewer became a familiar figure in the neighborhood, however, this distrust seemed to fade."<sup>1</sup>

This experience has been repeated in our own efforts to conduct surveys among the hard-core unemployed in Los Angeles. Using recent or current lists compiled by public agencies, the survey staff has found that one-half to

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1. William F. Brazziel, Factors in Workers' Decisions to Forego Retraining under the Manpower Development and Training Act, a report submitted to the Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training of the U.S. Department of Labor, June 1964, p. 6.

two-thirds of the persons were unreachable or unavailable. Many of these unemployed persons undoubtedly assume, with much apparent justification from their viewpoint, that the interviewers must represent some agency or organization which is seeking them for ulterior motives. The fact is that few "outsiders" evince any interest in the residents of this area except for political, mercenary, punitive, or similar reasons.

Because of these and related problems, nearly all renewal or redevelopment programs are prepared by "outsiders" without significant consultation with the residents of the area or systematic ascertainment of their wishes (an exception is the Woodlawn community project in Chicago, which is discussed in an attached report). There is reason to believe that a high proportion of "urban renewal" projects are not intended to serve the needs of the area's residents, but rather the interests of some institution or agency which regards the area as an eyesore.

There is, of course, a not inconsiderable group which denies that government as such has a responsibility to renovate or redevelop depressed areas. The "orthodox" school of economics regards government action relative to phenomena like area depression as dangerous to the delicate balance of supply and demand. Area depression is, by definition, a net outflow of factors of production from the area and, in a free enterprise economy, represents an important signal of changed consumer valuation of the final products produced by (or in association with the output of) that area. In the absence of government impediments, entrepreneurs responding to these signals, or dollar votes of consumers, will tend to choose from among alternative investment prospects those which yield the greatest net return, irrespective of location. Area depression in this view occurs when consumers bid away factors from lower-valued uses coming from the industrial mix of that area to higher-valued uses

associated with the industrial mix of other areas.

The role of government in this situation, according to orthodox economists, is not to attempt to counter this net outflow of resources with area redevelopment schemes (which at best suspend the delicate mechanism of interdependent price determination--the only valid signals of a free enterprise economy), but rather to roll with the trend by facilitating the mobility of all resources out of the area and toward the boom centers. Even here qualification is made that the cost of resource transfer itself has a role in the natural scheme of things. Government intervention to make the transfer "painless" may succeed only in inducing families and business to uproot prematurely, inviting depression earlier.

To say that government spending for redevelopment bids away resources from investments desired more by consumers (the presumed beneficiaries in a free enterprise economy) does not deny that there may be some commodities or industries for which government involvement in varying degrees may be desirable. It is the wholesale involvement in the economy, and its threat to the efficient working of the price mechanism, which orthodox economists find intolerable.

The principles emphasized so far comprise the "efficiency" argument of the orthodox school, as distinguished from "distributional" considerations. Orthodox economists are emphatic in the explicit separation of the two. A relatively complete set of criteria exists for efficiency maximization, whereas distributive justice is at best arbitrary, based upon one or another set of value judgments. The orthodox motto, in effect, is "bake the largest possible pie, and then argue about the size of the slices."

Ironically, despite its general hostility to government intervention, the orthodox theory seems to lend weight to the position (mentioned earlier)

of administrators who concentrate on producing "results" in the form of impressive statistics of successes. Since the poor are generally not the most "efficient" investment in terms of the rate of return over the cost of their rehabilitation, programs are most often focused on more productive groups than the poverty-stricken.

The solution to the poverty problem most preferred (reluctantly) by orthodox economists is an "income floor," if a level can be agreed upon, below which no family shall be allowed to fall, enforced if necessary by a negative income tax on all those who would otherwise fall below it.<sup>2</sup> The reluctance comes from acknowledgment of the "incentive problem," the suspicion that persons aware of the chance to get something for no effort may prefer that position to a great deal more for some effort. In any event, the solution to the problem of income distribution is dependent upon what the policymaker is prepared to do, more than upon economic theory.

Those who reject the laissez-faire approach to problems of area redevelopment propose a number of alternatives, not all of them consistent with one another. The alternatives being considered in this current study may be grouped roughly as follows:

(1) Area redevelopment through governmental stimulation of investment in private business facilities, by means of the creation of development companies, provision of low-interest loans, management training, tax and depreciation incentives, and similar measures. The focus of this approach is upon the generation of more jobs through the location of new firms, or the expansion of existing facilities, within an area of high unemployment. It rests

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<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Milton Friedman, Capitalism and Freedom, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962, p. 192 and passim.

on the assumption that a potential market exists for new or expanded firms which require financing on terms which local lending institutions are unwilling or unable to provide. The Area Redevelopment Administration and the Small Business Administration are the major sources of funds and technical aids for this purpose, but under present requirements the Los Angeles area does not qualify for that type of assistance which is available only to "designated" areas. Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act also authorizes financial assistance to small business. In addition, the following agencies offer various types of services to small business:

The Business Service Center of the General Services Administration  
 Office of Field Services, US Department of Commerce  
 Bureau of International Commerce, US Department of Commerce  
 National Bureau of Standards, US Department of Commerce  
 Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, US Department of Labor  
 Bureau of Employment Security, US Department of Labor  
 Bureau of Labor Standards, US Department of Labor  
 District Director of Internal Revenue  
 Export-Import Bank, Washington, D.C.  
 US Department of Defense

(2) Redevelopment through programs which relate primarily to betterment of housing and other physical conditions in the area, with a view to improving the residential quality of neighborhoods. Apart from the construction jobs created, this approach has no direct relation to employment but nevertheless implies that a renovation of the community as a whole will improve its economic prospects as well. The Urban Renewal Administration and the Federal Housing Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Veterans Administration are the chief sources of loans or loan guarantees

and/or grants in connection with such programs. The Urban Renewal Administration, of course, makes provision for commercial and public facility development, as well as residential, in those areas designated for renewal.

(3) Redevelopment through concentrated efforts to improve public and quasi-public facilities, in the form of new public buildings, conservation projects, parks and playgrounds, roads and highways, hospitals and health clinics, community centers, auditoriums, schools, and similar improvements. This program would have a threefold aim: (a) to provide direct employment through the construction and maintenance of facilities and the continuing provision of services; (b) to remove some of the important causes of unemployment or underemployment, such as poor health, inadequate education and training, lack of personal or vocational guidance, delinquency, deficient transportation facilities, and so forth; and (c) to raise the level of living in the total community. Titles I and II of the Economic Opportunity Act (poverty program) and Sections 7 and 8 of the Area Redevelopment Act make provision for financial assistance to certain projects of this nature, and the urban renewal program also encompasses public facilities. The accelerated public works program (Public Law 87-658) authorizes the initiation or acceleration of public works projects sponsored by the federal government, or by state and local governments with federal assistance, in all designated redevelopment areas under Sections 5(a) and 5(b) of the Area Redevelopment Act. All such projects must be of a type which can be initiated or accelerated within a reasonably short period of time, and can be substantially completed within 12 months after initiation. The Community Facilities Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency provides loans for development costs and offers other assistance, in cooperation with ARA and other agencies, in the acceleration of public works. The US Department of Health, Education and Welfare and its

constituent agencies offer a number of services related to health, surplus property disposal, and education. In some cases, funds are available for planning and development of new facilities or for pilot projects of various kinds. Prominent among the agencies furnishing such aid are the Public Health Service and the Division of Surplus Property Utilization (cooperating with the State of California Agency for Surplus Property). The Office of Economic Adjustment in the US Department of Defense, under the Assistant Secretary of Defense, theoretically performs a variety of functions in communities affected adversely by contract cancellation or shifts in military programs, but the precise role played by this agency seems somewhat nebulous at the present time.

(4) Retraining of persons within the area for the purpose of qualifying them for available jobs, either through the conventional adult education classes offered in the public schools or through special training programs organized and financed under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) or the Area Redevelopment Act. Most existing apprenticeship programs are registered with and regulated by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the US Department of Labor and the Division of Apprenticeship Standards of the State of California. The premise of retraining is that jobs requiring given skills are available and can be identified, and that appropriate training of unemployed persons will again make them employable. Certain critical difficulties have been encountered in the training and apprenticeship programs now operating: the short-term MDTA and ARA training programs do not benefit sufficient numbers of the unskilled and poorly educated, and the longer-term apprenticeships are in scarce supply and, in many cases, effectively closed to minority-group members. The Institute is currently studying adult education programs in the area to ascertain why many residents fail to take advantage of available courses and whether the employment experience of those having

completed courses successfully indicates a tangible dollar return to the participants. Preliminary results of this research will be available shortly.

(5) Measures to increase the mobility of study area residents, which might have the effect of inducing some to move closer to potential sources of employment. Obviously this presumes that jobs are available elsewhere in the state or country, but that area residents are unreasonably prevented from obtaining them by factors of color discrimination, inadequate transportation, housing segregation, and lack of communication about job opportunities. No specific measures (such as relocation allowances) are presently directed toward the end of increased mobility, but it is clear that antidiscrimination measures, both in employment and in housing, improvements in transportation, and better methods of job referral all contribute to this objective. This approach might be preferred by the "orthodox" economists, but certain aspects of proposals for movement of workers arouse heated controversy and it is unlikely that, in view of the slow progress in housing desegregation and in transportation improvement, any significant dividends can be anticipated from this policy in the near future. In this report, however, the Institute suggests specific measures to reduce discrimination and improve systems of transportation and of job referral.

One factor, which we have reason to believe is an important barrier to mobility of study area residents within the larger Los Angeles community, is the significantly smaller proportion of car owners in the area, with a consequently greater dependence upon public transportation. Almost 27 percent of the area's workers commute to and from work by bus or streetcar, compared with only 7.5 percent of all those in the metropolitan area as a whole (see Table IV). A recent Institute survey of 355 unemployed persons in Los Angeles showed that 57.4 percent of them owned no car. This fact obviously restricts

the area of job search for study area residents, whereas residents of other sections are willing and able to travel longer distances. This, plus deficiencies in communication and knowledge of job opportunities, further limits the ability of minority-group members to find and hold available jobs.<sup>3</sup>

(6) Measures to relieve poverty through public assistance and social insurance, with costs shared by the federal, state, and county governments. The major dispenser of funds under such programs is the county's Bureau of Public Assistance, which administers Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Old Age Security, Aid to the Blind, Aid to Disabled, State Medical Care Programs, and General Relief. The food stamp, national school lunch, special milk, and direct surplus food distribution programs are administered by the Agricultural Marketing Service of the Department of Agriculture. The Los Angeles Public Schools do not participate in the national school lunch program under which free lunches are made available to children without adequate funds to pay for them, having dropped out of this program about five years ago and not having re-entered it at this writing. Contributory old-age pensions are administered by the Social Security Administration, and the California Department of Employment administers unemployment compensation and the employment service for the benefit of unemployed persons. Various other agencies -- federal, state, and local -- are involved in proportionately minor aspects of assistance or welfare programs.

All such measures, obviously, are ameliorative and do not properly fall within the category of area redevelopment. They deal with effects, not causes -- the symptoms of the disease rather than the disease itself.

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See the attached report by Robert Singleton on the relationship of transportation deficiencies to unemployment.

Nevertheless, they now represent the prime weapon in the fight on poverty, more costly and more extensive than all the previously-mentioned programs combined. In the absence of a comprehensive redevelopment program, their major economic effect is to maintain minimum income levels and purchasing power in the disadvantaged areas.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (anti-poverty bill), of course, encompasses a wide range of measures to combat social and economic deprivation in this country. The proposals for programs of youth assistance in Title I, rural anti-poverty measures in Title III, work experience programs in Title V, and creation of a "domestic Peace Corps" in Title VI are each of importance in reducing the magnitude of poverty and unemployment, but probably the measures most closely related to "area redevelopment" are the urban and rural community action programs in Title II and the employment and investment incentives in Title IV. Both of these titles, particularly the latter, relate so directly to problems of redevelopment that continuing coordination between the Area Redevelopment Administration and the Office of Economic Opportunity would seem to be essential in all areas where ARA programs are in effect or contemplated.

Our studies of poverty and unemployment in the central, south central, and east Los Angeles areas suggest that successful community action programs, of a type outlined in Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act, may be an indispensable prerequisite to the commercial and industrial redevelopment of those areas. Under that provision, experiments with new methods of job creation, for example through the sheltered workshop, might well be undertaken by community agencies. All such programs, whether directed to job development or to some other aspect of the anti-poverty effort, should

mobilize local sources of leadership (such as the Student Committee for Improvement in Watts, described in the attached special report by William Armstead and Richard Townsend). A meaningful community action program cannot long remain under the control of those outside the community.

The alternative approaches described above range from relatively long-term (area redevelopment) to short-term (public assistance and limited retraining), from "orthodox" (increased mobility) to "unorthodox" (deliberate governmental action to create new industry and public services), from ameliorative (public assistance) to regenerative (urban renewal). Certain priorities are suggested by the findings summarized in this report:

(1) Excessive emphasis has been placed, in the past, upon ameliorative programs which offer only a minimum and highly inadequate income to the disadvantaged residents of the study area. Since these measures provide very limited opportunities for employment and for retraining, the circumstances which initially led to unemployment and/or poverty remain essentially unchanged. Legislative bodies which claim to be economy-minded dole out millions of dollars each year for palliatives while refusing to support far-reaching reforms which could ultimately reduce the problem of unemployment and underemployment to reasonable dimensions.

(2) There is an overwhelming need for new and improved public facilities in the study area: administrative and community centers, clinics, schools, recreational centers, and so forth. Such improvements, however, should not take the form of mere expansions or duplications of existing facilities. Imaginative and even daring programs are needed to improve housing, establish continuing communication with recent immigrants, and mobilize

resources of local leadership.

(3) The provision of jobs rates a high priority. The generally low level of skill among the hard-core unemployed creates a dilemma for policy-makers: should efforts be focused upon the creation of unskilled jobs, which are low paid and vulnerable to automation, or upon retraining to qualify unemployed persons for higher-skill jobs? Any extensive program of area redevelopment must also encounter another disturbing question: will newly established firms and industries recruit significant numbers of study area residents, or, for one reason or another, will they bring workers from other areas? The fact that the study area is already adjacent to industrial centers like Vernon and Huntington Park makes this question especially pertinent.

In examining the feasibility of industrial or commercial redevelopment, we seek to test the premises upon which that approach is based: (1) lack of adequate, low-interest financing is a major obstacle to the development of new job-creating enterprises which have a sound economic potential; (2) those enterprises, when developed, will recruit their workers from the ranks of the unemployed in the area, or, at least, will indirectly help to generate jobs for the unemployed or underemployed; (3) market conditions are such that these firms will be willing and able to remain in the area for a substantial period of time; and (4) the competitive situation is such that there will be a net reduction in unemployment rather than merely a redistribution (as there might be if the establishment of new firms caused competitive firms to reduce employment or liquidate entirely).

Without providing a definitive answer, preliminary studies by Institute staff suggest some of the factors, both positive and negative, which must be considered in relation to the problem of industrial location. These factors are summarized in the next section of this report.

## VI

## INDUSTRIAL LOCATION AND LAND USE

The ARA study area and its environs, particularly the Vernon and Huntington Park communities, are not the primary centers of industrial activity for which they were noted in the pre-World War II period, but there remain noticeable concentrations of certain types of manufacturing enterprises. In earlier years of this century, when Los Angeles was generally regarded as a residential paradise rather than as an industrial center, industry tended to be concentrated in a few locations within the county. The onset of World War II caused or accelerated the growth of major industry in several new areas, with the result that important centers of industrial employment sprang up in communities distant from the central part of Los Angeles. The rise of the aircraft industry, for example, spawned the residential communities of Lakewood and Westchester in the southern part of the county. Both population and industry shifted toward the Santa Monica area and San Fernando Valley to the west and north and to the Orange County - Long Beach areas to the south and east.

Our studies of industrial patterns in Los Angeles show that the newer industries have tended to locate outside the central area. Using the 1963-64 Business Directory of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce as a guide, the Institute staff has tabulated the distribution of firms by major industry group and by location. Comparisons have been made between numbers and types of firms located within or close to the study area and those located in the remainder of the county (see Table XV for tabulated results by certain selected industries and definition of the areas involved). The low incidence of aerospace and aircraft, research and development, and electronics firms within our defined area is immediately apparent from the tabulations. On the other hand,

industries such as apparel, aluminum, and steel, which have long been located within the area, still tend to be concentrated there (though perhaps to a lesser degree than formerly).

Information has also been gathered and tabulated on the comparative sizes of firms, according to a code provided by the Chamber's Business Directory. A glance at Table XV will show that the firms in our defined area tend to be relatively small, though some large firms are to be found in categories such as petroleum and steel. It must be added that several large employers are located within a reasonable distance of the area: North American Aviation in Downey and Northrop Aviation in Hawthorne, among others.

It is extremely difficult to obtain accurate and reliable data on the location or relocation of industries within Southern California and the precise reasons which govern business decisions in this regard. The Business Directory published under the auspices of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce is incomplete to the extent that it includes only those firms which are Chamber members, or have come to the attention of the Directory staff in some other way. The listings of new or expanded firms published by the Chamber monthly are deficient for the same reason. Through the cooperation of the Business Extension Bureau in Los Angeles, an organization which specializes in information on business location, the Institute has acquired access to the names and addresses of several hundred firms which have recently located or relocated within the various Southern California counties, either inside or outside the ARA study area. In collaboration with the Los Angeles Area Economic Development Agency, many of these employers have been interviewed to ascertain the major factors<sup>1</sup> which have induced them to locate where they have.

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See the attached report by Joel Leidner, which summarizes the results of these interviews.

Certain observations can now be offered relative to the factors which influence employers to locate, or not to locate, within the study area. Most of those interviewed, including businessmen and others with knowledge of the area, emphasize land cost and availability as major determinants of business location. At the present time, an important deterrent to new plant location within the study area is the relative scarcity of large parcels of undeveloped land, along with the fact that the value of land used for nonindustrial purposes is even higher than the value of land for manufacturing or commercial uses. Of course, the building deterioration characteristic of many parts of the area increases the reluctance of businessmen to locate there. The major problems to be solved in any program of industrial redevelopment are the following:

(1) Land availability: Nearly all the land in the area has already been developed for residential, commercial, or industrial uses. One of the few large parcels of land, in the Willowbrook area adjoining the ARA study area on the south, was recently zoned for development by the Ardmore Corporation for a cooperative apartment complex of more than 2,000 units, under a zone variance granted by the Regional Planning Commission and sustained by the Board of Supervisors despite opposition from many residents of the surrounding community. It now appears, however, that this project has been abandoned. Wrigley Field, in the center of the study area, is currently unused and might be converted to non-athletic uses, but the size of the site is quite small (only ten acres) and it appears to be suitable primarily for various public purposes.<sup>2</sup> Businessmen

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See attached report by Steve Weiner on alternative uses for Wrigley Field.

seeking large sites for manufacturing or commercial purposes, with adequate parking facilities, would normally be compelled to purchase several smaller parcels of developed land and demolish the existing structures.

(2) Comparative land values: Related to the above is the relatively high cost of land zoned for manufacturing or commercial use. According to estimates by real estate brokers, land cost is \$1.25 per square foot in south central Los Angeles and \$1.50 per square foot in the manufacturing district of East Los Angeles, compared with 40¢ to 45¢ per square foot in the City of Industry and 70¢ to 75¢ in La Mirada (near Orange County). The value of land for residential purposes in the south central area is much higher: about \$2.50 per square foot for land zoned R-1 (single-family residences) in the vicinity of the Willowbrook area mentioned previously. For this reason, businessmen may be tempted to realize a profit on their land in the study area by selling it to a developer for residential uses and relocating in an area of lower-cost manufacturing or commercial land (see Table XVI for comparative M-1 land costs).

(3) Relative smallness of building size in the study area: Firms considering an expansion of facilities find that existing structures on adjacent land are usually too small for their purposes. As it is one of the older industrial-commercial sections, facilities of 7,500 square feet or more are not typical. Land costs referred to above make it unfeasible, under normal circumstances, to expand by buying adjoining parcels and redeveloping them. Many of the existing buildings, of course, are old and tend to be in substandard condition.

(4) Title clearance: In these older sections of Los Angeles, difficulties are sometimes encountered with respect to title clearance on land and property. In cases where title may be clouded, businessmen are reluctant to

become involved in possible litigation. Experts on real estate have often referred to this problem as a deterrent to property development in the area.

(5) Zoning: This does not appear to be a formidable barrier to industrial redevelopment, since much of the area is already zoned for manufacturing and/or commercial uses and the projected trend, as indicated by our study of applications for zone changes, seems to be in the direction of increased CM (Commercial and Manufacturing) and M-1 (Limited Industrial) zoning. Nevertheless, the development of new industrial or commercial enterprises in areas adjacent to residential communities continues to pose problems. The opposition to the Ardmore proposal, which involved the construction of a multi-unit residential property, is a similar case in point, and it seems possible that the opposition would have been at least as intense if an effort had been made to develop the land entirely for industrial or commercial purposes.

(6) Population movement and transportation facilities: The movement of population has been away from the central area and toward the other parts of the metropolitan region, a movement accompanied and probably accelerated by the construction of new freeway complexes throughout Southern California. Many of the large, newly constructed shopping centers are located close to freeways which serve an extensive and rapidly growing population. As population spreads further into the "fringe" areas, firms move closer to their potential markets and sources of labor supply. Employers interviewed thus far have anticipated no difficulties in recruiting a work force when they relocate to the more distant areas.

These negative factors, reflected in the completed employer interviews, must be weighed against the emerging positive attractions of the study area for industrial and commercial redevelopment. While it is not yet possible to evaluate these attractions in precise quantitative terms, their substance may

be summarized as follows:

(1) The minority-group population of the study area is growing rapidly, and new businesses which intelligently serve the needs of this population are likely to meet a favorable response.<sup>3</sup> Further, various ongoing or projected public programs are intended to raise income levels in this area, which will generate expanding markets for business products.

(2) As new industry has dispersed throughout Southern California, available undeveloped sites have diminished in the outlying areas. Land costs in some of the recently developed communities, such as the City of Commerce, are now considerably higher than in the ARA study area (see Table XVI). The remaining acreages zoned for manufacturing purposes are often located far from the major population centers.

(3) The ARA study area encompasses downtown Los Angeles, and certain types of firms find it desirable or necessary to locate close to the downtown section.

(4) There is a plentiful supply of unemployed or underemployed labor in the study area. While the existing work force is relatively unskilled, various retraining and educational programs will progressively raise the level of skill.

(5) Existing and proposed freeways make this area reasonably accessible for large numbers of people. Improvements in public transportation could conceivably increase the attractiveness of the area for new business development.

It is still too early to make any final assessment of these factors. At this stage, however, it would appear that industrial redevelopment must be

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See the attached report by Kay Gannon on retail food trade in the study area.

considered primarily in the context of a broader area development program which encompasses education and training, improved housing and health, delinquency prevention, transportation, and new community facilities.

The accompanying reports by Mr. Joel Leidner and Mr. Robert Singleton, on factors in industrial location and transportation problems respectively, illustrate the complexity of area redevelopment in the midst of a heavily populated central city. Indeed, the problems in Los Angeles are perhaps more acute than in other communities because of the size and decentralization of the area and the relative absence of an efficient system of public transportation. These barriers impede any public policy designed to provide work for the unemployed or underemployed: unavailability and high cost of land in the central area make it difficult to bring industry closer to the centers of unemployment, and a combination of low skills, discrimination, and poor transportation makes it equally hard to bring unemployed workers to the distant areas where jobs may be available.

As a test of the findings reflected in Mr. Leidner's extensive interviews with employers throughout the Los Angeles area, the Institute staff has investigated the relative prices asked by owners of industrial properties, or land zoned for industrial use, in the central area and in the newer industrial areas located in the eastern part of the county. Staff members first checked the "Industrial Property - For Sale" columns of the Los Angeles Times' weekend classified section for several successive weeks in June and July of 1964, selecting a broad sampling of properties offered for sale during that period. Telephone and personal contacts were then initiated with brokers for the purpose of obtaining additional information on prices per square foot, total acreage, and similar data.

The results of these inquiries are summarized in the two accompanying maps. Information was gathered on eleven properties located within or

adjacent to the ARA study area in central Los Angeles, seven of which included buildings. One broker stated that the property "must be cleared" and offered the land at a minimum price of \$1.39 per square foot; other properties with buildings ranged in price from \$3.75 to \$10.00 per square foot. Open land, zoned for manufacturing use, ranged from \$1.35 to \$3.75 per square foot in the same general area. On the other hand, five industrial properties in the City of Industry, all open land in the eastern half of the county, ranged from 26¢ to 46¢ per square foot. While these properties are located far from the downtown area, a number of references were made to existing or projected freeway improvements as an inducement to the location of new industry there. It is also significant that the acreages available in the City of Industry are ordinarily much larger than the industrial plots in the central city.

Cities such as Industry and Commerce follow a precedent established by the incorporation in 1905 of the city of Vernon which adjoins the ARA study area on the east. Vernon has long been one of the major industrial centers of the Los Angeles area, but contains only a few residents (208 in 1964). Its incorporation, obviously, is intended primarily to benefit the business firms which are located, or intend to locate, within its boundaries. Both Industry and Commerce are recently incorporated cities, the former in 1957 and the latter in 1960. Though it covers an extensive area, the City of Industry has a 1964 residential population of 746. The City of Commerce has a more respectable population total: 10,538. Interestingly, while relatively few businessmen in the Institute survey emphasized taxes as a major determinant of their plant's location, low taxes were mentioned prominently by industrial realtors offering property for sale in the City of Commerce.

The differential effects of tax and assessment policies appear to aggravate the problems of substandard housing and socially undesirable land

usage. If it can be assumed that property improvements should be encouraged and deterioration penalized by the tax system, clearly the existing procedures have precisely the opposite result. Owners of vacant land or poorly improved and undermaintained property in the central city find it profitable to retain such properties for considerable periods of time in anticipation of speculative gains from a general rise in values. No statistical proof of this fact can be as impressive as the direct empirical evidence of visual observation as one drives through the minority-group sections of the city and notes the startling number of deserted stores and dilapidated buildings, many of them decorated with graying campaign posters and other signs of age. Paradoxically, these properties often rest on some of the most expensive land in the county.

The evidence at hand, fragmentary and inconclusive as it may be, suggests that vacant land and "slum" properties tend to be underassessed in relation to normally maintained residential and commercial properties. While there are legitimate doubts about the validity of several of the procedures used and the accuracy of absolute figures contained in the various studies, there appears to be little reason to question the correctness of the general pattern of relationships which emerges. The available findings indicate that the ratio of assessed to market valuation is lowest in the case of vacant land, intermediate in the case of "slum" properties, and highest in the case of commercial and standard residential properties.

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One such study was conducted in 1963 by a private research firm for the Statewide Homeowners Association of California, encompassing a survey of the assessed and market valuations of a sampling of properties drawn from listings of realtors and similar sources. This study concluded, in part, that in Los Angeles County commercial properties were assessed at an average  
(footnote 4 continued on next page)

The complexity of tax laws, not only those which relate directly to property taxation but also those which relate to the depreciation or improvement of property for federal income tax purposes, admittedly makes it difficult to move effectively and expeditiously against this problem. The legislature of the State of Hawaii, in its 1963 session, enacted a law establishing differential property tax rates designed to "encourage development of vacant or underdeveloped lands." This law, patterned after similar legislation already in effect in the city of Pittsburgh, will become effective on January 1, 1965. Its essence is that properties are classified according to their best use, and tax rates are adjusted over time to place a relatively heavier tax burden on properties that are vacant. The experience under this legislation should be examined carefully over the coming year and thereafter to

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(footnote 4 continued from previous page

ratio of 20.0 percent of current market value, non-slum residential properties at 18.9 percent, slum properties at 10.1 percent, and vacant lots and acreage at 6.0 percent. A general objection to this survey is that the organization which commissioned it -- the Statewide Homeowners Association -- is already committed to the principle that homeowners are overtaxed relative to owners of vacant land and "slumlords," and therefore it might not have been conducted objectively. The survey group admits that a purely random sampling of cases was impractical, and thus an "availability" sample was used which necessarily involves a number of subjective judgments. Even at best, the market valuations placed on properties by sellers and brokers are subject to some discount, and the survey administrators did indeed discount such prices by percentages ranging from about 5 to 10 percent. In addition, approximately 120 cases were rejected from the sample because "the data appeared inconsistent with known information." Manifestly a high degree of subjective judgment was involved in these determinations, and it is difficult to evaluate what effect these exclusions might have had on the ultimate results. With the possible exception of this last-mentioned case, it is presumed that these various factors affected the market values of different properties in a roughly similar way, leaving the relationships essentially the same although the absolute figures may change. Unfortunately, a completely objective and scientific survey of assessments and market values by type of property is not available, and may perhaps be impossible.

ascertain if it offers a possible precedent for like revision in the California  
 tax laws.<sup>5</sup>

The relationship of land use in the study area to federal income tax laws relating to property depreciation, capital gains, and other factors is a complex subject beyond the scope of this report, but it would appear from various comments made to the authors that the tax laws do little to discourage the ownership of unimproved or poorly maintained properties. The process of property exchanging is apparently one way by which the depreciation provisions may work to the advantage of such property owners. Vacant or fully depreciated properties may be exchanged for depreciable improved properties with substantial advantages to the exchangers. The net result, in the study area, is that "slum" properties remain valuable to a succession of owners, few of whom  
 6  
 are motivated to improve housing for the tenants.

One startling consequence of the many problems described in this section of the report is that the actual land use pattern of much of the study area bears little relationship to the zoning. Professor Fred Case of the UCLA Graduate School of Business Administration has found that residential

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The law described here is titled Act 142 "Graded Property Tax Law" of the 1963 General Legislative Session, State of Hawaii. This description of the law is based upon a Tax Information Release of the Department of Taxation, State of Hawaii, October 1, 1963. An example of the operation of this legislation is given in the appendix to this report.

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Descriptions of property exchanges in relation to tax advantages may be found in Richard R. Reno, Profitable Real Estate Exchanging, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1956, Chapter 20, pp. 207-221; Real Estate Exchanges, published by National Institute of Real Estate Brokers of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, October 1951, Section 3, pp. 27-31; and, especially, William J. Casey, et al., Real Estate Exchanges and How to Make Them, New York, Institute for Business Planning, 1964, pp. 8-22, 45-51.

properties are frequently located in areas zoned for manufacturing or commerce only, and vice versa (see attached report by Dr. Case).

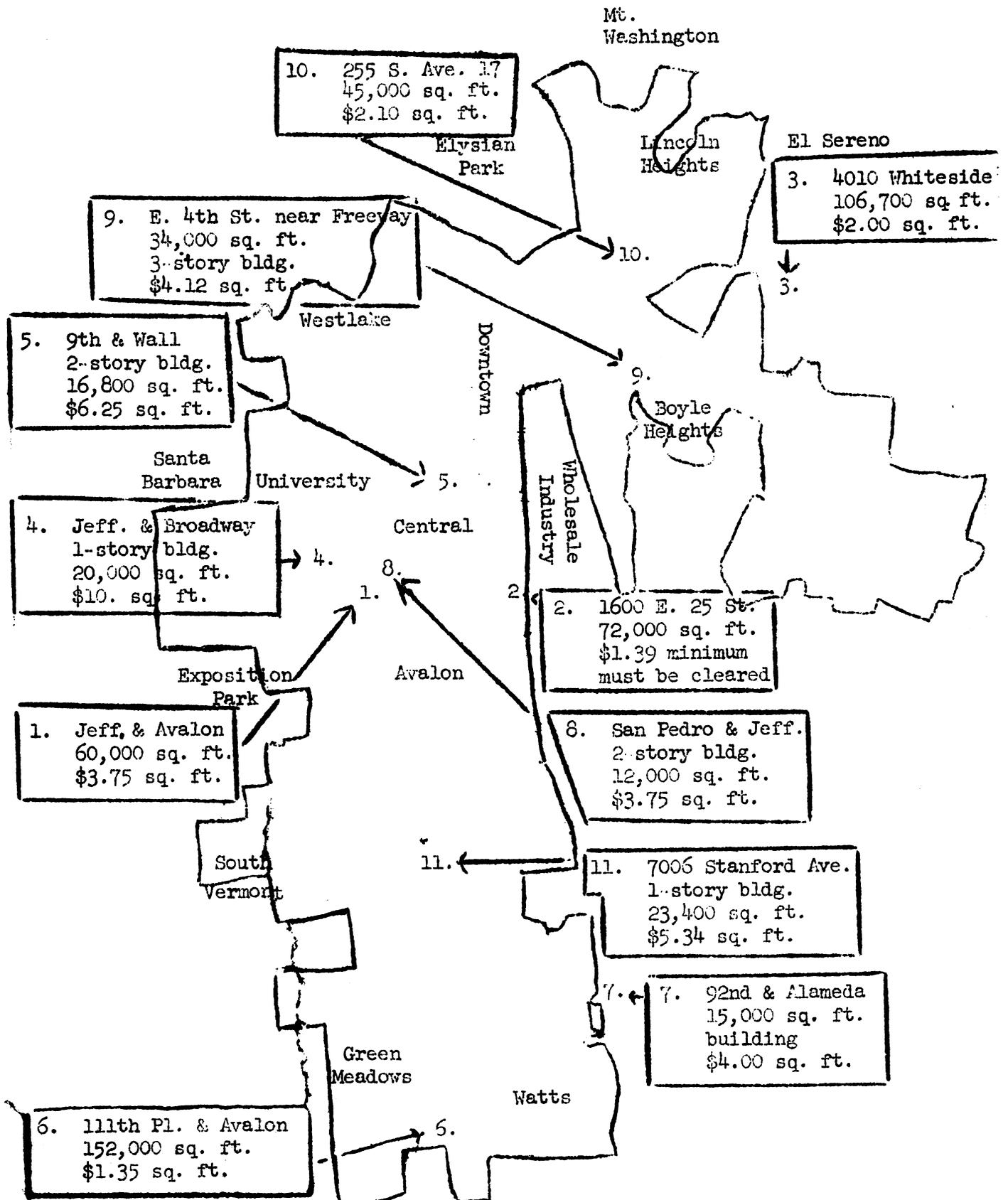
The problems of the central city, each of which is intensified in the ARA study area, were well described recently by Professor Roger Revelle of Harvard University:

The new problems of the giant future cities are frightening to contemplate, but the most severe urban problem of today is not new. It is an old problem that has disgraced American cities for a hundred years: the problem of the slums. Blight, poverty, over-crowding, maintenance and renewal are all aspects of this old problem. It has been deepened in urgency by the great Negro migrations from the rural South to the rings of misery around our central cities. Weapons of many kinds are needed to attack this problem, but among them are some possible legal devices related to land use: changes in income tax laws to compel use of depreciation allowances for building maintenance; changes in property assessment procedures so as not to reward landlords who let their property decay; requirements of compliance with building codes as a condition of sale; refusal to base prices for public acquisition on incomes from illegal use; municipal use of rents to remedy building violations.<sup>7</sup>

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Roger Revelle, "Environment: Land, Air, Water," in America Tomorrow: Creating the Great Society, a special issue of New Republic magazine, November 7, 1964, p. 28.



COMPARATIVE LAND COSTS

Central Los Angeles

Angeles National Forest

LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Pomona  
San Bernardino  
County

El Monte

West Covina

City of Industry

County

1. 601 S. Hacienda Blvd.  
720,000 sq. ft.  
\$0.31 sq. ft.

3. 18001 Rowland Ave.  
80,000 sq. ft.  
\$0.30 sq. ft.

4. 18100 E. Frontage Road  
993,168 sq. ft.  
\$0.46 sq. ft.

2. 17901 Railroad St.  
1,280 sq. ft.  
\$0.26 sq. ft.

5. 19300 E. Valley  
2,370,000 sq. ft.  
\$0.27 sq. ft.

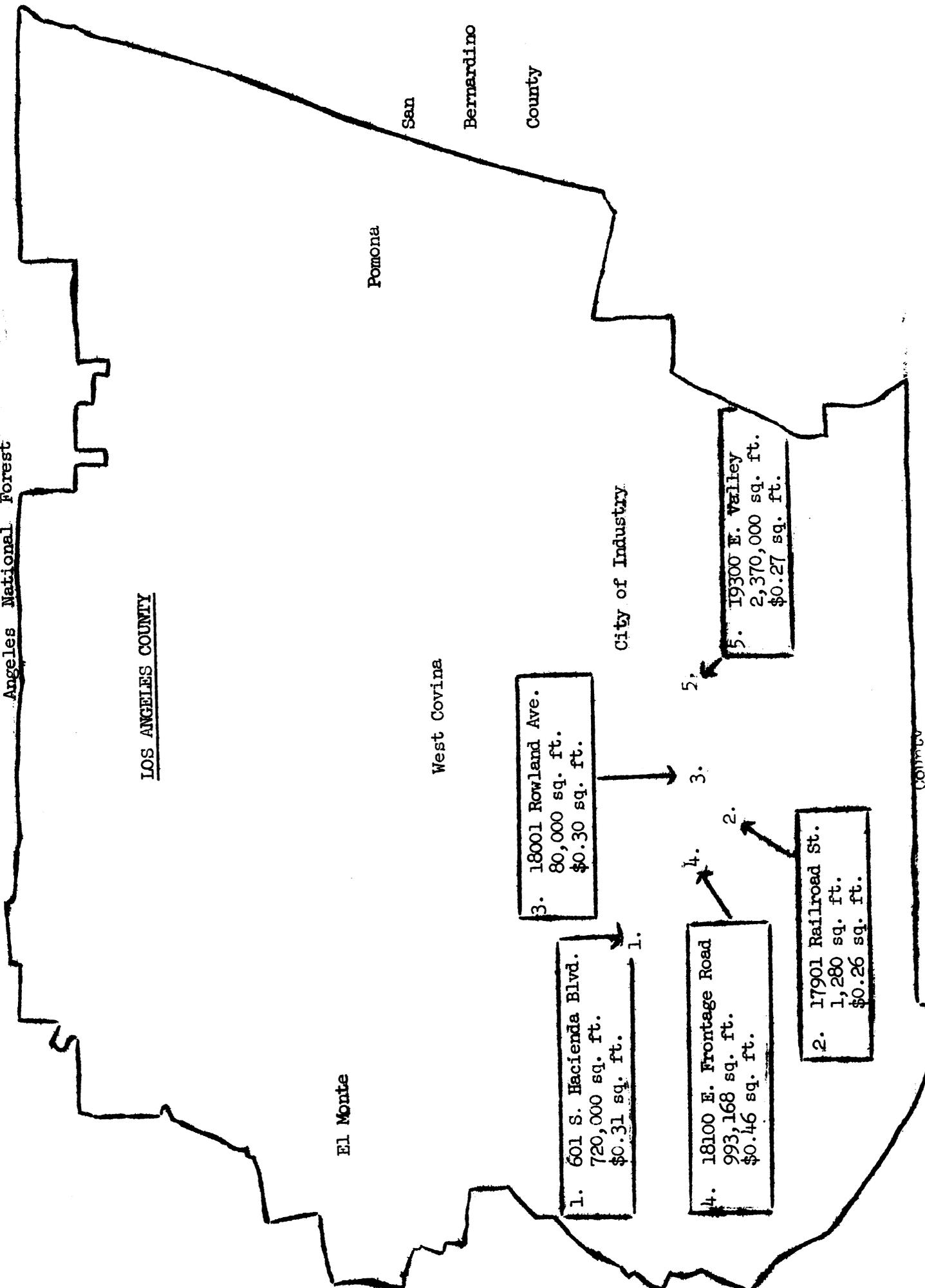
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## VII

## JOBS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

There are, of course, alternatives to a program of industrial or commercial redevelopment as a means of providing employment for the unemployed or underemployed. In an economy characterized by labor surpluses in some areas and labor shortages in others, job openings in one occupation and job seekers in another, it is possible that better methods of job referral and redefinitions of job requirements would be effective in reducing the volume and severity of unemployment. Even the "orthodox" economists will admit that frictions and rigidities in the labor market prevent the attainment of full employment, which, in their view, would otherwise be assured through the natural long-run processes of competition.

The fundamental problem which we confront is that job opportunities for the unskilled and semiskilled workers, who constitute the bulk of the hard-core unemployed, appear to be diminishing under the impact of automation and other changes. Retraining, thus far, has been of limited immediate benefit to these workers. Even on the assumption that the educational and training process can be remolded to fit the changing needs of the economy, it is uncertain whether the presently unemployed will reap significant gains from such improvements.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 proposes a variety of approaches to this immediate problem. There are, in addition, certain proposals which could be implemented within a reasonable period, though it is problematical whether the large organizations involved are prepared to move expeditiously. Such proposals fall roughly into the following categories: (1) Those relating to improved methods of communication of and referral to existing job openings; (2) those relating to the creation of new jobs; and (3) those relating to the

greater utilization of domestic unemployed persons in jobs, such as farm work, which are currently performed by Mexican nationals.

#### Methods of Job Referral

There is little disagreement in principle with the assertion that systems of job referral and placement should be improved to the end that information about existing or potential job openings is relayed quickly to the unemployed. For the poor, the State Employment Service, affiliated with the United States Employment Service, represents virtually the only available source from which such information can be obtained systematically. Yet the size of the Los Angeles area adds to the already complex burdens which the Service must carry and further widens the gulf between jobs and job seekers.

In Los Angeles County, the operations of the Employment Service are decentralized in approximately two dozen offices scattered throughout the 4,000 square miles. Six of these offices -- Apparel, Casual Labor, Commercial, Industrial, Service, and Professional -- serve special industrial groups, and an additional one is designated as a Youth Office, while the others are "full-functioning" offices serving all groups within specified administrative areas. Locations of the latter range from San Fernando in the north to Long Beach in the south, from Santa Monica in the west to Whittier in the east (offices in the far eastern and far northern parts of the county are in another district).

In addition to its "mainstream" operation, through which most of its registrants are processed, each office administers a number of special programs designed to assist those groups which encounter particular difficulties in the labor market: minority-group workers, older workers, physically handicapped, youth, and parolees (veterans are also served by a specialist, in

accordance with a venerable policy of government). Because the Service is under continuous pressure to maintain a record of interviews, counseling sessions, and placements, and because its personnel are concerned about the image of the Service in the eyes of employers, the establishment of special services for difficult-to-place workers, without a corresponding expansion of staff and hours allotted to counseling and placement activities, arouses mixed feelings. Department personnel assert, with much justification, that it is impossible to perform both the mainstream and the special functions with equal effectiveness within current budgetary limitations.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulties encountered in serving the residents of the ARA study area are particularly intense. Since a high proportion of them are Negroes and Mexican Americans with low levels of education and skill, discrimination in the labor market adds to the already complex problems of placement. Many employers -- the precise number is impossible to estimate -- undoubtedly refrain from listing jobs with the Employment Service because of its nondiscrimination policies, or, at least, list only those jobs in which Negroes and Mexican Americans are commonly employed. The degree of enforcement of the official nondiscrimination policy appears to vary somewhat from one office to another and from one staff member to another; while overtly discriminatory job orders are not accepted in any office, many employers have found ways of defeating the intent of this policy and, in all probability, some service personnel discreetly observe the restrictions which they know are in effect at particular firms. Again, the pressure on each office to maintain an

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This and the following paragraphs are based in part on a study of the "older worker" program of the California State Employment Service, conducted by Mr. Paul Bullock of the Institute staff in 1962.

impressive placement record is largely responsible for this divergence between policy and practice.

Overt discrimination on the job is, of course, only a part of the overall problem. The residence patterns within the larger Los Angeles community, which restrict Negroes and some Mexican Americans to ghettos in or close to the central city, make it difficult to bring together the job listings in the suburban offices and the job applicants in the south central and East Los Angeles offices. Thus, unskilled or semiskilled Negro workers will cluster around one of the local offices in central or south central Los Angeles awaiting a referral, while another local office, say in Van Nuys in the San Fernando Valley, may have requests from an employer for several such workers. The unemployed Negro, however, does not have equal opportunity for referral to these openings. The standard operating procedure is first to make referrals from qualified registrants at the branch office. Therefore, the Negro worker, who for all practical purposes is barred from living in Van Nuys, is not shown as a registrant at that office and will not have an opportunity for equal consideration. His only chance is the last chance. If the Van Nuys office is unable to find a registrant, it may then advise the other branches of the vacancy.

Manifestly there are powerful barriers to the referral of Negroes to available jobs in the distant parts of the county. If job vacancies exist, Negroes may not be referred because of housing patterns and the mechanics of referrals from local Employment Service offices. If a referral is made, the worker must make a long and expensive journey for an interview, which may easily be abortive when discrimination is prevalent. Even if he is hired, he faces the prospect of traveling the long distance every working day,

either by car on clogged freeways or by inadequate and time-consuming public transportation. No solution to the problem of housing segregation is imminent, and the creation of a workable rapid transit system involves technical, political, and economic difficulties of great magnitude. However, it would appear that in this age of computerized registration, recall, and referral procedures, the mechanics of referring workers to jobs among the various administrative areas of the Employment Service might well lend itself to quick improvement.

The general effectiveness of the Employment Service, at least as a source of valuable information on the labor market, would be enhanced by the enactment of legislation encouraging greater employer use of the Service. The Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare recommended in April, 1964, that:

Unemployment insurance regulations should be amended to extend added experience rating advantages to employers agreeing to list all job vacancies with the public employment service. Employers engaged on government contracts should also be required to list all job openings with the Employment Service. The employer would not be required to place job orders with nor accept referrals from the Service. The complete listing would allow more intelligent occupational decisions and job search and furnish important labor market information not now available.

The subcommittee also recommended the provision of funds which would enable the Employment Service "to employ an adequate number of well-trained employment counselors who can concentrate on individual problems as a means of helping the individual resolve those employment problems, motivating him, and of following through with him until he is in useful employment. In order to do so, means must be sought, if necessary through Federal legislation, to enable payment of adequate salaries to attract

professionally trained counselors for State employment services."<sup>2</sup>

The subcommittee's report correctly points out that the functions and responsibilities of the Service have expanded enormously in recent years, and that existing and projected programs will increase its role even more. An adequately funded, smoothly functioning Employment Service can be a major asset in any program to facilitate labor mobility, both among geographic areas and among occupations. In the Los Angeles area, with its distances and its decentralization, such a program is indispensable.

Further efforts should be made to rescue the Employment Service from the dilemma in which the conflicting demands of public policy have placed it. The staff of the Service still faces the difficult task of carrying on programs for the "marginal" workers of the economy, while at the same time meeting the stipulations of employers who seek employees of high quality. Since it is difficult to reconcile these respective demands within a single operation, it might be desirable to explore the possibility of separating the mainstream from the special functions, administratively and perhaps even physically, in order that the specialists and other personnel serving disadvantaged workers might be able to perform their responsibilities without the necessity of meeting artificially established standards of placement and counseling. The mainstream functions could then be administered more efficiently and with close observance of employer specifications, and the

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The report cited in these paragraphs is Toward Full Employment: Proposals for a Comprehensive Employment and Manpower Policy in the United States, Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 1964, pp. 96-97.

erstwhile "marginal" workers could be transferred to mainstream for routine placement after their completion of such counseling, testing, and retraining as is deemed necessary by the specialists. This change, plus the physical separation of the Employment Service and Unemployment Insurance offices which has already been accomplished in many areas, might improve the Service's image in the eyes of those employers who have traditionally regarded it as the "unemployment office" serving the least qualified members of the labor force.

#### Creation of New Jobs

An item appearing in the Los Angeles Times for November 20, 1964, emphasizes one area in which new jobs for the unemployed might well be created:

An official of the Los Angeles Teachers Association called Thursday for employment of security personnel on school grounds to "help maintain order."

Citing the beating of a Washington High School teacher Tuesday by teen-age hoodlums, Joseph M. Brooks, executive secretary of the association, told the board:

"I am personally convinced that the time has come when the major school systems of our nation must employ adequate well-trained numbers of security personnel to help maintain order in and about our public school grounds."

It is rather evident that those persons most effective in dealing with situations of this type might well be the youngsters in the age group and with backgrounds similar to those of the perpetrators of such incidents. The new security positions, for which there is an admitted need, could either provide part-time employment for pupils in school (many of whom might otherwise drop out) or full-time employment for out-of-school youth. The selection and training process would screen out those who are

emotionally or otherwise unqualified for such work.

The process of creating new jobs, frequently by reorganizing or redefining already existing jobs, has a long history. In every period of extreme labor shortage, such as during World War II, tasks have been evaluated and simplified so that certain parts can be performed by workers with lower levels of skill, training, and experience. This process, sometimes called (perhaps unfortunately) "job dilution," can again be revived to lessen unemployment in critical areas of the economy, notably in the public sector.

Experimentation in the area of job creation, particularly for the benefit of disadvantaged lower-class youth, has recently been conducted by the Center for Youth and Community Studies at Howard University, Washington, D.C. Dr. Arthur Pearl, Associate Director in charge of Research at the Center, has noted in a review of demonstration programs throughout the country that ". . . persons from economically disadvantaged backgrounds with limited formal education can, with a brief training experience, be of value in a variety of technical roles."<sup>3</sup> He cites successful programs in Flint, Michigan; New York State; New York City; and the State of California.

For a number of reasons, Pearl believes that the creation of such jobs is primarily a duty of government, and that the new positions should become a permanent part of the fabric of civil service. The educational system, in particular, is a potential source of job opportunities for relatively untrained persons. Beginning with the position of Education Aide, which would involve

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Forging New Careers: A New Approach to the Problems of Poverty, an unpublished paper by Dr. Arthur Pearl.

generally routine functions such as supervision of recess and lunchtime activities, the newly employed youngster could (with added education and experience) progress up a scale of jobs with increasing responsibility and pay, perhaps even assuming certain defined teaching and tutorial functions. In addition to carrying out some of the routine but time-consuming tasks which currently burden teachers, the aides could provide assistance in many ways to children<sup>4</sup> at home, where little educational support is otherwise given.

With appropriate planning, such new positions can be created with little, if any, increase in the expenditures which would otherwise be required. Since the performance of these auxiliary functions by aides would permit teachers to expand their classroom time and utilize it more efficiently, the future demand for additional teachers would be reduced below the level which would otherwise be required. At the same time, the creation of new positions would both provide employment opportunities for disadvantaged youngsters and improve their morale and motivation, because the work would serve a genuine and universally recognized social need.

One project which demonstrates the feasibility of this approach is the tutorial program of the Western Student Movement, under which college and even high school students are recruited to tutor youngsters from disadvantaged areas who need additional help with their studies. The success of this private voluntary effort indicates that there is a widespread need for the kind of supplemental educational assistance which it provides. A large-scale program, financed publicly, could recruit many thousands of indigenous youngsters residing in the areas of greatest social and economic deprivation, each of whom

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

would establish immediate rapport with youngsters of similar backgrounds and would themselves benefit academically and otherwise from the experience.

The principle reflected in the preceding suggestions could well be applied to other sectors of the economy: social work, health services, recreational programs, and so forth. In the field of social welfare, for example, it is recognized that case workers administering the various public assistance programs now have time and opportunity only for the most routine and standardized contacts with their clients. Counseling directed to individual problems is virtually impossible under this system. Reports and paper work require an inordinate amount of time and effort on the part of the underpaid social workers. The utilization of indigenous personnel drawn from areas of greatest need could ease the burden on the case worker and provide additional job opportunities in a field of immense social importance.

Public health is still another field in which new and meaningful opportunities could be created for the disadvantaged members of society. In addition to the performance of the more routine medical functions, community health workers could counsel newly arrived immigrants on various problems related to personal hygiene, sanitation, diet, and so forth. Newcomers could be briefed on the health services available to them and their families. Local mental health clinics could also utilize indigenous personnel in identifying emotional and psychological problems in the area and providing personal counseling where necessary and feasible.

Disadvantaged youngsters or adults could serve usefully as assistants to playground directors, swimming pool supervisors, coaches, and other recreational workers, especially in those areas where gang activities and other delinquency problems are now common. Experimental projects undertaken by the Center for Youth and Community Studies at Howard University have demonstrated

that, in some cases, former delinquents succeed in these capacities to a significantly greater degree than do the trained professionals from nondelin-<sup>5</sup>quent middle-class backgrounds.

Additional useful services could well be developed in connection with public libraries in or near the disadvantaged areas. Since the members of low-income families often have little contact with written materials and little familiarity with library resources and their proper use, part-time or full-time positions of Library Aide could be created in such areas. Incumbents in these positions would assist library users in locating books and periodicals, doing research for school papers, and other tasks. Library Aides, particularly those recruited from the local community, could also perform a needed service in identifying gaps in the library collections and in promoting further utilization of the library among area residents.

It is important, of course, that these programs retain their indigenous nature and avoid a transformation to middle-class orientation and control. "A major criterion by which such demonstration must be gauged is the extent to which the poor are employed by demonstration funds. If the aim of a program is to aid the poor and resources are provided for such purposes, the program is undermined when the majority of the persons employed in the program are from 'the middle class.'<sup>6</sup> Unless great care is taken, such perversion of program is bound to occur."

In an effort to secure some estimate of the possible employment effects of such a program, the Institute staff circulated a questionnaire to various

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<sup>5</sup> Private conversation with Dr. Arthur Pearl.

<sup>6</sup> Unpublished paper by Dr. Pearl, op. cit.

public agencies which perform the type of functions most likely to provide a basis for job creation: the Los Angeles City Schools, the County Bureau of Public Assistance, the health departments, departments of parks and recreation, etc. The questionnaire asked for estimates of the increase in personnel required for given job categories, for the period 1964-1970. At this writing, usable replies have been received from the City Schools and the Bureau of Public Assistance, certainly the most probable sources of new employment in a program of job creation.

The replies indicate that significant increases in the demand for teachers and other school personnel and for social workers are anticipated in the Los Angeles area. The City Schools estimate that the number of full-time certificated elementary school teachers will rise from 10,539 in 1963-64 to 13,079 in 1970-71, and the number of secondary school teachers will rise from 9,843 to 13,190 in the same period. The number of social workers, with degrees, employed by the Bureau of Public Assistance will increase from 1,716 in mid-1964 to approximately 2,324 in 1970. If one additional low-skill job were created for each of the above positions which existed in 1963-64, the resulting total of new jobs would equal about 90 percent of the 1960 unemployment figure in the ARA study area.<sup>7</sup> (See Tables XVII and XVIII for more complete breakdowns on school and BPA employment figures.)

Although there is widespread agreement as to the social need for auxiliary positions in the field of education and social welfare, resistance to the proposal will undoubtedly be strong in several quarters. Taxpayers' groups may protest on the grounds that this will further increase the cost of education and social welfare, but detailed explanations of the savings which

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<sup>7</sup> This is intended only as an illustration of the possible magnitude of jobs which might be created, not as a specific proposal.

could be made elsewhere might soften such criticism. Perhaps the most potent opposition would come from professional associations which anticipate either an attack on "professional standards" or a reduction in job opportunities and/or salaries for their members. Opposition of this nature can be met by assurances that the process of job creation will strengthen, rather than weaken, the ability of certificated professionals to perform their duties, and that the sellers' market for such professional services is likely to remain even after these supplemental positions have been instituted. Under any circumstances, demonstration projects might well be launched in the Los Angeles area to determine whether it is possible to create types of positions which would serve a genuine need, provide employment for relatively unskilled persons, and preserve professional standards at the same time.

#### Existing Sources of Employment

In an era of declining demand for workers with little education and skill, it is ironical that a severe labor shortage is alleged to exist in the agricultural fields of California. With the impending termination of the "bracero" program on January 1, 1965, under which Mexican nationals have entered this country for specified periods to perform unskilled work in agriculture, a bitter debate rages over the question of whether it is possible to recruit a sufficient number of domestic workers to replace those braceros. Growers and their spokesmen assert that the domestic unemployed are unsuited for this onerous work and are unwilling to accept it at wages and working conditions which the industry can afford to grant. Labor unions and other groups counter that the available supply of American labor is more than adequate to meet the need if agricultural employers will offer a decent standard of living to their employees.

Since agriculture appears to be the only major industry in the Southern California area which provides a considerable volume of unskilled jobs which could be filled immediately by unemployed persons in the ARA study area, the authors of this report have undertaken to explore the conditions under which the unemployed or underemployed might be recruited for farm work. The study has been intended to throw light on the paradox of labor surpluses in the central Los Angeles area and apparent labor shortages on the farms a relatively few miles away, at a time when various agencies are investigating new ways by which unskilled jobs can be developed.

For this purpose, a series of questions was inserted in the interview schedule used in an extensive survey administered by the Institute of Industrial Relations and the UCLA Survey Research Center in the study area. The questions were designed primarily to elicit information on the number and proportion of unemployed or underemployed persons who have had past experience in farm work, their willingness to accept farm employment in California if it is offered, and the conditions of their acceptance. Results are now available for a random sample of 1,000 persons in the study area. A complete summary and evaluation of survey findings, together with an analysis of farm labor problems in general and recommendations for their solution, are contained in a special report, After the Bracero, prepared by Fred H. Schmidt of the Institute staff. Much of the following discussion is drawn from or based upon that report.

The first question to be raised and answered was whether domestic workers, even those who have been farm workers sometime in the past, would be willing

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The nature of this survey and its major findings are analyzed at some length in the following chapter of this report.

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That report has been published separately by the Institute of Industrial Relations.

to accept such work in California under any circumstances. It has been frequently argued that native Americans are physically and culturally unfitted for "stoop" labor (or other kinds of unusually hard work) and are resistant to it by temperament. Consequently, the following question was posed to each person interviewed: "Would you work out of Los Angeles as a farm laborer for fixed periods if housing were free and free transportation was provided so you could return regularly for a couple of days at a time?" It should be noted that the arrangement suggested would allow the worker's family to remain at home in Los Angeles while he worked in the fields during periods of peak labor demand. About 29 percent of all those in the total sample, which includes both men and women, responded affirmatively to that question. The survey also determined that a substantial proportion of the study area's residents have performed farm work in the past. Exactly 34 percent of the respondents indicated that they were in this category.

A clearer picture of possible farm labor recruitment is obtained when the analysis is limited only to the currently unemployed males in the sample, the group best fitted for the available jobs and most acceptable to the growers. Of the 342 unemployed men, exactly 45 percent indicated a willingness to accept farm jobs under the specified conditions, and almost 42 percent had done such work in the past. Clearly there are no automatic cultural or psychological barriers to the acceptance of farm employment by domestic workers. A substantial percentage of men already have experience in it, and two-thirds of those with experience will return to it if the circumstances and rewards are appropriate. Indeed, even the long hours sometimes required in agriculture constitute no obstacle to recruitment, since almost 92 percent of unemployed men willing to do farm labor would work ten hours a day if necessary.

It is not clear, however, whether the prevailing economic inducements offered by the growers are sufficient to attract the unemployed men in the ARA study area. Farm workers are not presently covered by unemployment insurance, social security, private health insurance, or collective bargaining legislation (in California, workers in agriculture are protected by disability insurance and workmen's compensation only), and wages, while highly variable, appear to range mainly from \$1.00 to \$1.25 an hour. A little over one-quarter of unemployed men willing to do farm work would expect an income of \$65 a week or less (\$1.62 an hour or less for a regular 40-hour week, and \$1.30 an hour or less for a 50-hour week). Another 20 percent approximately would demand between \$65 and \$79 a week, and another 29 percent from \$80 to \$100 weekly. The relatively low wages in agriculture and its failure to provide fringe benefits and normal social insurance coverage mean in effect that the economic conditions are frequently inferior to the minimum standards established in unemployment compensation and public assistance for the urban unemployed.

The evidence suggests that the absence of unemployment compensation benefits is a serious deterrent to recruitment in any industry characterized by seasonality and irregular production, as is agriculture to an intensified degree. Workers in seasonal industries rely on such benefits to round out their annual earnings. Some industries preserve a readily available work force, even though production is irregular, by providing a meaningful annual wage supplement in the form of unemployment insurance. Coverage of farm workers in California would boost annual earnings and assist in the decasualization of the labor force.

It is also possible that the Manpower Development and Training Act might be utilized as a vehicle for the provision both of additional benefits to farm workers and of remedial education and training. Data from the surveys

made in Los Angeles reveal a low level of educational achievement among those unemployed persons most likely to be attracted or reattracted to farm work. This fact poses a special problem in the construction of manpower retraining programs for these individuals. Whether the training program is directed toward higher-skilled farm jobs or jobs in industry, there often is much basic education that must be provided before other job training can be successfully offered to the trainee.

MDTA programs now in operation have shown a capacity to reach those persons. Such programs can offer, under some circumstances, a training allowance that provides income to the trainee while taking a training course, offering a powerful incentive to the trainee to remain with the course set for him. Recent amendments to the Act have increased allowances and permitted part-time employment without reduction in pay during the period of training, in addition to lengthening the maximum allowable training period to enable trainees to undertake remedial educational courses. These new provisions make it possible to organize programs for farm workers which could provide both remedial and occupational training, permit them to obtain income by working in the fields up to 20 hours per week, and pay them substantial allowances. The inducement to the trainee to apply himself to the instruction being given, and to accept his turn at work offerings in the fields, comes from the assured income this arrangement promises over a rather extensive period.

The training under this type of program must necessarily be flexible and mobile, so that it would be adaptable to changes in time and location required by the seasonality of agriculture. Surplus military housing could be made available to serve as training centers in various parts of the state and for

other purposes. Some steps have already been taken in this direction, and it is likely that others will be equally feasible if a concentrated effort is made to develop new approaches to the education of migratory workers.

If unemployed men in the study area are to be attracted to agricultural employment on a week-haul basis, which would be least disruptive to family and home life, farm employers obviously must be prepared to provide transportation (or transportation allowances), suitable housing for workers while they are in the fields, and other benefits. Better and more reasonable methods of supervision are also essential in agriculture, where the presence of a guaranteed labor supply through the bracero program has heretofore not encouraged the development of progressive supervisory techniques designed to motivate workers and meet their personal needs.

Implicit in these and the other proposals advanced in the foregoing text is an acceptance of the fact that the bracero program (Public Law 78) will be discontinued. It is not possible to conceive of any meaningful change being made in the direction of a necessary restructuring of the farm labor market unless and until there is a general acceptance of the fact that California agriculture no longer need depend on a ready supply of foreign laborers, as it has throughout its history. This is basic to any improvement in the present situation. So long as there is any assurance that a reservoir of foreign labor can readily be tapped to meet what appear to be shortages of labor supply, there will be continuing postponements in reckoning with the basic problems associated with farm labor.

Revised Chapter VIII received April 1965.  
Replaces p. 105-123 of original Ch. VIII

## VIII

### A PROFILE OF THE UNDERPRIVILEGED

One of the major barriers to meaningful research in the subject matter of this report is the absence of current data on the characteristics, problems, and attitudes of the unemployed and underemployed. Most studies must rely on whatever statistical information can be gleaned from the previous decennial census, but any project undertaken in mid-decade, as ours has been, carries the considerable burden of dependence upon statistics which are already obsolete to a high degree. Further, many of the questions asked and responses published by the Census Bureau are not specifically directed to the problems of a "pocket of poverty" in a generally prosperous metropolitan area. It is difficult, for example, to derive useful data on the geographical and occupational patterns of job-seeking among the unemployed, their social and economic aspirations, their mobility within the area, their awareness of job or retraining opportunities, and their overall perceptions of the labor market.

Reliance upon census data is especially hazardous for any project focused upon an area as variable and unpredictable as the ARA study area. Freeway construction, an urban renewal project (a rarity in Los Angeles, but most likely to be located in our area), a rapid shift in ethnic composition, new welfare legislation, and a myriad of other factors can lead to major changes within a relatively short time. Indeed, each one of the factors specified here has had a substantial impact on some part of the study area in the past few years or months.

In the light of these problems, a comprehensive survey of study area residents has been undertaken by the Institute of Industrial Relations and the Survey Research Center at UCLA, for the purpose of obtaining current and

reasonably reliable information on a variety of questions: the labor force status of each respondent, past employment history, methods and areas of job search if unemployed, willingness to move, relationship with State Employment Service, attitudes toward retraining, union status, education and training, migration patterns, aspirations, economic status, sources of income or assistance during periods of unemployment or underemployment, household composition, and personal background. The interview schedule was jointly formulated by the Institute and the Survey Research Center.

The Survey Research Center has administered the survey and edited and coded the completed interview forms. The initial interviewers were selected and the interview schedules pretested in the early spring of 1964, and several training sessions were held to familiarize each interviewer with proper survey techniques and the nature of the information to be elicited. Since the major part of the survey would be conducted in minority-group areas, a particular effort was made to select interviewers who would represent the predominant ethnic group in a given area and could, therefore, establish rapport more readily. All interviewers in Mexican American areas, of course, were Spanish-speaking. Interviewing has proceeded without interruption from March to early December of 1964.

The sampling problems presented by this survey have been especially difficult. Originally the plan had been to select the sample of interviewees from lists of unemployment compensation exhaustees, provided by the California Department of Employment, and unemployed parents under the revised Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, provided by the County Bureau of Public Assistance. It was anticipated that the use of these lists would make possible an intensive study of the long-term unemployed (defined as those

unemployed for at least six months at the time of interview) within the brief period of time available for completion of the survey. The Institute staff was well aware that a sampling of this nature would introduce certain biases into the survey, but it was felt that, even after discounting the results for this reason, the interviews would provide invaluable and otherwise unobtainable data on a group of persons who are particularly difficult to reach through any other channels. Limitations of time and cost naturally must be considered in the selection of a sample.

Full and efficient cooperation was offered by both of the agencies in providing such lists. Names of persons to be interviewed were selected at random from those lists, and interviewers were asked to visit the homes of the respondents to obtain the necessary interviews. After interviewing had been under way for approximately a month, an evaluation of results indicated that an excessively high proportion of those listed were unreachable. It is interesting that those finally contacted were usually willing to be interviewed, but most of those on the lists were "unavailable" to the interviewer when he called at the address given. At first, letters were sent to the potential interviewees, explaining the purpose of the interview and assuring each one that the results would be held confidential and used only for the eventual benefit of unemployed persons in the area, but these apparently had the opposite effect from what was intended. The letters were abandoned and efforts were made to contact interviewees without prior notice, but this too proved largely unavailing. Many of the "addresses" contained on the lists seemed to be only locations where mail occasionally was picked up, or the homes of relatives and friends. Mobility was so great that the name on the list often was unknown to the current resident at that address, or, at least, so the interviewer was informed.

There are, of course, understandable reasons why some of these reactions were encountered, though the survey staff consistently sought to anticipate and overcome them. As suggested earlier in this report, the residents are seldom contacted in this way for purposes which are beneficial to them, and many must immediately become suspicious when there is any hint that someone is looking for them. Answers to certain of the questions posed in the interview could technically disqualify the respondents from further receipt of unemployment compensation or public assistance benefits, under a particular set of circumstances. Our own experience in this respect should be compared with the similar experience of the research group at the Norfolk division of Virginia State College, described elsewhere in this report.

These difficulties made necessary a change in the sampling. The percentage of "no contacts" or "no responses" had ranged from about half to about two-thirds of the persons listed, and the time and cost required for the accumulation of successful interviews would have precluded the survey's completion within a reasonable period. Hence, it was decided that the survey staff would abandon the lists and adopt a random household sampling in those census tracts which reflected extremely high unemployment in 1960, the last year for which unemployment data by tract are available. The switch in sampling obviously made it impossible, within the limits of time and budget, to restrict the survey to long-term unemployed persons, and thus the decision was made to focus upon two groups: all those currently unemployed and looking for work at the time of interview, irrespective of the length of time unemployed, and all those with a history of unemployment over the previous three years, though they might be employed at the time <sup>1</sup> of interview. It was determined

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See Appendix III for an estimate of the random sample total which would have been required to produce the necessary number of interviews with long-term unemployed persons only.

that a sampling of at least 800 persons in these categories would provide statistically valid and useful results.

With the cooperation of Professor Raymond Jessen, a leading specialist in statistical sampling problems, the Survey Research Center prepared a sampling design which involved the random selection of households and the use of two alternative questionnaires by each interviewer.<sup>2</sup> Upon contacting a respondent, the interviewer was instructed to ask a series of questions designed in part to determine the labor force status of the individual. If the respondent was not a member of the labor force, for any reason, or had been continuously employed for the previous three years, he was interviewed with a "short form" which elicited only a few answers to basic questions such as the specific reason for his nonparticipation in the labor force. This interview required about five minutes of his time. If the respondent was currently unemployed, or indicated that he had experienced at least one spell of unemployment within the previous three-year period, he was interviewed with a "long form" which contained a maximum of approximately 150 questions and required an average of an hour to complete.<sup>3</sup>

The survey, of course, has been limited to the ARA study area. Certain subareas were excluded from it for various reasons: a limited area close to

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See Appendix III of this report, "A Technical Note on Survey Sampling Techniques." Interviewers were instructed to interview persons in the age 20 to 60 brackets only.

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Few respondents, of course, would ever be required to answer all questions; since a high proportion of questions were actually subcategories of other questions, a "No" response at one point would mean that the interviewer would skip several further questions which assumed a "yes" answer to the major question, and vice versa.

the campus of the University of Southern California and a part of the south central community had been previously determined to fall outside the economic limits established for the study area by 1960 census data, and the so-called "downtown" section was also excluded on several grounds. Our previous studies have shown that a significant proportion of its residents are alcoholics or suffer from other personal difficulties which may render them unemployable, and the transiency and unstable living conditions of the population (plus their physical or emotional deficiencies) would make effective interviewing difficult, if not impossible.

With the single exception noted above, an effort has been made to achieve a broad and representative sampling of all groups in those areas characterized by high unemployment and depressed conditions. Because of the economic criteria used in determining the boundaries of the survey area, and the exclusion of the downtown area, the sample is predominantly Negro and Mexican American in composition. However, over 7 percent of the "long-form" interviews and 13 percent of the "short-form" were with Anglos. The great majority of Anglos surveyed were located in the less disadvantaged northwestern and northeastern parts of the ARA study area.

As of December 7, 1964, a total of 998 "long-form" interviews had been completed, edited, coded, and processed at the Western Data Processing Center at UCLA, including 126 successful interviews previously completed with persons on the lists obtained from the Department of Employment and the Bureau of Public Assistance. Thus, a total of 872 interviews were secured from the random household sampling, covering 542 persons who were currently unemployed and 330 who had a history of unemployment in the prior three-year period. In addition, the massive total of 2,557 "short-form" interviews had been completed, containing some valuable information which is also analyzed in this report.

In summary, the Survey Research Center has gathered 3,555 interviews, all of them with residents of the ARA study area.

### Personal Characteristics of the Respondents

In the total "long-form" sample, which includes both the persons in the random household sampling and those from the lists provided by the Department of Employment and the Bureau of Public Assistance, about 50 percent of the respondents were Negro, about 42.5 percent were Mexican American, 7 percent were Anglo, and a small fraction were Oriental. Negroes exceeded Mexican Americans in every category of the household sampling (currently unemployed men, currently unemployed women, employed men with a history of unemployment, and employed women with a history of unemployment), with the disparity most striking in the case of unemployed women. Here the respective proportions were 60.2 percent, and 33.2 percent, indicating that Negro women suffer unemployment at a particularly severe rate in comparison with other ethnic groups. On the other hand, the "short-form" sampling of persons who have been continuously employed for at least three years (or, in the case of young persons, since entering the labor market) reveals that Mexican Americans far outnumber Negroes, by almost a two-to-one margin. Clearly the Mexican Americans residing in the ARA study area are much more successful in obtaining long-term employment than are the Negroes.

Of the 872 respondents in the random household sampling ("long-form"), about 59 percent were men and 41 percent women. The proportion of female respondents was highest in the currently unemployed category: 47.2 percent of the total. About one-third of the employed persons with a history of unemployment were women. The proportion of women among the unemployed was consistently highest in the Negro areas, south of downtown Los Angeles.

Relatively few of those interviewed in the "long-form" sampling were natives of California. Only 11 percent of the total had been born in the Los Angeles area, and another 3.2 percent elsewhere in California. Mexico and Texas were prominent as birthplaces (17.6 percent and 17.3 percent of the total sample, respectively), and the Southern part of the United States, including Texas, accounted for close to one-half of the areas of birth. More than four-fifths of all Negroes in the sample originated in the South, while the Mexican Americans came almost entirely from Mexico, California, Texas, and the other Southwestern states, in that order.<sup>4/</sup>

Most of the Negroes were born in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, or Alabama, and the majority of Mexican American immigrants were either from Mexico or Texas. The percentage of native Californians was lowest among males on the lists supplied by the Department of Employment and the Bureau of Public Assistance, and highest among currently unemployed males in the household sampling, but the immigrants far exceeded the natives in both cases. A much higher proportion of the respondents had attended school in California: among currently unemployed persons who had attended high school, for example, about 35 percent had been enrolled in Los Angeles area schools and another 5 percent in schools elsewhere in the state. The percentages, however, vary considerably between Negroes and Mexican Americans. About 55 percent of the Mexican American sampling had attended a high school in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, compared to about 28 percent of the Negroes. The proportion of those having attended Los Angeles area schools is consistently lower among the employed persons with a history of unemployment, for both of the ethnic groups and both sexes.

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<sup>4/</sup>The area identified as the "South" is identical with the corresponding area defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in 1960.

It should be added that the proportion of total Negroes who had attended high school at all is considerably greater than the corresponding proportion of Mexican Americans. Two-thirds of Negro men and four-fifths of Negro women were in this category, while the corresponding percentages for Mexican American men and women were 51 percent and 45 percent. Indeed, the median of school years completed for Negro men in this sampling is close to the 10th grade, and the median for Negro women is about half a grade higher. The medians for Mexican American respondents range about two grades lower.

Functional illiteracy (defined as less than a fifth grade education) is a particularly severe problem among Mexican Americans, and is intensified among the women. About 22 percent of all Mexican American women in the household sampling were functional illiterates. By contrast, the percentage for Mexican American men was 17.9 percent, for Negro men 8.6 percent, and for Negro women only 4.0 percent. According to the 1960 census, 13.7 percent of the population over age 25 in the ARA study area and 3.8 percent of the total population over age 25 in the remainder of Los Angeles County were functional illiterates. The results of the Institute survey therefore suggest a paradox: Negro women, who suffer a heavy burden of unemployment, are among the best educated (at least in quantitative terms) of the various groups studied in the survey.

At the other end of the scale, the same pattern emerges. About two-fifths of Negro women and one-third of Negro men were high school graduates, more than twice the corresponding percentages for Mexican American women and men. Over one-quarter of the currently unemployed persons had completed the 12th grade; the percentages of graduates range somewhat higher among the employed persons with a history of unemployment, but, ironically, the proportions of functional illiterates are also higher in this latter group,

especially among the women. The percentage of high school graduates in the total household sampling falls far short of the corresponding 53.4 percent for all those over age 25 in Los Angeles County, but the gap, especially for Negro women, is not as wide as one might have anticipated. The problem of educational deficiency, again in a quantitative sense, is most aggravated among Mexican Americans.

More than 60 percent of the non-natives had lived either in Texas, Mexico, Louisiana, Arkansas, or Mississippi (in that order) just before coming to California. The average respondent had most likely been raised in a small town or a city; only about 14 percent of the total had been raised on a farm. A surprisingly high proportion of the migrants to California had been in the state for 10 years or over. Exactly 54 percent of the currently unemployed men and 53 percent of the currently unemployed women had moved to California at least 10 years prior to the time of interview, and the overwhelming majority of them had come directly to the Los Angeles metropolitan area. The percentage of long-term residents is higher among currently unemployed persons than among employed persons with a history of unemployment, by about 9 percentage points in both the male and female categories. Negro respondents indicate the longest terms of residence in the state and in the metropolitan area. The percentage of 10-years-plus residents among all of the currently unemployed is virtually identical with the corresponding figure for the long-term employed persons in the "short-form" sampling, which may suggest that there is little correlation between length of residence in the state and the ability of study area residents to secure and hold employment in the current labor market.

A rather high percentage of the respondents, especially the currently unemployed, had lived in the same neighborhood for 5 years or more. Over two-fifths of unemployed men and women in the household sampling had remained

in their present neighborhood for that period of time, a remarkably long time in a state and in an area noted for its restless mobility. Again the percentages tend to be somewhat lower for the employed persons with a history of unemployment. A majority of the migrants to the Los Angeles area had located initially in the south central or east Los Angeles areas and had remained there until the time of interview, but approximately one-third had first lived in some other part of the city of Los Angeles. As might be expected, the Negroes appear to be more restricted in this respect than do the Mexican Americans: a much higher proportion of unemployed Negroes, especially the women, had remained within the confines of the defined ghetto.

Exactly 85 percent of the unemployed men and 62 percent of the unemployed women in the household sampling were heads of households at the time of interview. The high percentage of female heads of households, most notably among the Negro respondents, is characteristic of the ARA study area and a major source of the difficulties experienced. The median number of dependents age 16 and under is somewhat over 2 for the unemployed men and somewhat under 2 for the unemployed women. The median is higher for Mexican American men but much lower for Mexican American women, and a little over 52 percent of Negro men and Negro women each have no more than 2 dependents in this age group. The vast majority of respondents in all categories had only one dependent age 17 and over, presumably a spouse in most cases, but about 30 percent of unemployed Negro women had 2 or more such dependents.

The figures on marital status reveal the high incidence of family disorganization in the study area, most severely within Negro households headed by a woman. Exactly 64 percent of all unemployed males and 32 percent of all unemployed females in the household sampling were married, with spouse present, at the time of interview. Somewhat over three-fifths of the Negro women in

this sampling were either separated, divorced, single, or widowed, in that order. Perhaps most surprising, about 30 percent of the unemployed Mexican American women were either separated or divorced, a high percentage in a culture noted for its emphasis on family solidarity.

Age patterns in the various groups surveyed suggest no important divergences. The median age for all unemployed persons was about 35 years, with Negro women slightly younger than the men and Mexican American women somewhat older than the men. Employed women with a history of unemployment also had a median age of about 35, and employed men were about 2 years younger. The median ages of all long-term employed persons in the "short-form" sampling and of all persons on the BPA-DE lists were about 38.5 years in each case, somewhat higher than the previous medians but hardly a significant difference.

A considerable proportion of the persons contacted, of course, were out of the labor market for one reason or another. Of 978 such respondents reached in the "short-form" sampling, about 41 percent were retired, about 23 percent were housewives not seeking work, about 12 percent had a long-term illness, about 10 percent were permanently disabled, about 4 percent had a temporary illness, and the remainder were scattered in various categories. Thus, somewhat over one-quarter of these respondents had left the labor force, either temporarily or permanently, for health reasons.

### Employment History

The respondents were, by training and background, overwhelmingly concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled work. The vast majority of immigrants had performed semiskilled or unskilled jobs before coming to California; almost 70 percent of the unemployed men and 66 percent of the unemployed women had worked in those categories. Negroes tended to concentrate in unskilled work,

to a greater degree than did the Mexican Americans. The latter had succeeded in obtaining semiskilled and skilled jobs in greater proportions, though it should be added that 10.3 percent of the unemployed Mexican American men (and 6.7 percent of the Negro men) had previously worked in agriculture. About 14 percent of all Negroes and 8.5 percent of all Mexican Americans had been employed in service occupations. Employed persons with a history of unemployment had been concentrated in semiskilled work to a much greater degree than had the currently unemployed. Negro women, however, remained heavily clustered in the unskilled and service categories.

Both the currently unemployed and the employed with history of unemployment indicate a considerable intermittency or irregularity of employment over the previous 3-year period. Roughly 66 percent of the unemployed men and 86 percent of the employed men had had two or more jobs in that time, and the corresponding percentages for three or more jobs were 36 percent and 38 percent. The women had higher proportions with only one job in that period, though job-changing, particularly among Negroes, remains common. Variations in the pattern of jobs held in this period are apparent among and within the various groups. The first job mentioned by about 44 percent of the unemployed men and about 50 percent of the unemployed women was in the semiskilled category, but Negro men were relatively more concentrated in unskilled and Mexican American men in semiskilled work. Negro women had been comparatively more successful than the men in finding semiskilled employment, though the Mexican American women had had even greater success.

The employed persons with history of unemployment were to be found in relatively greater numbers in the semiskilled categories, even among the Negro males. Over 50 percent of the Negro men identified their first job in the defined period as semiskilled, in contrast with 37.5 percent in the case of

the currently unemployed. The proportion in the unskilled category, however, rises when the second and third jobs are mentioned. The pattern among the women is somewhat mixed: the jobs identified fall predominantly in the unskilled, semiskilled, service, and skilled groups, with the order of the first two varying.

The jobs currently held by the employed persons with a history of unemployment tend to be in the semiskilled, unskilled, service, and skilled categories, in that order. In this case, even the Negroes mentioned semiskilled employment with greatest frequency, though the proportion of the Mexican Americans still remains higher. Among all the men surveyed, semiskilled work accounted for one-half and unskilled for one-third of the total; the corresponding proportions for all women were 46 percent and 30 percent. The proportions of Mexican Americans in semiskilled occupations invariably exceed the Negro proportions by a rather wide margin. Somewhat over one-fifth of the employed Negro women were in the service category, and about 15 percent had skilled jobs. Over three-fifths of the Mexican American women were concentrated in the semiskilled area.

The intermittency of employment is reflected in the fact that about half of the employed men and of the employed women had been on the job for 40 weeks or less at the time of interview. Only a little more than a third of the currently employed group had been at work for over a year. In the "short-form" sampling of longer-term employed persons in the study area, about half of the respondents had had their present job for more than 5 years, and about one-third had been employed for more than 10 years. Further, the majority of the long-term employed persons indicate that they had been employed at another job just before taking their present one. Significantly, of course, they tend to be more concentrated in the higher-skill occupations, though still

predominantly blue-collar in nature.

A little under half of all unemployed persons in the household sampling had been out of work 26 weeks or more at the time of interview. Women suffered long-term unemployment at a much higher rate than did the men: 61.9 percent of the unemployed women and 34.5 percent of the unemployed men fell in this category. Long-term unemployment is more serious among Negroes than among Mexican Americans, and most severe among Negro women. These figures contrast sharply with the national figures on long-term unemployment, which show that only about 13 percent of all unemployed persons have been out of work for more than 6 months.<sup>5/</sup> Thus, it would appear that the census tracts selected for study reflect hard-core unemployment to an aggravated degree.

The reasons perceived by the unemployed for their current unemployment vary considerably, but nearly half of the men stated that they had been laid off for one or another economic reason. About 28 percent of all the men ascribed it to a business slump. Aside from layoffs, other major reasons given were: accident or illness (11.7 percent), temporary job (10.0), and voluntary quit (8.2). Among the women, voluntary quits (usually for pregnancy) accident or illness, and reasons not identified are given with greater frequency, though about 29 percent of them had been laid off. A particularly high proportion of the Negro women--about two-fifths--had been forced to quit their previous employment for reasons of health, pregnancy, and similar factors. Relatively few persons in any category perceived automation as the major cause of their unemployment, but it is obvious that this represents only their perception and not necessarily the reality in the background.

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<sup>5</sup>Manpower Report of the President, March, 1964, p. 28.

### The Search for Work

All of the survey findings, subject as they are to the usual doubts and qualifications, would seem to indicate that the unemployed are genuinely seeking out jobs. Most of the respondents specified a variety of firms or agencies at which they have applied for work. The largest single group of unemployed persons--roughly 29 percent of the men and 25 percent of the women--mentioned both government agencies and private firms in their identification of places visited. A significant proportion, particularly among the Negro respondents, mentioned government agencies only, indicating a more optimistic appraisal of employment chances in government than in private industry within this group. About 11 percent of the unemployed men in the household sampling relied largely or in part upon the union hiring hall, but equal or somewhat higher percentages mentioned private retail or service firms only, manufacturing firms only, or a mixture of private firms of several kinds. Women concentrated heavily on a mixture of government agencies and private firms, private retail or service firms only, government agencies only, manufacturing firms only, and a mixture of private firms, in that order. About 45 percent of the Negro women referred to government agencies, at least in part, in describing their quest for employment. Almost none of the men relied on newspaper job listings and/or telephone inquiries, but 4.4 percent of the women mentioned this technique.

Exactly 51 percent of the unemployed men and 31 percent of the unemployed women visit places of employment either daily or two or three times a week. The women are obviously much less mobile than the men, for the reason that relatively fewer of them own cars. About 70 percent of the men and 45 percent of the women travel distances in excess of 10 miles from their home in searching for work. In answer to a separate question, a little under one-third of the unemployed men and 48 percent of the unemployed women replied that they

usually stayed in their respective areas (south central Los Angeles in the case of Negroes, east Los Angeles in the case of Mexican Americans) in looking for work. In the light of the distances characteristic of the Los Angeles region, the answers to these various questions are quite consistent with one another.

The vast distances required in this job search unquestionably pose a critical problem for those large numbers of respondents who do not own a car and must depend largely upon public transportation. Over 45 percent of the unemployed men and 73 percent of the unemployed women had no car at the time of interview. The percentage of car owners is somewhat higher among Negro men than among Mexican American men, but the proportions are reversed for Mexican American and Negro women. Indeed, almost four-fifths of Negro women in this sampling are without a car. It is significant that the proportions of car ownership are markedly higher among those persons who were currently employed (though with a history of unemployment): About 65 percent of the employed men and 31 percent of the employed women owned a vehicle. The proportions of ownership were therefore about 10 percentage points higher for the men and 4 percentage points for the women. It is obvious that the women are placed at a particular disadvantage by the absence of adequate transportation.

Further, the cars owned by study area residents tend to be of a rather old vintage: about 46 percent of the unemployed men and 30 percent of the unemployed women, with cars, drive models of the year 1955 and older. The cars owned by the employed men tend to be of a more recent vintage: only 30.5 percent of these persons own cars as old as those in the above category. The percentage for the small number of female car owners remains about the same in both the employed and unemployed categories.

When they work, 48.6 percent of the unemployed men and 9.6 percent of the unemployed women normally travel to the job in their own cars, and another

5.2 percent of the men and 5.6 percent of the women rely on car pools. About 40 percent of the men and 70 percent of the women must depend on public transportation, and the magnitude of sacrifice required of a domestic worker traveling each day by bus from south central Los Angeles to Brentwood, for instance, will be readily apparent to all those familiar with the Los Angeles transit system. By contrast, only 20 percent of the employed men and 59 percent of the employed women use public transportation in traveling to and from work, a high proportion when compared to overall figures for all county residents but considerably lower than the percentages for unemployed persons in our study area. The 1960 census shows that about 71 percent of all employed persons in Los Angeles County travel to work by private car or car pool, and only 13 percent use public transportation (the remainder either work at home, walk, or use other means). The county figures, of course, include the study area residents, and the divergence would be even more striking if the study area totals were separated out.

For most unemployed men, weekly transportation costs just in getting back and forth to work, when they are employed, range from about \$3 to about \$5, but about 30 percent of them report costs in excess of \$5 per week. The women pay much less, on the average, probably because most of them live closer to their place of employment. The figures are very similar for the employed persons in the household sampling, as might be expected.

Both men and women concentrate in the semiskilled, unskilled, and service categories, in that order, in their search for employment. Negro men focus somewhat more (46.6 percent) on unskilled jobs, while Mexican American men (52.1 percent) emphasize the semiskilled. About 40 percent of Negro women seek semiskilled, 34 percent unskilled, and 20 percent service occupations, while Mexican American women concentrate on semiskilled (60.2 percent) and

unskilled (31.3 percent). The approximately 40 percent of Negro men and women who are seeking semiskilled jobs may include many who had performed primarily unskilled work in the past but are now aware that jobs in the latter category are scarce. About three-quarters of the total of male respondents, and three-fifths of the female, reported that they had worked at a job for which they were best trained, when they were last working, and a majority of all those who replied negatively gave the reason as "no work in that field."

About three-quarters of the unemployed men and three-fifths of the unemployed women were registered at an office of the State Employment Service at the time of interview, but roughly the same percentages reported that they had not had referrals from that office during the current spell of unemployment. These figures are particularly interesting because the overwhelming majority of the respondents--88.1 percent in the case of men and 83.5 percent in the case of women--stated that they had found jobs through the Employment Service sometimes in the previous 3-year period. Apparently the Employment Service had been of some value to them in the past, but has not materially assisted them in their present predicament. Again this may well reflect a basic change in the nature of the labor market.

Obviously, the search for employment takes place primarily through informal and unofficial channels. This fact is clearly reflected in the replies of employed persons, with history of unemployment, to the question: "How did you hear of this job?" About 47 percent of the men and 38 percent of the women stressed "family, friends, or relatives," and another 23 percent of the men and 19 percent of the women answered that they had secured employment simply by walking into the employer's office. The State Employment Service appears to be of somewhat greater (though hardly significant) value to the women than to the men: about 9 percent of the employed women and 6 percent of the employed men had obtained their current work through SES referral.

The informality of the job-hunting process is further confirmed by an examination of the ways in which long-term employed persons in the "short-form" sampling had originally secured their jobs. About 36 percent of them had been referred to the job by "family, friends, or relatives," and another 27 percent had made direct application to the employer ("walk-in"). Approximately 6 percent each of the total had used "want ads" and "union referral," respectively, and only a little over 5 percent had been referred by the State Employment Service. Almost half of these long-term employed, of course, were semi-skilled, and another third were either in skilled or service occupations or were self-employed. In sharp contrast with the unemployed persons, only 18 percent of all the longer-term employed were in the unskilled category.

A high proportion of the currently unemployed expressed a willingness to move to a new location, if jobs were available there. About 79 percent of the men and 56 percent of the women were so willing, and of that number about 40 percent of the men and 17 percent of the women would move out of the state if necessary. In general, men are much more willing to move than are women, and Negroes somewhat more willing than Mexican Americans. This is an interesting result, in view of the fact that housing discrimination impedes the ability of Negroes to move in much greater degree than it does in the case of Mexican Americans.

Both the currently unemployed and the employed with history of unemployment evinced a strong interest in retraining, for the purpose of learning how to do another job. About four-fifths of the unemployed men and of the unemployed women would consider returning to school, and the overwhelming majority of them would be interested mainly in vocational courses. Negroes, especially the women, are significantly more willing to retrain than are the Mexican Americans in the household sampling. A high percentage of the respondents

(about 40 percent of the men and 25 percent of the women) indicated no awareness that such vocational training was offered in any of the local public schools, though Negroes tended to be much more knowledgeable in this area than did the Mexican Americans. The interest in retraining was almost as strong among the employed persons with history of unemployment, and awareness of local availability of such training is markedly higher in this group.

It is obvious that the currently unemployed persons in this study area are predominantly unorganized, though an extremely high percentage of the men had once held union membership and had since dropped it. About 73 percent of the men and 93 percent of the women belonged to no union at the time of interview. The unemployed men who were union members, particularly the Negroes, were largely concentrated in the building trades unions (notably Local #300 of the Laborers' and Hodcarriers' Union). The Mexican American men were to be found more often in an AFL-CIO craft union outside the building trades, but fairly large percentages of both groups belonged to an AFL-CIO industrial union or to the Teamsters Union. Among the 20 percent of the men who simply replied "AFL-CIO union" without specifying the precise international, it is likely that a high proportion belonged to Local #300. The sampling of female union members is quite small (only 19 in total).

Roughly 41 percent of the unemployed men and 26 percent of the unemployed women had belonged to a union in the past, but had dropped membership. The highest percentage of the men (about 30 percent) had once belonged to an AFL-CIO industrial union, but substantial numbers had also dropped out of the building trades unions (21.5 percent), AFL-CIO unspecified (17.4), Teamsters (11.6), and AFL-CIO craft unions outside the building trades (9.9). Most of the women had belonged to an AFL-CIO industrial union (38.2 percent), AFL-CIO unspecified (27.9), and an AFL-CIO craft union outside the building trades (14.7).

The responses to an inquiry about union referrals to jobs demonstrate that 73 percent of the men and 78 percent of the women had not been referred by a union. The overwhelming majority of both men and women indicated that they had received no assistance from any union in their search for employment.

The employed persons with history of unemployment had a higher percentage of union members: about 39 percent of the men and 14 percent of the women in this case. The men usually belonged to an AFL-CIO industrial union (30.0 percent), an AFL-CIO building trades union (24.4), AFL-CIO unspecified (15.6), AFL-CIO other craft (15.6), and Teamsters (10.0). About 36 percent of the employed men and 21 percent of the employed women had once belonged to a union but had dropped membership. The unions to which the men had formerly belonged were, predominantly, the industrial unions, AFL-CIO unspecified, other crafts, building trades, and Teamsters, in that order.

In responding to questions about their major problems in finding work, a majority of both the men and the women in the currently unemployed category (almost 57 percent in each case) felt that they had difficulty in getting jobs, though relatively few believed that there was any difficulty in retaining jobs once they became employed. When asked for their own perceptions of the causes of their difficulty, their answers ranged widely, but both men and women gave substantial emphasis to the unavailability of jobs for which they could qualify, lack of skill, lack of education, and age. A rather small proportion of the total (somewhat higher among the women than among the men) emphasized racial discrimination as a factor; age is perceived as a greater barrier to employment than race. Mexican Americans almost never mentioned discrimination, but about 16 percent of Negro women and 10 percent of Negro men considered it to be important. About 6 percent of the total sampling of unemployed persons stressed poor health, and another 7 percent suggested

personal attitudes or emotional problems, on their own part, as the reason for their difficulty.

The reason for these perceptions probably lies, in large part, in the nature of the work which the respondents are seeking. Most of them are searching for unskilled, semiskilled, or service jobs, though the response to certain questions indicated that perhaps one-third would prefer jobs of higher skill. The lesser-skilled occupations, of course, are precisely those in which Negroes and Mexican Americans have already made the greatest penetration, and, indeed, some of those jobs seem to be "earmarked" by industry for members of these ethnic groups. Hence, it is not likely that Negroes and Mexican Americans would sense adverse discrimination in these areas. Ironically, there is evidence that "discrimination" is perceived by at least a few Mexican Americans mainly in terms of Negro advancement into jobs which might otherwise go to the Mexican American group.

#### How the Unemployed Live

Despite the extravagant claims of relief "chiseling" and burdensome welfare expenditures which sometimes fill the daily press, there is no evidence that a substantial proportion of the male unemployed are "on welfare" during the period of unemployment. Indeed, the vast majority of respondents, both men and women, were not even receiving unemployment compensation at the time of interview (about 64 percent of the men and 84 percent of the women). Less than one-third of those men receiving compensation were getting the maximum payment allowable, and the percentage drops to about 5 percent in the case of the women.

If the survey results can be interpreted literally, somewhat over one-third of the men and about three-fifths of the women were ineligible to

receive benefits. This may have been partly the result of confusion on the part of some respondents as to the intent of the question, which was to establish whether they were covered by unemployment insurance. While the question indicated several alternative reasons for their failure to receive compensation, such as the waiting period required or the inadequacy of the employee's earnings credits during the qualifying period, it is possible that a few respondents used the "ineligible" category as a catch-all, perhaps categorizing themselves as ineligible because of rulings that they had actually been discharged from or had voluntarily quit prior employment. Despite these qualifications, it is clear that about 46 percent of the men and about 73 of the women not getting compensation were in that category for reasons that are unrelated to the exhaustion of benefits or the usual waiting period.

Unemployment compensation, of course, is a right established by the Social Security Act of 1935 and financed on social insurance principles, and is in no way identical with "relief" or "charity." Even when we focus upon public assistance, however, the results would suggest that jobless persons, especially the men, obtain proportionately minor help from government. At the time of the survey, about 14 percent of the unemployed men and 23 percent of the unemployed women, not receiving unemployment compensation, were getting some form of public assistance. The group receiving the highest proportion of assistance consisted of unemployed Negro women, but even here only 28.8 percent of the total were actually on the relief rolls. Most of the respondents, in all categories, emphasized help received from relatives or friends, a spouse, or "other" sources; in fact, over three-quarters of the men and only a slightly lower percentage of the women mentioned one or another of these sources of income. Only a small proportion of the unemployed were receiving pensions, and the percentages getting insurance payments or help from private

agencies were negligible. Since these figures relate to those persons not currently receiving unemployment compensation, and our previous analysis shows that only a minority of the unemployed were getting such compensation at the time of interview, it is clear that governmental financial assistance does not go to a majority of the unemployed persons interviewed in the household sampling. It is possible, of course, that a certain proportion of the respondents were not frank in answering these questions, but there is no apparent reason to question the essential accuracy of these results, as the reports of the Bureau of Public Assistance themselves show that its aid goes to but a small proportion of able-bodied employable men (about one and one-quarter percent of persons receiving aid in Los Angeles County in July, 1964.<sup>6/</sup>

The answers to a question relative to earnings on the job, when last employed, would seem to indicate that a high proportion of currently unemployed men--almost 37 percent--received an income of \$100 a week or more. The women had been extremely low-paid by comparison: three-fifths of them had made less than \$60 a week, and only 2.4 percent had earned \$100 a week or more. The men had averaged about \$80, and the women about \$55, each week. The figures on present weekly earnings of the employed persons, with a history of unemployment, run almost the same; about 34 percent of the men in this category earn \$100 a week or more.

The findings of the survey on earnings are consistent with previous indications that a considerable percentage of the male residents find employment normally in the construction industry. Construction jobs are both intermittent and relatively high-paid, thereby providing good incomes for

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<sup>6</sup> Perhaps it is again necessary to enter the caveat that this proportion may rise in the coming months.

some periods and no income at all for other periods. Recent technological developments and a decline in construction activity in Southern California have unquestionably had a major impact on the study area. If the diminution of unskilled jobs in that industry is permanent, as it now appears to be, it could have disastrous long-run effects on the area unless other sources of employment are uncovered.

About 90 percent of the currently unemployed persons in the household sampling were renters. Approximately two-fifths of both the men and the women paid rent of less than \$60 a month, and the average rent was in the \$60-69 range. Almost half of the 58 homeowners in the sampling were making mortgage payments of \$90 per month or more.

The median payment per month for all utilities (gas, electricity, and phone) was around \$14.50 for unemployed men and somewhat more for unemployed women. Food expenditures per week for unemployed persons ran about \$20 or \$21 on the average. The median for medical and dental expenses per month was roughly \$14 for unemployed men and a dollar or so more for unemployed women.

Only a small proportion of the respondents were covered by any kind of health insurance. Only 14 percent of the men and 18 percent of the women were protected by a prepaid medical plan, and of this group one-quarter of the men and almost half of the women paid monthly premiums of more than \$9. About 42 percent of the men and 53 percent of the women indicated that they used the city or county health services at one time or another, with the percentage of use highest by far (62.1 percent) among Negro women. About two-thirds of the users, male and female, mentioned the Los Angeles County Hospital only in identifying the facilities used; another 13 percent of the men and 14 percent of the women referred to public health centers, and 10 percent of the men and 8 percent of the women mentioned a combination of various types of facilities.

Roughly one-quarter of the men and a slightly higher percentage of the women use such facilities for both regular care and emergencies, and the others use them only for emergencies or for a variety of special services or care. Over three-fifths of both men and women go exclusively to the County Hospital for care if an accident or emergency illness occurs, or if one of their children becomes ill, but about 12 percent would visit a private hospital or clinic and another 10 percent or so would see a private doctor.

As indicated previously in this report, only slightly more than one-half of the men and one-quarter of the women in the household sampling owned a car, and the overwhelming majority of all unemployed women must depend on public transportation to get to work when employed. Lack of adequate transportation clearly limits the ability of women, in particular, to seek or secure jobs distant from their residence.

Only a minute proportion of total respondents mentioned any help received from public or private agencies, other than money, during the period of unemployment. However, it is obvious from other responses that a great many of them receive important indirect benefits from government: a considerable number, for example, live in low-rent public housing, and a majority make use of the County Hospital and public health facilities. While relatively few are now placed in jobs by the State Employment Service, most of the respondents are registered at an SES office.

### Perceptions and Attitudes

A number of questions in the survey were designed to elicit the reactions of study area residents to problems such as discrimination, area redevelopment (in the broad sense), and so forth, and to gain insight into the aspirations and goals they have set for themselves and for their families. The patterns of responses suggest a deep concern with the question of unemployment and a serious gap in communication between those agencies empowered to combat economic problems and the persons in the most disadvantaged group of the central city.

One purpose of the survey was to probe the possible impact of existing governmental programs, antidiscrimination legislation, and civil-rights activity upon the educational and economic status of study area residents, a majority of whom are Negro and Mexican American. It is clear from the results that most respondents fail to perceive any concrete employment benefits from the increased civil-rights action of recent years. About four-fifths of both the men and the women had noticed no results from civil-rights activity or FEPC legislation, "either at work or elsewhere." Awareness of results was higher among the Negroes than among the Mexican Americans, as would be expected, but even three-quarters of the Negroes were without knowledge of visible improvements. Among all those who had noted any changes whatsoever, about 42 percent of the men and 56 percent of the women had noticed some betterment either in the quality or the quantity of jobs available, or both, but 54 percent of the men and 38 percent of the women mentioned factors unrelated to any improvement in employment. An analysis of this result, and of other responses in the survey, would suggest two possible reasons for this distribution of answers:

- (1) both Negroes and Mexican Americans tend to regard the major effects of civil-rights activity and legislation as being outside the place of employment (for example, in political appointments, public accommodations, schools), and

(2) a noticeable percentage of Mexican Americans feel that recent events have resulted partly in the acquisition of jobs by Negroes which might otherwise go to the Mexican American group.

It is equally clear from other results that the various retraining programs now in effect have had little impact upon the unemployed persons in these "hard-core" areas. About 55 percent of the men and 51 percent of the women had heard of "the Government retraining programs, night courses, or other programs to give more training to people." This does not mean, of course, that they had actually been enrolled in such programs; indeed, there is no indication that MDTA training had reached any of the respondents. The significance of the above response is that almost half of the unemployed persons in the household sampling had never heard of the major training effort undertaken by the federal government in cooperation with the various states. Yet, in response to an earlier question, about four-fifths of this same sampling had indicated an interest in retraining.

It is undeniable that a certain percentage of rationalization and evasion must be anticipated in the answers to questions of this nature. A "Yes" answer to a question about the respondent's interest in retraining may well be more "acceptable" and "respectable" than a "No" response, and some persons may not wish to acknowledge an awareness of programs for which they have never applied. Despite these reservations, it seems likely that the basic pattern of replies is correct. The currently employed persons, incidentally, indicated even less awareness of these programs than did the unemployed.

The questions on job aspirations reveal a bimodal distribution of attitudes: a substantial proportion of the men (44.1 percent) and of the women (41.1) were interested in doing only the same general kind of work that they had performed in the past, but another proportionately large group

of the men (37.1 percent) and of the women (34.8) aspired to a job in a higher skill range and unrelated to their previous work. Unemployed Negro women evinced the strongest interest in upward job mobility, and Mexican American women demonstrated the least interest. Among employed persons with a history of unemployment, Negroes (both male and female) exhibited higher skill aspirations in a somewhat greater degree than did the Mexican Americans.

Questions on hopes and aspirations for one's family and the major lifetime aims of the respondents elicited replies that seemed to emphasize economic factors. About 71 percent of the unemployed men and about 56 percent of the unemployed women gave answers that related in some way to the provision of a better home or the attainment of economic security; a substantial percentage of replies (much higher among women than men) also stressed better education for the family members. Indeed, Mexican American women gave education first priority. In like measure, about half of the men and about 42 percent of the women emphasized success at work or a better home as their main aim in life. A large group also framed their answers in terms of greater economic security, in a somewhat more general sense, and quite a few sought a combination of all the various factors mentioned. Education per se did not have quite the high standing in these responses that it seemed to have previously, but many referred to it in combination with one or another of the other goals.

Asked to identify what they perceived as the major barriers to achievement of their goals, most of the respondents stressed lack of job skill, lack of education, and, simply, "lack of money," or some combination of these and related factors. Age, racial discrimination, and health problems were not given particular emphasis, and only among the women were "problems in the home" given much weight (12.9 percent of the women so indicated). However, the respondents from the BPA-DE lists, who perhaps may be regarded as the

hardest of the hard-core unemployed, tended to emphasize the barriers created by age. Fully 30 percent of all those indicating difficulty in getting jobs gave "age" as the reason.

The perceptions of discrimination, both on the basis of age and of race, reveal some interesting patterns. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they thought that a 20-year-old person would have a better chance to get a job than would a 30-year-old, other things being equal, and were also asked for similar reactions to a situation involving a 30-year-old versus a 40-year-old and a 40-year-old versus a 50-year-old. A majority of the sampling of unemployed persons felt that the younger applicant would always have an advantage (women felt more strongly about this than men, and Negroes much more so than Mexican Americans), but a significant, though lower, proportion believed that the younger would be preferred except in the case of the 20-year-old competing against the 30-year-old. Here they felt that the older applicant would have preference. In short, almost everyone in the sampling believed that age is a barrier to employment for all persons who are 40 or 50 years old, but there was some disagreement as to the relative advantages held by two persons in a younger bracket (ages 20 and 30).

The responses to a parallel question on racial discrimination are similarly mixed. Asked whether they felt that a Negro would be preferred over a Mexican American, an Anglo over a Mexican American, or an Anglo over a Negro, under the same circumstances, a majority responded that an Anglo would always have an advantage in such competition and that a Mexican American would have preference over a Negro if the choice were limited only to those two. However, a second group, smaller but still sizable, believed that the Anglo would always be preferred but that a Negro would have priority over a Mexican American. The Mexican Americans, especially the women, felt this proportionately

most strongly, but it is interesting that almost one-quarter of the Negroes took this latter viewpoint too. It is not possible to determine, at this stage, how much of this response results from a belief that civil-rights activity is helping the Negro at the expense of the Mexican American, and how much from a recognition of the fact that language and cultural problems may frequently place the Mexican American at a disadvantage in competition with the Negro.

The study area residents were also polled on their perceptions of the major needs of the area in which they live. All respondents in the "long-form" sampling were asked to assign priorities to the following measures, on the assumption that they had the power to make the decision:

- (a) Leave this area pretty much as it is;
- (b) Build some new homes;
- (c) Build some new or improved apartment houses;
- (d) Put up more schools or community centers;
- (e) Bring in more factories and stores to provide jobs;
- (f) Build more parks and playgrounds;
- (g) Build more hospitals and clinics;
- (h) Anything else (specify).

The answers given by unemployed persons make it quite clear that jobs (point (e)) were their first concern, with education and housing also rated high. Education and housing were rated somewhat higher by the women than by the men, but all groups gave first priority to the improvement of job opportunities in their area. Given a choice between building new homes or building new or improved apartment houses, the men split about evenly and the women showed a preference for single-family homes. Jobs were regarded as being

of either first or second importance by 59 percent of the men and 54 percent of the women. Some form of new or improved housing was given first or second place by 47 percent of the men and 54 percent of the women, and more schools or community centers were similarly rated by 43 percent of the men and 46 percent of the women. Less than 7 percent of the total were satisfied with the area as it is. About the same percentage gave priority to new health facilities, but a higher percentage (13.1 percent) rated this as being of second importance. Parks and playgrounds were usually given a low rating by the respondents.

Employed persons with a history of unemployment also gave high priority to job creation, almost to the same degree as did the currently unemployed, but gave somewhat less emphasis to education. Mexican American women, in particular, expressed much greater satisfaction with the area just as it is, while Negro women indicated substantial concern with matters of education. All subgroups evinced an interest in better housing of some kind, and the employed gave a higher rating to health facilities than had the unemployed. Parks and playgrounds again rated extremely low in the scale.

### An Evaluation

The results of the survey suggest that the characteristics of the unemployed and the underemployed vary considerably from one group to another, though certain common problems can be identified. Of all the groups surveyed, Negro women who are heads of households obviously bear the heaviest burdens. Despite their higher median of school years completed, these women endure the longest periods of unemployment, the lowest pay when and if employed, the greatest average number of dependents, the least access to adequate transportation, and the most severe incidence of health problems. They share with other groups an excessive concentration in the unskilled occupations, where the market demand for workers appears to be declining precipitously. In those cases where the mother must care for several small children, or where problems related to age and/or health exist, additional employment opportunities per se may not even be a sufficient or meaningful solution. Much depends on the availability of free day-care facilities for children and the suitability of existing jobs for women. Birth-control measures may also be necessary to ease both the economic and emotional burdens on families, particularly those characterized by disorganization.

It is clear from the findings that the unemployed and underemployed men in the study area suffer a considerable intermittency or irregularity of employment. The men characteristically experience less long-term unemployment than do the women (unless special problems such as physical disability are present), but the employment they secure tends to be of brief duration. About a third of the males in the currently unemployed category had been jobless for 26 weeks or more, a much lower percentage of long-term unemployment than exists in the female group, but their jobs over the recent

past have typically lasted only a few months, or even weeks, at a time. Much of their employment is casual by its nature, e.g., construction activity. In other cases, it would appear that the men in this sampling have been concentrated in occupations which have experienced cyclical or secular declines.

Ironically, many of the employed persons in the study area have retained their jobs over a long period of time, often longer than the average in Southern California. Their greater success in job retention is apparently related, in significant degree, to higher skill levels, since the long-term employed are concentrated in occupations other than unskilled. The level of skill attained seems to be a more critical determinant of success in employment than other factors such as length of residence in California, years of school completed, or race. However, the last two variables undoubtedly become more important as workers seek jobs above the semiskilled level.

The available data would indicate that the labor force members surveyed in the ARA study area fall roughly into three major and distinct groups:

(1) A hard core of unemployed persons, largely women, who suffer particular disabilities related to physical condition and health, age, family status, education or skill, or race;

(2) A substantial group who are intermittently employed and unemployed, often earning a reasonably high hourly rate when employed but still failing to earn enough over the year to raise their families above the "poverty" or "deprivation" levels; and

(3) A large number of more or less permanently employed persons who experience relatively infrequent unemployment. While the vast majority of them possess sufficient skill to make possible an adequate annual income,

some are in occupations or industries which are characterized by low pay scales. Adequacy of income, of course, sometimes depends on size of family: some families in the study area suffer deprivation not because their incomes are abnormally low, but, rather, because the number of dependents is unusually high. It must be added, however, that the average number of dependents per household in this sampling does not appear to be as high as might have been anticipated.

A closer examination of the occupations mentioned by the unemployed and underemployed men confirms that a high percentage of the total seek work in some phase of the building construction industry. A little under one-fifth of the unemployed Negro men and about 14 percent of the unemployed Mexican American men were searching for either unskilled, semiskilled, or skilled employment in construction at the time of interview, with the vast majority concentrated in the unskilled area. In addition, about 14 percent of the currently employed Negro men and about 9 percent of the Mexican Americans in that category had found employment in building construction, and, contrary to the generally prevailing pattern, the Negroes were concentrated proportionately more than were the Mexican Americans in the semi-skilled and skilled occupations and were better paid on the average. A majority of all groups received more than \$100 per week in income whenever employed, and the average age in every case tended to be above the average for the total household sampling. The employed men in both ethnic groupings had resided in California a longer period of time, on the average, than had the unemployed.

The pattern as it emerges from the data seems to be along these lines: both the unemployed and the employed with history of unemployment suffer a

considerable irregularity of employment, due in large part to the nature of the construction industry, and the majority make good wages (averaging over \$130 per week for full-time employment under a union contract) whenever employed. It would appear that many of the employed Negro men have acquired skills over time which improve their competitive position in the construction labor market. The intermittency of their employment, therefore, is due to the casual nature of construction activity and, probably, a recent cyclical decline in the industry in Southern California. In addition to those problems (which are faced by everyone attached to the industry), the unskilled workers confront a general diminution in the demand for their services, resulting from new technology and changes in work processes.

Outside the construction industry, both Negro and Mexican American men seek work in a variety of unskilled, semiskilled, and service occupations, usually related in some way to past employment. The relative competitive positions of the two ethnic groups are now reversed, with the Mexican Americans obviously more successful in finding semiskilled (and, sometimes, even skilled) production work. The comparative employment advantage is held by Mexican American women, as well as men, who also succeed in obtaining a higher proportion of semiskilled and a lower proportion of service jobs. Yet the figures on median earnings indicate that only in the case of the women does the difference in occupational distribution result in higher earnings for Mexican Americans; the Negro men actually have a higher median of weekly earnings when employed than do the Mexican American men, despite the relatively greater concentration of the latter in semiskilled work. In large part, this results from the reverse pattern in building construction, already described, where pay rates are particularly high.

The long-term unemployed men (those jobless for at least six months) tend to be concentrated in the older age brackets, but with a second concentration of some size in the youngest bracket surveyed. Ages vary according to length of residence in California: most of the long-term unemployed who have resided in the state for 10 years or more are age 40 or older, with a particularly heavy concentration of Negro men in the age 50-59 bracket, while those who have been here for less than 10 years tend to be clustered in the below-40 bracket. Differences between the two major ethnic groups are also evident from the survey data: while the median ages of Negroes and Mexican Americans in the long-term unemployed category do not appear to differ significantly (both are close to age 40), the Negroes were particularly numerous at the extremes, below age 40 (with a high representation in the 20-29 group) and above age 50, whereas the Mexican Americans were somewhat more evenly distributed among the various age brackets (with a large number in the 40-49 class). The more recent arrivals in California (those having resided here less than 10 years) were markedly younger, on the average, than the long-time residents. Among Negro men, where the sampling is larger, approximately 35 percent of the long-time residents were age 50 and older, compared to only 13 percent of the under-10-year respondents. On the other hand, over three-quarters of the relative newcomers were under age 40, in contrast with only 43 percent of the longer-term residents.

Cross-tabulations between years of school completed and length of unemployment reveal divergent and somewhat unexpected patterns. Long-term unemployed Negro men were educated at a level below the median level for the short-term unemployed (perhaps a grade lower), while the Mexican American men in this category were considerably better educated than their counterparts

in the short-term unemployment group, averaging from one to two grades higher in years of school completed. Indeed, about 24 percent of the Mexican American men had completed high school, only about 5 percentage points below the corresponding percentage for Negro men in the same category.

In the total sampling of long-term unemployed men, the more recent arrivals in the state tend to be better educated than the longer-term residents. Almost 37 percent of the former had completed high school, compared to about one-quarter of the latter. A word of caution, however, should be added at this point: the overwhelming majority of all respondents had received their educations in the Southern states, where educational standards (particularly for minority groups) are generally much lower than in other parts of the country. As this report has argued previously, the quality of education differs so significantly from one area to another that the highest grade completed does not necessarily reflect a corresponding level of mental aptitude where the schooling has been provided in the South or in comparable regions.

The figures on earnings received by long-term unemployed men from their previous employment show a mixed pattern: for example, Negroes proportionately outnumber Mexican Americans in the highest earnings brackets (about 32 percent of Negro men had been paid \$100 a week or more, compared to about 17 percent of the Mexican Americans), but proportionately more Negroes are also to be found in the lowest brackets (about 47 percent of the Negroes had earned less than \$80 a week, compared to about 27 percent of the Mexican Americans). Most Mexican American men (about 55 percent of the total) were in the \$80 - \$99 a week bracket.

The more recent arrivals in California had previously earned significantly less, on the whole, than had the long-time residents. Median earnings for the former were close to \$70 a week, and the median for the latter was roughly \$20 a week higher. Precisely one-quarter of the Negro men in the former category had earned under \$60 weekly (less than \$1.50 an hour). It should again be noted that the sampling of relative newcomers among the long-term unemployed is quite small, notably among the Mexican Americans. About 77 percent of all long-term unemployed males had lived in California 10 years or more.

Patterns of job search among the long-term unemployed do not appear to differ importantly from the patterns among the shorter-term unemployed. Mexican American men search mainly for various types of semiskilled or lower-paid clerical work (such as factory production work, truck driving, and positions as shipping clerks), with a secondary emphasis on the unskilled occupations. Negro men concentrate on unskilled, semiskilled, and service jobs in roughly that order. Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of the long-term unemployed males is their status within the household. The majority of them have no dependents other than a spouse or occasionally a parent or adult relative. Indeed, about three-fifths of all respondents indicated that they had no dependents age 16 or younger. This pattern undoubtedly results from the relative concentrations of unemployed men in the very young or older age brackets. The youngsters are usually unmarried or separated, while the others are primarily older married persons whose children have left the household. Mexican American men tend to have a higher average number of dependents age 16 or under than do the Negroes, but even in their case the majority are without such dependents.

The fact that a disproportionate number of long-time California residents are represented among the "hard-core" unemployed men, together with the fact that the educational level (in quantitative terms) is at least as high as it is in less disadvantaged groups within the area, may suggest a paradox which requires explanation. Two possibilities immediately come to mind.

The first is the explanation implied in conventional economic theory, which might argue that the relatively greater success of the recent immigrant in finding work (or, at least, in avoiding long-term unemployment) is related to his more realistic and more reasonable wage expectations. Having migrated from low-wage regions, where perhaps he also experienced unemployment, he offers himself for employment in the lesser-skill jobs of Los Angeles at a wage which corresponds more closely to his productivity. The "reservation price" established by the long-time local resident for the sale of his labor is so unrealistically high that he cannot compete for the available work, sometimes irregular or casual, which employers are prepared to offer. In the terminology of the economist, his unemployment is "voluntary," in the sense that he could obtain employment if he were willing to lower his wage demands sufficiently.

The second explanation is more "institutional" in nature. This alternative would suggest that the more recent immigrants are typically younger than the long-time residents, less handicapped by physical or mental infirmities, and therefore more qualified for the unskilled, semiskilled, and service jobs requiring strength and dexterity but little or no education. If this supposition is well founded, factors of age and health must be given substantial weight in any explanation of hard-core unemployment.

The survey results appear to be consistent with both of these explanations. The previous earnings reported by the immigrants are considerably lower, on the average, than those reported by the long-time residents, which may well indicate that the latter are reluctant to reduce their wage demands much below the level to which they have become accustomed in the past. Sufficient jobs, however, may not now be available at those rates, and the remaining openings may normally be filled with those men who are adjusted to a lower standard of living. On the other hand, the data fully confirm that the immigrants are substantially younger, and the frequency with which respondents mention poor health or other special problems may imply that many of the hard-core unemployed would have difficulty in obtaining stable employment even if they were willing to lower their wage expectations drastically. It is reasonable to presume, for example, that employer discrimination against older persons, Negroes, applicants with police arrest and/or jail records, backgrounds of illness or injury, and spotty employment histories is a major barrier to employment of study area residents in a generally "loose" labor market. While it would seem that both the "economic" and "institutional" explanations are correct in some degree, a close analysis of the survey results suggests to the authors of this report that the latter explanation is somewhat more meaningful.

The burden of long-term unemployment falls heavily upon Negro women, who suffer from both a lack of available jobs and a necessity, in many cases, to support excessively large households. Again, problems related to age and health are severe. While two-thirds of all long-term unemployed women in the survey were below age 40, the pattern varies on the basis of ethnic group and length of residence in California. The long-time residents are

older on the average than the more recent immigrants, with the age barrier particularly formidable for Negro women who have lived in the state for ten years or more. About 45 percent of women in the latter category were age 40 or older, and three-quarters of them were heads of households at the time of interview. A high proportion were separated, divorced, or widowed.

On the whole, Negro women who have migrated to California since 1953 are younger than are the long-time residents, and many of them are in the labor force to supplement the relatively low earnings of their husbands. This is equally true of Mexican American women, whether long-term residents or more recent immigrants. Indeed, in their case the long-time residents represented among the "hard-core" unemployed tend to be younger than the recent immigrants, though the vast majority of both subgroups were below age 40. In contrast with Negro women, most of the Mexican American women were not heads of households, and their presence in the work force reflects a frequent necessity to help the spouse in supporting a large number of dependents. It should be added, however, that a considerable percentage of separated or divorced women are to be found among the 45 percent of Mexican American women who are heads of households. Again, as in the case of the men, the sampling of long-term unemployed Mexican American women is small. Long-term unemployment consistently appears to be more of a problem among Negroes than among Mexican Americans.

The figures on household status and numbers of dependents age 16 or younger suggest that family disorganization is a major problem for unemployed Negro women who are long-time residents of California. Approximately two-fifths of Negro women in this category had two or more dependents age 16 or under at the time of interview, and almost one-quarter of them had four or

more dependents in that age group. Since 75 percent were heads of households, clearly the responsibility of providing for a household containing young children is a burdensome one. The problem is relatively not as serious among the more recent immigrants, but even here a majority of Negro women (54 percent) were heads of households and more than one-third had two or more dependents age 16 or under. As indicated, a somewhat greater proportion of the recent immigrants were young wives. More than 70 percent of the Mexican American women had no dependents at all in the age-16-and-under category. In large measure, this reflects the fact that many of them were wives or children of the heads of household, seeking either to supplement the latter's earnings or achieve a status of total or partial self-support.

Educational patterns among long-term unemployed women again show interesting results. Almost one-third of the total had completed high school, and several of these had attended college. As in the case of the men, the level of schooling is higher than it is within the study area as a whole: the median of school years completed is over the 10th grade for all long-term unemployed women, somewhat higher for Negro women and lower for Mexican Americans, compared to a median of 9.26 for all persons over age 25 in the area. Negro women who had entered the state in the previous 10-year period were the best educated of the various groups, with approximately 43 percent having completed high school. Most of them had attended Southern schools, and it is again necessary to add that the quality of that education is questionable.

The data on weekly earnings in previous employment demonstrate that female workers, whether Negro or Mexican American, are extremely low paid. Over one-third of the total had earned less than \$50 a week, and another

one-quarter between \$50 and \$59. Worst paid, proportionately, were the Negro women who had been in California less than ten years; exactly two-thirds of that group had earned less than \$60 a week. Paradoxically, however, the relative newcomers in this group also outnumbered the long-time residents in the higher earnings brackets; almost 19 percent of the former had made \$80 or more, compared to 12.5 percent of the latter. The long-time residents tend to concentrate in proportionately greater numbers in the middle categories. A slight majority of Mexican American women had earned less than \$60 weekly, but about 28 percent of them had been in the \$80-plus bracket.

Negro women search primarily for various types of low-paid service, clerical, or semiskilled jobs, while Mexican American women concentrate more in the semiskilled area, many of them seeking light factory work. The Negroes conduct their job search mainly without access to a car, whereas a higher percentage of the Mexican Americans have their own transportation. Excessive reliance upon public transportation inhibits the search for work among unemployed women in all categories, but most obviously among Negro women.

It would appear that long-term unemployed women in the study area fall into three major groups: (1) those who are in a household without a male head and must support themselves and their children; (2) those whose spouse is present in the household but who seek employment to raise the family's standard of living (which may be below the "poverty" line); and (3) single persons, usually young, who are sometimes searching for jobs for the first time. The severity of the problem obviously varies among these groups: lack of personal income is likely to be disastrous for the first group, but may or may not be a serious matter for the other two. It is also obvious that the problems of the first group, which is especially numerous in the Negro community, are not automatically solved by measures to raise the level of aggregate demand in the total economy.

The complexity of the problem of hard-core unemployment is emphasized by the cross-tabulations performed on survey data. Better education per se is obviously no guarantee of employment, when the figures clearly show that the best educated among the unemployed suffer longer spells of unemployment on the average than do the poorer educated. Among Negro men, median weekly earnings in previous employment held by high school graduates were somewhat less than those earned by men who had only completed the 8th grade or less. The data make it clear that the common explanation of unemployment in terms of an inadequate quantity of education and training on the part of the unemployed is a vast oversimplification. The Negro in particular is faced by a peculiar paradox: he may not need a high-school diploma to qualify for the relatively unskilled jobs which are open to him without discrimination but are rapidly diminishing in magnitude, and he needs more than a high-school education to qualify for the highly skilled occupations for which he must compete with college graduates and even many with advanced degrees.

The burden of hard-core unemployment among Negroes falls heavily upon the older age group and upon those who have lived in California for 10 years or more. There is, for example, more long-term unemployment among the long-time residents of Los Angeles than in any other group. The problem among Mexican Americans is of a somewhat different nature: unemployment tends to be of shorter duration and less related to the handicaps of age. Mexican Americans are particularly burdened by a lack of education (in both the quantitative and qualitative sense), but again we encounter a strange paradox. The long-term unemployed among them are better educated, by a wide margin, than are the short-term unemployed, which may reflect in part the proportionately greater presence of younger persons who have received their educations

in the United States. Though their median schooling still falls far short of the 12th grade, their expectations are understandably higher than are those of their older and less educated compatriots. Presumably they are less prepared to accept the intermittency, low pay, and inferior status of the jobs which are typically sought by the poorly educated.

The unemployed in the ARA study area can be categorized into two broad groups: those who are predominantly in the semiskilled category and came to the Los Angeles area many years ago, and those who are primarily unskilled and have arrived here within the past decade. Many in the former group came to Los Angeles during or just after World War II, succeeded in obtaining production work or reasonably well-paid jobs in the construction industry, and now face problems because they must compete with younger and better educated persons for employment at skill levels which have been affected adversely by technological change. The other group is composed largely of those who arrive here with very little skill and an education which is deficient in qualitative as well as quantitative terms. Members of the first group find it difficult to obtain employment at all under existing conditions; members of the second have somewhat greater success in finding some kind of employment, but it is characteristically irregular, ill-paid, and with an uncertain future.

Among Negroes, the pattern of migration shows only a few variations since the beginning of World War II. Today, as then, most of the immigrants come from the South, principally from Texas and Louisiana, but now a higher proportion seem to arrive from Mississippi and Alabama and relatively fewer from Georgia. Most of them have at least attended a high school, but it is usually located in a Southern state. Fewer Mexican Americans have attended

high school, but those who are in that category are more likely to have been enrolled in a school within the Los Angeles area. When they arrive here, Negroes will search proportionately more for unskilled and service jobs and Mexican Americans for semiskilled work. However, there are variations in the pattern: immigrants from Arkansas will concentrate on unskilled occupations, while those from Texas often raise their occupational sights to the semiskilled and even skilled levels.

Unemployment is manifestly only one segment of the economic difficulties which burden the residents of the study area. Many female heads of household, in particular, fail to earn enough when employed to raise their incomes above the \$3000-a-year "poverty" mark. Nor can they obtain a sufficient income when their educational levels are relatively high: there is no significant correlation, for instance, between the years of school completed by unemployed Negro women and their earnings in previous employment. Mexican American women who are unemployed are little better off, but as a whole they are less often in the labor market and, even when they are unemployed, they can rely more frequently upon the earnings of a spouse or some other relative. The majority of Negro women in the ranks of the unemployed are single, separated, divorced, or widowed, and therefore must serve as the head of household.

Dissatisfaction with their status in the current labor market is reflected in the high proportions of workers whose past experience has been primarily in one type of work but who now aspire to a different category. Changed job objectives are most evident among Negro men, but the directions of change are mixed. About 31 percent of those who mention unskilled work as their previous occupation are now looking for semiskilled, skilled, or

service jobs, but about 23 percent of those mentioning semiskilled employment have apparently lowered their sights to unskilled work and another 13 percent presently search for skilled or service jobs. Many of those who have worked in service jobs, on the other hand, now concentrate on unskilled or semi-skilled employment. Generally, the long-time residents of Los Angeles are proportionately most satisfied with their usual type of work, as would be expected from persons who are in a somewhat higher skill category, while the predominantly unskilled immigrants demonstrate a greater ambition to develop a new skill. Resistance to retraining is strongest among the older residents.

The relative newcomers to California, among both Negroes and Mexican Americans, obtain their occasional and irregular employment at wages which are below the corresponding averages for the longer-term residents. The median earnings in previous employment received by Negro men who have been in Los Angeles less than five years are about \$26 a week under the comparable figure for those who have been here ten years or more. At weekly earnings of \$57, the recent immigrants could not earn enough over a full year of steady employment to raise their family income over the poverty level. Their households would require a second source of income to bring the total annual earnings above \$3,000.

Unless they seek employment in the construction trades, which are heavily organized, migrants to Los Angeles who are currently unemployed (or are only intermittently employed) normally do not retain union membership. Percentage of membership is highest among the unskilled, lowest among the skilled and service workers. Most workers at all skill levels will register with the State Employment Service, but will now rely relatively little upon the Service as a source of job leads. The older persons, and those who have

attended a high school in Los Angeles, are proportionately most aware of the various governmental programs of retraining, but, ironically, many in this group are also least receptive to training proposals. As the period of unemployment lengthens, the workers surveyed become more willing to move elsewhere in search of employment, but most of them would prefer to stay in California if possible. The women are more resistant to moving than are the men, and Mexican American women, in particular, tend to oppose any drastic changes in residence, occupational level, and so forth.

One interesting aspect of the search for work is the general absence of effective help from the usual sources: the Employment Service, want ads, private employment agencies, and unions. While union referrals are of some significance to Negro men (probably in the building trades mainly), and Employment Service and private agency referrals are offered to about a fifth of Negro women (probably in domestic service and clerical jobs), all groups rely primarily upon referrals from "family, friends, or relatives" or simply upon direct applications to employers ("walk-ins"). This is true not only of the currently employed persons with a history of unemployment, but also of the long-term employed persons in the "short-form" sampling. Thus it is clear that the existing public and private agencies offer little meaningful assistance to job-seekers in the lesser skilled categories.

Some of the responses may indicate that changes in the labor market are largely responsible for this current gap. High proportions of the unemployed men had once been union members and had formerly obtained jobs through the Employment Service. Hence their disaffiliation from unions and the failure of the Employment Service to place them in jobs under present circumstances undoubtedly reflect a narrowing of opportunities for men at these skill levels. However, it is equally obvious that this is only a part of the story. Even those with long records of employment, and those with intermittent employment, declare overwhelmingly that their jobs were secured through "unofficial" and highly personal channels. The evidence would suggest that residents of the census tracts studied find (and seek) employment primarily in unorganized firms and industries, except for building construction, and that their success in obtaining work in such fields may be conditioned somewhat on a willingness or ability to accept low pay.

Apparently the AFL-CIO industrial unions have suffered most severely from this tendency of study area residents to abandon or avoid union membership, though the AFL-CIO building trades unions and the Teamsters Union have also experienced noticeable losses. The percentage (43.7 percent) of those who have dropped union membership is highest among Mexican American men. One possible reason for the present lack of interest in unionism among the persons surveyed is that a considerable proportion of them--about one-quarter of all the unemployed and roughly the same percent of the employed with a history of unemployment--normally limit their job search to government agencies only or to private retail or service firms only, most of which are presently unorganized. Their past records might suggest that they are readily receptive to unionization if and when its concrete economic benefits become apparent.

The figures make it evident that the Employment Service is of relatively greater value to the women than to the men, perhaps for the reason that there are more job openings in occupations (such as domestic service and clerical employment) which are dominated by women. Over one-third of the Negro women, for example, have had ES referrals during the current spell of unemployment, compared to less than one-fifth of the Negro men. Referrals, of course, are not at all synonymous with placements, and less than 10 percent of the currently employed Negro women, with a history of unemployment, had actually obtained their present jobs through an Employment Service referral. The number of long-term employed women in this category is unknown, but the overall results would imply that it is relatively small.

Data on transportation, distances covered in the job search, and frequency of visits to places of employment suggest that many women probably are unable to take advantage of job openings because they do not occur in areas close

to home. The demand for domestic servants, for instance, is centered in the wealthier areas of Los Angeles far distant from the south central area, and clerical or sales positions are also likely to be located at some distance. Declining business in the south central area severely reduces the number of nonmanual jobs readily available to women.

The unemployed manage to support themselves and their families by a variety of means, legal or illegal, during the period of unemployment. Only about 40 percent receive either unemployment compensation or public assistance; the majority depend most heavily upon the earnings of a spouse, assistance from relatives or friends, and a number of "other" sources which range from accumulated savings to winnings at a race track. A considerable number of unemployed persons report occasional income from odd jobs or part-time work, and, technically, may not actually be unemployed for the full period of their presumed unemployment. In many cases, undoubtedly, they are in technical violation of unemployment insurance regulations by not reporting such short-term employment during periods when they are still receiving compensation

On the other hand, a number of Mexican American respondents reported that they had not made application for unemployment compensation benefits, though presumably they were entitled to receive them. In some cases, it was clear that a simple lack of understanding and information, perhaps due to the language barrier, was responsible for this failure, but at other times the interviewee merely stated that he expected to get a job fairly soon and therefore did not plan on applying for benefits. The unemployed Mexican Americans rely particularly on assistance from family members or other relatives; relatively few reported income from "other" sources, in contrast with the Negro respondents. The size of households is large in the Mexican

American community, even though only a few household members may be dependent on the respondent. "Relief" during spells of unemployment is provided within the family or household structure, with the employed accepting responsibility for help to or care of the unemployed.

In the Negro community, this personal and informal system of "relief" is also widespread, but is supplemented more often by sources (in this order) such as odd jobs, past savings, child-support payments to divorced women, disability benefits of various types, and occasional income from property owned, and gambling. Negro women are relatively most dependent on public assistance, but even here the income from this source is dwarfed by the help received in other ways, principally from a spouse, a relative, a friend, or the usual variety of "other" sources. Negro females are especially burdened by ineligibility to receive unemployment compensation (or, at least, failure to qualify for benefits for one reason or another).

The obvious consequence of the intermittency of employment and the irregularity (or unpredictability) of income, in addition to the occasional necessity to contribute support to other household members, is that most of the unemployed and underemployed persons in the area have little opportunity to accumulate resources for the future (and, of course, psychologically they may not be oriented in that direction anyway).<sup>7</sup> A prolonged spell of unemployment which strains the informal family system of aid, an illness or accident, the loss of a breadwinner, or any similar circumstance is tragic for the poor family. The protections of insurance, usually taken for granted by the middle class, are available only as they may be provided on a mass and

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<sup>7</sup>See Ben H. Bagdikian, In the Midst of Plenty: A New Report on the Poor in America (New York; Signet Books, 1964, pp. 49-50) for a discussion of the psychology of the poor.

impersonal scale by government, and, even then, many of the poorest members of society are ineligible for these minimal benefits.

Nowhere is the dependence on government more obvious than in the field of medical care, where the residents rely overwhelmingly upon the facilities of the County Hospital and the public health centers for both regular and emergency treatment. The indirect benefits received from government by poor people--housing, medical care, education and training, child care centers, and so forth--may be proportionately of much greater importance than the direct cash benefits through unemployment insurance and public assistance. Without those supplemental benefits, it is obvious that the poor could not survive frequent periods of unemployment unless there were a very significant increase in cash payments. As it is, the unemployed maintain themselves by a rather unstable combination of compensation, public assistance, free (or inexpensive) governmental services, purely private help from family or friends, and a variety of devices ranging widely among the groups and individuals involved.

The unemployed are quite definite (and, apparently, quite objective) in their perceptions of the reasons for their difficulty in obtaining reasonably stable employment. Most attribute it to deficiencies in their education and skill, or to the disappearance of those jobs for which they are qualified (this, of course, is merely a restatement of the previous point). A substantial proportion consider their difficulties to be linked with age, but relatively few would give much weight to either race or religion. As indicated previously, this result is to be expected when the respondents primarily are seeking unskilled, semiskilled, or service jobs, but would undoubtedly change if the search were pushed into the "nontraditional" occupational areas.

Some persons in the study area are encumbered by special disadvantages in their search for employment, aside from the usual burdens imposed by

discrimination on the basis of race, sex, or age. Several respondents mentioned their prison records as a major handicap, and a great many more are similarly handicapped even though the fact may not be articulated to the interviewer. There is every reason to believe that this represents an important barrier to employment in this area, one which may well require legislative or executive action in the near future.<sup>8</sup>

The unemployed and underemployed persons both express dissatisfaction with the community environment in which they live. Only a small percentage indicated that they wished the area to remain as it is, and while most of the respondents understandably placed great emphasis upon job creation, a not insignificant number evidenced concern with the need for better housing, more schools and community centers, and improved health facilities. These responses seem to reflect a genuine awareness of long-run problems and gaps in services, even among those persons who are subject to urgent and critical economic pressures in the short run.

On the whole, Negroes tend to be more discontented, and more willing to innovate, than Mexican Americans. Mexican Americans, notably the women, are proportionately less willing to move, less interested in retraining, and less concerned with discrimination. The relatively significant interest of Negroes in retraining, and in moving to other locations where jobs might be available, may be interpreted in some quarters to mean that area redevelopment is unnecessary in the predominantly Negro section of Los Angeles. The irony, of course, is that Negroes are effectively barred from moving out of the

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<sup>8</sup>For instance, employers might be prohibited from requiring applicants for employment to disclose their police records, except in those cases where the applicant has been convicted of a crime which related to the nature of the job sought (e.g., a convicted embezzler applying for an accountant's position). Action must also be taken to prevent discriminatory police practices, which are harmful economically as well as physically and emotionally.

ghetto, by reason of rigid housing segregation which is now further bolstered by a provision in the State Constitution, and inadequacy of transportation severely limits the area in which they can reasonably search for and hold jobs. On the other hand, Mexican Americans are much freer to move and much less inhibited by overt discrimination, but it would appear that cultural factors make many of them relatively immobile.

Birthplace  
Currently Unemployed Males  
Household Sampling

Area	Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	5	1.75	5	3.79		
Arizona	7	2.45			7	5.60
Arkansas	15	5.24	14	10.61	1	.80
California (outside L.A. area)	7	2.45	1	.76	6	4.80
Colorado	6	2.10	1	.76	3	2.40
Georgia	6	2.10	6	4.55		
Idaho	1	.35				
Illinois	5	1.75	3	2.27	1	.80
Indiana	1	.35				
Iowa	1	.35				
Kansas	3	1.05	2	1.52		
Kentucky	2	.70				
Louisiana	28	9.79	28	21.21		
Massachusetts	1	.35				
Michigan	2	.70	1	.76		
Minnesota	1	.35			1	.80
Mississippi	15	5.24	15	11.36		
Missouri	5	1.75	3	2.27		
Montana	1	.35			1	.80
Nebraska	1	.35	1	.76		
New Mexico	5	1.75			5	4.00
New York	1	.35				
No. Carolina	2	.70	2	1.52		
Ohio	1	.35	1	.76		
Oklahoma	7	2.45	7	5.30		
Oregon	3	1.05			1	.80
Tennessee	3	1.05	3	2.27		
Texas	47	16.43	28	21.21	19	15.20
Utah	2	.70				
Virginia	1	.35	1	.76		
Washington	2	.70	1	.76		
Wisconsin	1	.35			1	.80
Mexico	49	17.13			48	38.40
Other Latin America	6	2.10	1	.76	4	3.20
Rest of World	7	2.45			1	.80
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	36	12.59	8	6.06	26	20.80
No Response						
TOTAL	286	100.0	132	100.0	125	100.0

Note: Areas not listed are in the "zero" category.

Birthplace  
Currently Unemployed Females  
Household Sampling

Area	Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	14	5.47	14	9.15		
Arizona	4	1.56			4	4.65
Arkansas	14	5.47	13	8.50		
California (Outside L.A.Area)	10	3.91	4	2.61	5	5.81
Florida	1	.39	1	.65		
Georgia	7	2.73	7	4.58		
Idaho	1	.39			1	1.16
Illinois	4	1.56	2	1.31	1	1.16
Kansas	2	.78	2	1.31		
Kentucky	3	1.17	2	1.31		
Louisiana	32	12.50	32	20.92		
Michigan	4	1.56	4	2.61		
Mississippi	11	4.30	11	7.19		
Missouri	6	2.34	4	2.61	1	1.16
Nebraska	1	.39	1	.65		
Nevada	1	.39	1	.65		
New Hampshire	1	.39				
New Jersey	1	.39	1	.65		
New Mexico	8	3.13			8	9.30
New York	2	.78			1	1.16
Oklahoma	4	1.56	4	2.61		
Pennsylvania	4	1.56	3	1.96		
South Carolina	1	.39	1	.65		
Tennessee	5	1.95	4	2.61		
Texas	43	16.80	32	20.92	9	10.47
West Virginia	1	.39				
Wisconsin	1	.39	1	.65		
Mexico	37	14.45			37	43.02
Other Latin America	3	1.17			3	3.49
Rest of World	1	.39				
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	28	10.94	8	5.23	16	18.60
No Response	1	.39	1	.65		
TOTAL	256	100.0	153	100.0	86	100.0

Note: Areas not listed are in the "zero" category.

Birthplace  
Currently Employed Males with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

Area	Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	5	2.20	5	4.42		
Alaska	1	.44	1	.88		
Arizona	7	3.08	1	.88	5	4.81
Arkansas	12	5.29	12	10.62		
California (outside L.A. area)	6	2.64	4	3.54	2	1.92
Colorado	2	.88			2	1.92
Georgia	3	1.32	3	2.65		
Illinois	2	.88	1	.88		
Louisiana	28	12.33	28	24.78		
Michigan	2	.88	2	1.77		
Mississippi	15	6.61	14	12.39		
Missouri	2	.88	2	1.77		
Nebraska	1	.44			1	.96
New Jersey	1	.44				
New Mexico	3	1.32			3	2.88
Ohio	2	.88	1	.88		
Oklahoma	4	1.76	4	3.54		
Pennsylvania	1	.44	1	.88		
Tennessee	2	.88	2	1.77		
Texas	46	20.26	27	23.89	19	18.27
West Virginia	1	.44	1	.88		
Wyoming	1	.44				
Mexico	45	19.82			45	43.27
Other Latin America	5	2.20			5	4.81
Rest of World	4	1.76				
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	26	11.45	4	3.54	22	21.15
No Response						
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: Areas not listed are in the "zero" category.

Birthplace  
Currently Employed Females with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

Area	Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	2	1.94	2	3.51		
Arizona	5	4.85	1	1.75	4	9.76
Arkansas	9	8.74	9	15.79		
California (outside L.A. Area)	7	6.80			6	14.63
Florida	2	1.94	2	3.51		
Louisiana	11	10.68	11	19.30		
Mississippi	3	2.91	3	5.26		
Montana	1	.97				
Nebraska	1	.97	1	1.75		
Nevada	1	.97			1	2.44
New Mexico	1	.97			1	2.44
North Carolina	3	2.91	3	5.26		
Ohio	1	.97				
Oklahoma	2	1.94	2	3.51		
Tennessee	2	1.94	2	3.51		
Texas	18	17.48	16	28.07	2	4.88
Virginia	1	.97	1	1.75		
Mexico	21	20.39			21	51.22
Other Latin America	2	1.94			2	4.88
Rest of World	3	2.91	1	1.75	1	2.44
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	7	6.80	3	5.26	3	7.32
No Response						
TOTAL	103	100.0	57	100.0	41	100.0

Note: Areas not listed are in the "zero" category.

Location of High School  
Currently Unemployed Males  
Household Sampling

Area	Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	4	2.29	4	4.55		
Arkansas	8	4.57	7	7.95	1	1.56
California (outside L.A. Area)	9	5.14	6	6.82	2	3.13
Colorado	1	.57			1	1.56
Georgia	1	.57	1	1.14		
Illinois	2	1.14	1	1.14		
Indiana	1	.57				
Iowa	2	1.14	1	1.14		
Kansas	1	.57				
Louisiana	9	5.14	9	10.23		
Michigan	2	1.14	1	1.14		
Mississippi	7	4.00	7	7.95		
Missouri	1	.57	1	1.14		
Nebraska	1	.35	1	1.14		
New Mexico	2	1.14			2	3.13
New York	1	.57				
North Carolina	1	.57	1	1.14		
Ohio	1	.57	1	1.14		
Oklahoma	4	2.29	4	4.55		
Oregon	4	2.29			1	1.56
Tennessee	2	1.14	2	2.27		
Texas	23	13.14	15	17.05	7	10.94
Utah	1	.57	1	1.14		
Virginia	1	.57	1	1.14		
Washington	1	.57				
Wisconsin	1	.57			1	1.56
Mexico	10	5.71			10	15.63
Other Latin America	4	2.29			3	4.69
Rest of World	7	4.00			1	1.56
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	62	35.43	24	27.27	35	54.69
No Response						
Nevada	1	.57				
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: Areas not listed are in the "zero" category.

Location of High School  
Currently Unemployed Females  
Household Sampling

Area	Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Alabama	12	6.82	12	9.76		
Arizona	1	.57			1	2.56
Arkansas	4	2.27	3	2.44		
California (outside L.A. Area)	9	5.11	7	5.69	1	2.56
Florida	2	1.14	1	.81	1	2.56
Georgia	2	1.14	2	1.63		
Idaho	1	.57			1	2.56
Illinois	3	1.70	1	.81	2	5.13
Indiana	3	1.70	1	.81		
Kansas	1	.57	1	.81		
Kentucky	3	1.70	1	.81		
Louisiana	15	8.52	15	12.20		
Michigan	2	1.14	2	1.63		
Minnesota	1	.57			1	2.56
Mississippi	6	3.41	6	4.88		
Missouri	4	2.27	3	2.44		
Nebraska	1	.57	1	.81		
Nevada	1	.57	1	.81		
New Jersey	1	.57	1	.81		
New Mexico	2	1.14			2	5.13
New York	2	1.14	1	.81		
Oklahoma	3	1.70	3	2.44		
Pennsylvania	2	1.14	2	1.63		
South Carolina	1	.57	1	.81		
Tennessee	4	2.27	3	2.44		
Texas	21	11.93	20	16.26		
Mexico	7	3.98			7	17.95
Other Latin America	1	.57			1	2.56
Rest of World	1	.57				
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	60	34.09	35	28.46	22	56.41
No Response						
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: Areas not listed are in the "zero" category.

Household Status  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 78: "Are you the head of this household?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	243	85.0	116	87.9	99	79.2	158	62.0	103	67.3	40	47.1
No	42	14.7	15	11.4	26	20.8	96	37.7	49	32.0	45	52.9
No Response	1	.3	1	.8	0	0	1	.4	1	.7	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>286</b>		<b>132</b>		<b>125</b>		<b>255</b>		<b>153</b>		<b>85</b>	

Sex  
Long-term Employed Persons  
"Short Form" Sampling

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Male	1075	70.2
Female	400	26.1
No response	56	3.7
Total	1531	

Household Status

(QUESTION: "Are you the head of this household?")

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Yes	1099	71.9
No	411	26.9
No response	18	1.2
Total	1528	

(QUESTION: "If not the head, can you tell me please how you are related to the head of household?")

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Wife	360	83.1
Son	13	3.0
Daughter	12	2.8
Roomer	6	1.4
Brother or Sister	10	2.3
Niece or Nephew	2	.5
Mother	0	0
Father	0	0
No response	30	6.9
Total	433	

Educational Attainment  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

Highest Grade Completed	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total No. %		Negro No. %		Mexican American No. %		Total No. %		Negro No. %		Mexican American No. %	
0	3	1.0	1	.8	2	1.6	2	.8	0	0	2	2.3
1	1	.3	0	0	1	.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	3	1.0	0	0	3	2.4	1	.4	1	.6	0	0
3	14	4.9	5	3.8	8	6.4	10	3.9	1	.6	8	9.3
4	12	4.2	5	3.8	7	5.6	7	2.7	3	1.8	4	4.7
5	14	4.9	3	2.3	11	8.8	8	3.1	2	1.2	6	6.9
6	12	4.2	4	3.0	8	6.4	15	5.8	3	1.8	12	13.9
7	15	5.2	8	6.0	6	4.8	15	5.8	8	4.7	6	6.9
8	41	14.3	17	12.9	19	15.2	17	6.6	10	5.9	4	4.7
9	25	8.7	10	7.6	14	11.2	34	13.1	20	11.8	11	12.7
10	32	11.2	16	12.1	13	10.4	33	12.8	18	10.6	11	12.7
11	41	14.3	23	17.4	16	12.8	43	16.7	33	19.4	9	10.5
12	73	25.5	40	30.3	17	13.6	73	28.3	71	41.8	13	15.1
Total	286		132		125		258		170		86	

Educational Attainment  
 Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
 Household Sampling

Highest Grade Completed	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0	2	.9	0	0	2	1.9	2	1.9	0	0	2	4.9
1	3	1.3	1	.9	2	1.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	3	1.3	3	2.7	0	0	2	1.9	1	1.8	1	2.4
3	10	4.4	2	1.8	7	6.7	6	5.8	0	0	6	14.6
4	13	5.7	4	3.5	9	8.6	8	7.7	3	5.3	5	12.2
5	14	6.2	3	2.7	11	10.6	4	3.8	0	0	4	9.8
6	15	6.6	5	4.4	10	9.6	6	5.8	1	1.8	5	12.2
7	10	4.4	4	3.5	6	5.8	1	1.0	0	0	1	2.4
8	15	6.6	9	8.0	6	5.8	7	6.8	4	7.0	2	4.9
9	24	10.6	9	8.0	15	14.4	12	11.7	7	12.3	5	12.2
10	24	10.6	12	10.6	10	9.6	10	9.7	8	14.0	1	2.4
11	31	13.7	22	19.5	9	8.6	10	9.7	8	14.0	2	4.9
12	63	27.8	39	34.5	17	16.3	35	34.0	25	43.8	7	17.0
Total	227		113		104		103		57		41	

Number of Dependents  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>(QUESTION 75: Number of dependents 16 years and under).</b>												
1 dependent	39	28.3	17	28.8	19	27.1	39	28.3	26	30.2	10	23.3
2 dependents	25	18.1	14	23.7	9	12.9	39	28.3	19	22.1	16	37.2
3 dependents	31	22.5	10	17.0	20	28.6	20	14.5	11	12.8	8	18.6
4 dependents	19	13.8	6	10.2	13	18.6	21	15.2	15	17.4	5	11.6
5 dependents	10	7.3	5	8.5	4	5.7	12	8.7	8	9.3	4	9.3
6 dependents	7	5.1	4	6.8	2	2.9	5	3.6	5	5.8	0	0
7 dependents	2	1.5	0	0	2	2.9	1	.7	1	1.2	0	0
8+	3	2.2	3	5.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	2	1.5	0	0	1	1.4	1	.7	1	1.2	0	0
Total	138		59		70		138		86		43	
<b>(QUESTION 76: Number of dependents 17 years and over).</b>												
1 dependent	154	80.6	76	84.4	65	74.7	39	72.2	18	69.2	19	76.0
2 dependents	26	13.6	10	11.1	16	18.4	7	13.0	4	15.4	3	12.0
3 dependents	6	3.1	3	3.3	3	3.5	4	7.4	2	7.7	2	8.0
4 dependents	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.9	1	3.9	0	0
5 dependents	2	1.0	0	0	1	1.2	3	5.6	1	3.9	1	4.0
6 dependents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7 dependents	1	.5	1	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8+	1	.5	0	0	1	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	1	.5	0	0	1	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	191		90		87		54		26		25	

Age  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

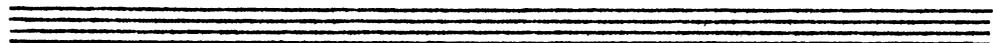
	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>(QUESTION 2.3: "How old were you on your last birthday?")</b>												
20-29	94	32.8	44	33.3	43	34.4	86	33.6	58	37.9	23	24.4
30-39	90	31.5	42	31.8	39	31.2	73	28.5	43	28.1	24	27.9
40-49	53	18.5	22	16.7	23	18.4	65	25.4	36	23.5	27	31.4
50-59	46	16.1	22	16.7	20	16.0	31	12.1	15	9.8	12	14.0
60+	2	.8	1	.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	1	.4	1	.8	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	
Average	36.3		36.2		35.8		35.7		34.5		37.7	

Age  
 Long-term Employed Persons  
 "Short Form" Sampling

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Below 20*	18	1.2
20-29*	241	15.7
30-39	341	22.3
40-49	272	17.8
50-59	189	12.3
60-69	88	5.7
70+	22	1.4
No response	360	24.0
Total	1531	

Median age of respondents = 38.5 years

\*This category includes those who have been employed continuously since leaving school, though the period may be less than three years.



Race		
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Negro	413	27.0
Mexican American	809	52.9
Oriental	67	4.4
Anglo	183	12.0
American Indian	5	.3
Latin American	9	.6
No response	43	2.8
Total	1529	

Number of Dependents  
All Persons  
List Sampling

(Question 75: Number of Dependents 16 years and under).

	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1 Dependent	16	23.88
2 Dependents	10	14.93
3 Dependents	14	20.90
4 Dependents	6	8.96
5 Dependents	6	8.96
6 Dependents	6	8.96
7 Dependents	3	4.48
8 Dependents	2	2.99
No Response	<u>1</u>	1.49
Total	<u>64</u>	

(Question 76: Number of dependents 17 years and over).

	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1 Dependent	53	76.81
2 Dependents	13	18.84
3 Dependents	1	1.45
4 Dependents	0	0
5 Dependents	0	0
6 Dependents	0	0
7 Dependents	0	0
8+	0	0
No Response	<u>0</u>	0
Total	<u>67</u>	

Marital Status  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%
Married	183	64.0	83	62.9	86	68.8	82	32.0	43	28.1	38	44.2
Single	56	19.6	27	20.5	21	16.8	44	17.2	28	18.3	14	16.3
Separated	21	7.3	11	8.3	9	7.2	59	23.1	40	26.1	14	16.3
Divorced	19	6.6	8	6.1	7	5.6	46	18.0	29	18.9	12	13.9
Widowed	6	2.1	2	1.5	2	1.6	20	7.8	11	7.2	5	5.8
No Response	1	.4	1	.8	0	0	5	1.9	2	1.3	3	3.5
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	

Union Membership and Related Factors  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 16: "Are you a union member at the present time?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	<u>Total</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Mexican American</u>		<u>Total</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Mexican American</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	88	38.8	47	41.6	37	35.6	14	13.6	6	10.5	8	19.5
No	138	60.8	66	58.4	66	63.5	89	86.4	51	89.5	33	80.5
No Response	1	.4	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	227		113		104		103		57		41	

(Question 16.1:  
"If yes, to  
which union do  
you belong?")

AFL-CIO unspecified	14	15.6	10	21.3	4	10.3	3	20.0	0	0	3	33.3
AFL-CIO -build- ing trades	22	24.4	14	29.8	7	17.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
AFL-CIO other craft	11	12.2	4	8.5	7	17.9	2	13.3	0	0	2	22.2
AFL-CIO - Indus- trial union	27	30.0	14	29.8	11	28.2	7	46.7	5	83.3	2	22.2
Teamsters	9	10.0	1	2.1	8	20.5	2	13.3	0	0	2	22.2
I L W U	2	2.2	2	4.3	0	0	1	6.7	1	16.7	0	0
Other	1	1.1	1	2.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	4	4.4	1	2.1	2	5.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	90		47		39		15		6		9	

(Question 17: "Have you belonged to any union in the past, but have since  
dropped your membership?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	<u>Total</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Mexican American</u>		<u>Total</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Mexican American</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	81	36.2	32	28.8	45	43.7	22	21.4	13	22.8	8	19.5
No	139	62.1	77	69.4	56	54.4	81	78.6	44	77.2	33	80.5
No Response	4	1.7	2	1.8	2	1.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	224		111		103		103		57		41	

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Union Membership and Related Factors  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING PAGE

(Question 17.1: "If Yes, to which union did you belong?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
AFL-CIO unspecified	21	24.4	9	25.7	12	25.5	2	9.1	1	7.7	1	12.5
AFL-CIO -building trades	11	12.8	8	22.9	3	6.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
AFL-CIO other craft	14	16.3	4	11.4	9	19.2	4	18.2	3	23.1	1	12.5
AFL-CIO - Industrial union	26	30.2	9	25.7	14	29.8	10	45.5	7	53.8	3	37.5
Teamsters	4	4.6	2	5.7	2	4.3	1	4.6	0	0	1	12.5
I L W U	1	1.2	1	2.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	3	3.5	1	2.9	2	4.3	2	9.1	1	7.7	0	0
No Response	6	7.0	1	2.9	5	10.6	3	13.6	1	7.7	2	25.0
Total	86		35		47		22		13		8	
(Question 19: "Has the union referred you to a job (at any time in past)?")												
Yes	43	29.5	30	43.5	13	18.3	8	23.5	5	26.3	3	21.4
No	101	69.2	39	56.5	56	78.9	24	70.6	12	63.2	11	78.6
No Response	2	1.4	0	0	2	2.8	2	5.9	2	10.5	0	0
Total	146		69		71		34		19		14	
(Question 20: "Has the union tried to help you get work in any other way?")												
Yes	20	13.7	8	11.6	11	15.5	4	11.8	2	10.5	2	14.3
No	125	85.6	61	88.4	59	83.1	27	79.4	15	79.0	11	78.6
No Response	1	.7	0	0	1	1.4	3	8.8	2	10.5	1	7.1
Total	146		69		71		34		19		14	

Union Membership and Related Factors  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 16: "Are you a union member at the present time? [Either paying dues or exempt from dues payment because of unemployment.]")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	76	26.6	32	24.2	39	31.2	19	7.4	7	4.6	12	13.9
No	210	73.4	100	75.8	86	68.3	237	92.6	146	95.4	74	86.1
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	

\* \* \* \* \*

(Question 16.1: "If Yes, to which union do you belong?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
AFL-CIO unspecified	16	20.0	8	23.5	7	17.1	6	31.6	2	33.3	4	30.8
AFL-CIO - any bldg. trades	22	27.5	12	35.3	9	21.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
AFL-CIO - any other craft	17	21.3	3	8.8	13	31.7	5	26.3	1	16.7	4	30.8
AFL-CIO - Indus- trial Union	14	17.5	7	20.6	5	12.2	6	31.6	3	50.0	3	23.1
Teamsters	8	10.0	3	8.8	5	12.2	1	5.3	0	0	1	7.7
I L W U	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	3	3.8	1	2.9	2	4.9	1	5.3	0	0	1	7.7
Total	80		34		41		19		6		13	

Union Membership and Related Factors  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 17: "Have you belonged to any union in the past, but have since dropped your membership?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%
Yes	118	41.4	55	42.0	48	38.4	65	25.6	38	25.0	23	27.1
No	165	57.9	75	57.3	77	61.6	188	74.0	113	74.3	62	72.9
No Response	2	.7	1	.7	0	0	1	.4	1	.7	0	0
Total	285		131		125		254		152		85	

\* \* \* \* \*

(Question 17.1: "If Yes on 17, to which union did you belong?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%
AFL-CIO - unspecified	21	17.4	11	19.3	7	14.6	19	27.9	10	25.6	8	32.0
AFL-CIO - build- ing trades	26	21.5	13	22.8	8	16.7	1	1.5	1	2.6	0	0
AFL-CIO - other craft	12	9.9	4	7.0	7	14.6	10	14.7	4	10.3	6	24.0
AFL-CIO - Indus- trial union	36	29.8	20	35.1	13	27.1	26	38.2	18	46.2	5	20.0
Teamsters	14	11.6	5	8.8	7	14.6	1	1.5	1	2.6	0	0
I L W U	2	1.7	2	3.5	0	0	1	1.5	1	2.6	0	0
Other	4	3.3	1	1.8	2	4.2	3	4.4	1	2.6	2	8.0
No Response	6	5.0	1	1.8	4	8.3	7	10.3	3	7.7	4	16.0
Total	121		57		48		68		39		25	

Union Membership and Related Factors  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 19: "Has the union referred you to a job?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	42	23.1	23	26.4	16	21.1	13	15.7	8	18.2	5	14.3
No	133	73.1	61	70.1	56	73.7	65	78.3	34	77.3	27	77.1
No Response	7	3.8	3	3.5	4	5.3	5	6.0	2	4.5	3	8.6
Total	182		87		76		83		44		35	

\*\*\*\*\*

(Question 20: "Has the union tried to help you get work in any other way?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	19	10.4	10	11.5	7	9.2	2	2.4	1	2.3	1	2.9
No	154	84.6	74	85.1	63	82.9	76	91.6	41	93.2	31	88.6
No Response	9	5.0	3	3.4	6	7.9	5	6.0	2	4.5	3	8.6
Total	182		87		76		83		44		35	

NOTE: The above two questions refer both to present and past union members.

\*\*\*\*\*

Length of Time in Neighborhood  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 28.1: "How long have you lived in this neighborhood?")

Period	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-5 months	51	18.0	25	19.1	18	14.5	38	15.0	23	15.0	9	10.7
6-11 months	24	8.5	12	9.2	6	4.8	16	6.3	9	5.9	5	5.9
12-23 months	26	9.1	14	10.7	11	8.9	32	12.6	20	13.1	11	13.1
24-35 months	26	9.1	12	9.2	13	10.5	23	9.1	17	11.1	5	5.9
36-47 months	23	8.1	10	7.6	12	9.7	22	8.7	14	9.1	7	8.3
48-59 months	17	6.0	9	6.9	7	5.7	14	5.5	7	4.6	7	8.3
60-119 months	35	12.3	15	11.5	17	13.7	52	20.5	34	22.2	15	17.9
120-239 months	44	15.5	21	16.0	19	15.3	40	15.7	22	14.4	17	20.2
240 +	38	13.4	13	9.9	21	16.9	17	6.7	7	4.6	8	9.5
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	284		131		124		254		153		84	

Note: This table includes those born in the neighborhood.

Length of Time in Los Angeles Area  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 31: "When did you first move into the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area?")

Period	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-5 months	13	5.2	3	2.4	5	5.1	10	4.4	6	4.1	3	4.3
6-11 months	9	3.6	8	6.5	1	1.0	5	2.2	4	2.8	0	0
12-23 months	10	4.0	5	4.0	3	3.0	13	5.7	8	5.5	3	4.3
24-35 months	9	3.6	2	1.6	6	6.1	7	3.1	2	1.4	5	7.1
36-47 months	18	7.2	7	5.6	11	11.1	14	6.1	6	4.1	7	10.0
48-59 months	12	4.8	7	5.6	3	3.0	14	6.1	8	5.5	5	7.1
60-119 months	54	21.6	25	20.2	22	22.2	50	21.9	34	23.5	14	20.0
120-239 months	68	27.2	39	31.5	24	24.2	61	26.7	43	29.7	17	24.3
240 +	57	22.8	28	22.6	24	24.2	54	23.7	34	23.5	16	22.9
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>250</b>		<b>124</b>		<b>99</b>		<b>228</b>		<b>145</b>		<b>70</b>	

Note: Responses were accepted, in this and the following categories, only from those not born in the areas identified.

\* \* \* \* \*

Length of Time in California  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 32: "When did you first come to California?")

Period	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-5 Months	7	2.9	1	.8	3	3.2	7	3.2	5	3.6	1	1.5
6-11 Months	9	3.7	8	6.5	1	1.1	4	1.8	3	2.1	0	0
12-23 Months	8	3.3	5	4.1	2	2.1	11	5.1	8	5.7	2	3.1
24-35 Months	8	3.3	1	.8	6	6.4	5	2.3	2	1.4	3	4.6
36-47 Months	15	6.2	5	4.1	9	9.7	11	5.1	6	4.3	5	7.7
48-59 Months	11	4.5	6	4.9	4	4.3	14	6.4	7	5.0	5	7.7
60-119 Months	54	22.2	23	18.7	24	25.8	50	23.0	32	22.9	16	24.6
120-239 Months	65	26.8	41	33.3	20	21.5	64	29.5	44	31.4	19	29.2
240+	66	27.2	33	26.8	24	25.8	51	23.5	33	23.6	14	21.5
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>243</b>		<b>123</b>		<b>93</b>		<b>217</b>		<b>140</b>		<b>65</b>	

Length of Time in California and L.A. Area  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 32: "When did you first come to California (migrants)?")

Time in State	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-5 months	3	1.6	2	1.9	1	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
6-11 months	8	4.1	7	6.7	1	1.3	2	2.3	0	0	2	6.3
12-23 months	16	8.3	10	9.5	6	7.6	6	6.8	3	5.7	3	9.4
24-35 months	15	7.7	6	5.7	7	8.9	8	9.1	5	9.4	3	9.4
36-47 months	20	10.3	7	6.7	11	13.9	4	4.6	4	7.6	0	0
48-59 months	8	4.1	4	3.8	4	5.1	6	6.8	3	5.7	3	9.4
60-119 months	36	18.6	17	16.2	18	22.8	23	26.1	10	18.9	12	37.5
120-239 months	55	28.4	33	31.4	19	24.0	29	32.9	20	37.7	7	21.9
240 +	33	17.0	19	18.1	12	15.2	10	11.4	8	15.1	2	6.3
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	194		105		79		88		53		32	

(Question 31:  
"When did you  
first move into the  
L.A. Metropolitan  
Area?")

0-5 months	6	3.0	3	2.8	2	2.4	1	1.1	1	1.9	0	0
6-11 months	14	7.0	9	8.3	5	6.1	2	2.1	0	0	2	5.4
12-23 months	18	9.0	10	9.2	8	10.0	7	7.5	3	5.7	4	10.8
24-35 months	17	8.5	7	6.4	7	8.5	9	9.6	5	9.4	4	10.8
36-47 months	19	9.4	7	6.4	12	14.6	6	6.4	5	9.4	1	2.7
48-59 months	12	6.0	6	5.5	6	7.3	8	8.5	4	7.6	4	10.8
60-119 months	37	18.4	20	18.3	16	19.5	22	23.4	9	17.0	12	32.4
120-239 months	54	26.9	34	31.2	17	20.7	31	33.0	20	37.7	9	24.3
240 +	24	11.9	13	11.9	9	11.0	8	8.5	6	11.3	1	2.7
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	201		109		82		94		53		37	

(Question 28.1:  
"How long have you  
lived in this  
neighborhood?")

0-5 months	34	15.1	17	15.0	15	14.7	8	7.8	1	1.8	5	12.2
6-11 months	16	7.1	5	4.4	11	10.8	14	13.6	8	14.0	6	14.6
12-23 months	41	18.2	22	19.5	18	17.7	16	15.5	11	19.3	4	9.8
24-35 months	28	12.4	15	13.3	11	10.8	17	16.5	9	15.8	8	19.5
36-47 months	18	8.0	8	7.1	10	9.8	13	12.6	7	12.3	4	9.8
48-59 months	15	6.7	7	6.2	8	7.8	11	10.7	6	10.5	5	12.2
60-119 months	34	15.1	20	17.7	12	11.8	17	16.5	12	21.1	5	12.2
120-239 months	32	14.2	16	14.2	14	13.7	6	5.8	2	3.5	4	9.8
240 +	7	3.1	3	2.7	3	2.9	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	225		113		102		103		57		41	

Length of Time in Los Angeles Area  
All Persons  
List Sampling

(Question 31: "When did you first move into the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area?")

<u>Period</u>	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>%</u>
0-5 Months	0	0
6-11 Months	0	0
12-23 Months	2	1.77
24-35 Months	2	1.77
36-47 Months	9	7.96
48-59 Months	8	7.08
60-119 Months	28	24.78
120-239 Months	39	34.51
240+ Months	<u>25</u>	22.12
Total	<u>113</u>	

Length of Time in California  
All Persons  
List Sampling

(Question 32: "When did you first come to California?")

<u>Period</u>	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>%</u>
0-5 Months	0	0
6-11 Months	0	0
12-23 Months	1	.90
24-35 Months	1	.90
36-47 Months	6	5.41
48-59 Months	7	6.31
60-119 Months	29	26.13
120-239 Months	42	37.84
240+ Months	<u>25</u>	22.52
Total	<u>111</u>	

Employment History  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 3: "How many different jobs have you had in the past three years?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 job	91	32.4	46	35.9	33	26.6	100	44.1	61	45.9	36	46.2
2 jobs	85	30.3	35	27.3	39	31.4	71	31.3	39	29.3	28	35.9
3 "	55	19.6	27	21.1	25	20.2	32	14.1	18	13.5	7	9.0
4 "	16	5.7	9	7.0	6	4.8	14	6.2	8	6.0	5	6.4
5 "	6	2.1	1	.8	5	4.0	2	.9	0	0	1	1.3
6 "	7	2.5	1	.8	4	3.2	2	.9	2	1.5	0	0
7 "	2	.7	2	1.6	0	0	1	.4	1	.8	0	0
8+ "	15	5.3	5	3.9	10	8.1	4	1.8	3	2.3	1	1.3
No Response	4	1.4	2	1.6	2	1.6	1	.4	1	.8	0	0
Total	281		128		124		227		133		78	

(Question 3.1: "Can you tell me what kind of work you did on these jobs?")

Job #/1	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	6	2.2	3	2.3	3	2.5	2	.9	2	1.5	0	0
Unskilled	107	38.5	61	47.7	37	30.6	75	32.6	50	37.3	22	27.5
Semiskilled	123	44.2	48	37.5	65	53.7	114	49.6	60	44.8	46	57.5
Skilled	15	5.4	3	2.3	6	5.0	7	3.0	2	1.5	3	3.8
Service	25	9.0	12	9.4	9	7.4	31	13.5	19	14.2	9	11.2
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	2	.7	1	.8	1	.8	1	.4	1	.8	0	0
Total	278		128		121		230		134		80	

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Employment History  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING PAGE

Job #2	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	4	2.4	2	2.7	2	2.5	1	.8	1	1.5	0	0
Unskilled	79	46.5	43	57.3	31	39.2	42	34.7	26	38.2	12	28.6
Semiskilled	71	41.8	22	29.3	43	54.4	65	53.7	34	50.0	26	61.9
Skilled	7	4.1	3	4.0	1	1.3	2	1.6	0	0	2	4.8
Service	7	4.1	4	5.3	1	1.3	10	8.3	6	8.8	2	4.8
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	2	1.2	1	1.3	1	1.3	1	.8	1	1.5	0	0
Total	170		75		79		121		68		42	
Job #3												
Agriculture	3	3.3	1	2.6	2	4.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unskilled	50	54.4	26	66.7	23	48.9	20	41.7	15	53.6	4	30.8
Semiskilled	29	31.5	9	23.1	17	36.2	21	43.7	8	28.6	8	61.5
Skilled	3	3.3	1	2.6	1	2.1	1	2.1	0	0	1	7.7
Service	5	5.4	1	2.6	3	6.4	5	10.4	4	14.3	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	2	2.2	1	2.6	1	2.1	1	2.1	1	3.6	0	0
Total	92		39		47		48		28		13	

(Question 34: "What type of work were you doing on your last job before you moved to California (migrants only)?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	14	7.7	6	6.7	7	10.3	6	4.4	5	5.8	1	2.6
Unskilled	59	32.6	35	38.9	20	29.4	43	31.9	35	40.2	8	20.5
Semiskilled	66	36.5	31	34.4	25	36.8	46	34.1	22	25.3	20	51.3
Skilled	12	6.6	3	3.3	7	10.3	6	4.4	1	1.2	2	5.1
Service	22	12.1	13	14.4	5	7.4	18	13.3	12	13.8	4	10.3
No Response	8	4.4	2	2.2	4	5.9	16	11.9	12	13.8	4	10.3
Total	181		90		68		135		87		39	

(Note: In all cases where job categories are identified as "skilled," etc., the classification was made by survey coders on the basis of actual job descriptions and titles supplied by the interviewee.)

Employment History  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 3: "How many different jobs have you had in the past three years?")

Answer	MALES						Females					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 job	31	13.7	22	19.6	9	8.7	22	21.4	12	21.1	9	21.9
2 jobs	110	48.7	46	41.1	57	54.8	51	49.5	29	50.9	22	53.7
3 "	56	24.8	30	26.8	24	23.1	19	18.5	10	17.5	7	17.1
4 "	12	5.3	5	4.5	7	6.7	3	2.9	1	1.8	1	2.4
5 "	4	1.8	2	1.8	2	1.9	5	4.9	2	3.5	2	4.9
6 "	7	3.1	3	2.7	3	2.9	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
7 "	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
8+ "	6	2.7	4	3.6	2	1.9	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	226		112		104		103		57		41	

(Question 3.1: "Can you tell me what kind of work you did on these jobs?")

Job #/1	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	7	3.1	0	0	7	6.8	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
Unskilled	71	31.4	38	33.6	31	30.1	39	38.2	23	41.1	15	36.6
Semiskilled	120	53.1	57	50.4	57	55.3	43	42.2	22	39.3	21	51.2
Skilled	11	4.9	5	4.4	4	3.9	7	6.9	5	8.9	1	2.4
Service	17	7.5	13	11.5	4	3.9	12	11.8	5	8.9	4	10.0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	226		113		103		102		56		41	

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Employment History  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Job #2	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	4	2.5	0	0	4	5.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unskilled	64	39.3	31	39.7	31	40.8	25	40.3	14	41.2	11	44.0
Semiskilled	73	44.8	34	43.6	34	44.7	30	48.4	16	47.1	13	52.0
Skilled	11	6.8	4	5.1	5	6.6	4	6.5	3	8.8	1	4.0
Service	11	6.8	9	11.5	2	2.6	3	4.8	1	2.9	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	163		78		76		62		34		25	
Job #3												
Agriculture	3	4.6	0	0	3	11.1	1	4.2	0	0	1	10.0
Unskilled	29	44.6	19	55.9	8	29.6	9	37.5	6	54.5	2	20.0
Semiskilled	21	32.3	9	26.5	12	44.4	11	45.8	5	45.5	5	50.0
Skilled	6	9.2	2	5.9	2	7.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Service	6	9.2	4	11.7	2	7.4	3	12.5	0	0	2	20.0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	65		34		27		24		11		10	

(Question 1.5: "What kind of work are you doing now?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	1	.5	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unskilled	75	33.6	40	36.7	34	32.7	30	30.0	16	29.6	13	31.7
Semiskilled	112	50.2	48	44.0	58	55.8	46	46.0	19	35.2	25	61.0
Skilled	17	7.6	9	8.3	5	4.8	10	10.0	8	14.8	2	4.9
Service	18	8.1	12	11.0	6	5.8	14	14.0	11	20.4	1	2.4
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	223		109		104		100		54		41	

Employment History  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 4: "Do you consider your present work to be your regular occupation?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	161	70.9	84	74.3	70	67.3	79	76.7	42	73.7	33	80.5
No	66	29.1	29	25.7	34	32.7	24	23.3	15	26.3	8	19.5
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	227		113		104		103		57		41	

(Question 4.1: "If not, what do you consider your regular occupation to be?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	2	3.3	1	3.5	1	3.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unskilled	4	6.7	3	10.3	1	3.5	3	14.3	3	23.1	0	0
Semiskilled	30	50.0	13	44.8	16	55.2	13	61.9	6	46.2	7	87.5
Skilled	19	31.7	10	34.5	9	31.0	3	14.3	2	15.4	1	12.5
Service	1	1.7	0	0	1	3.5	2	9.5	2	15.4	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	4	6.7	2	6.9	1	3.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	60		29		29		21		13		8	

(Question 34:  
"What type of  
work were you  
doing on your last  
job before you  
moved to Calif.?" )

Agriculture	18	11.5	5	6.3	12	17.4	2	2.9	0	0	2	10.0
Unskilled	39	25.0	19	23.7	18	26.1	25	36.8	19	41.3	6	30.0
Semiskilled	67	42.9	36	45.0	28	40.6	13	19.1	11	23.9	2	10.0
Skilled	7	4.5	2	2.5	4	5.8	5	7.3	1	2.2	3	15.0
Service	20	12.8	16	20.0	4	5.8	10	14.7	7	15.2	2	10.0
Other	1	.6	0	0	1	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	4	2.6	2	2.5	2	2.9	13	19.1	8	17.4	5	25.0
Total	156		80		69		68		46		20	

Length of Unemployment  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 1.1: "How long have you been out of work?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 4 weeks	70	25.1	26	20.0	37	30.3	31	12.3	13	8.6	15	17.9
4-25 weeks	103	36.9	46	35.4	49	40.2	60	23.8	26	17.2	26	30.9
26-51 "	44	15.8	23	17.7	14	11.5	49	19.4	33	21.8	15	17.9
52-77 "	22	7.9	11	8.5	9	7.4	35	13.9	21	13.9	11	13.1
78-103 "	4	1.4	4	3.1	0	0	7	2.8	6	4.0	0	0
104-129 "	10	3.6	8	6.1	2	1.6	25	9.9	21	13.9	4	4.8
130-155 "	1	.4	0	0	1	.8	3	1.2	3	2.0	0	0
156+	15	5.4	10	7.7	3	2.5	37	14.7	27	17.9	9	10.7
No Response	10	3.6	2	1.5	7	5.7	5	2.0	1	.7	4	4.8
Total	279		130		122		252		151		84	

Perceived Reasons for Unemployment  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 2.1: "Can you tell me why you became unemployed the last time you were out of work?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Laid off. No reason given.	24	8.5	16	12.5	6	4.8	16	6.5	10	6.9	4	4.8
Laid off. Business slump.	79	28.1	32	25.0	41	32.8	37	15.1	16	11.0	18	21.7
Laid off. Automation, etc.	3	1.1	1	.8	1	.8	2	.8	1	.7	1	1.2
Laid off. Merger, etc.	5	1.8	4	3.1	1	.8	3	1.2	1	.7	1	1.2
Laid off. Closing of plant.	13	4.6	9	7.0	2	1.6	11	4.5	7	4.8	3	3.6
Laid off. Other reasons.	10	3.6	4	3.1	6	4.8	2	.8	2	1.4	0	0
Discharged	14	5.0	4	3.1	8	6.4	9	3.7	6	4.1	3	3.6
Voluntary quit-- pregnancy, etc.	23	8.2	11	8.6	7	5.6	52	21.2	33	22.6	17	20.5
Retirement - involuntary	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.4	1	.7	0	0
Other reasons not listed above	29	10.3	16	12.5	11	8.8	41	16.7	23	15.8	14	16.9
Temporary job	28	10.0	11	8.6	14	11.2	19	7.7	13	8.9	6	7.2
Accident/illness	33	11.7	12	9.4	17	13.6	37	15.1	25	17.1	10	12.0
Personality conflict	7	2.5	4	3.1	2	1.6	4	1.6	2	1.4	1	1.2
No Response	13	4.3	4	2.3	9	7.2	11	4.1	6	4.1	5	6.0
Total	281		128		125		245		146		83	

Nature of Job Search  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>(QUESTION 1.4: "What kind of job are you looking for?")</u>												
Agriculture	2	.7	0	0	1	.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unskilled	113	40.5	61	46.6	47	38.8	81	32.5	50	33.6	26	31.3
Semiskilled	128	45.9	50	38.2	63	52.1	116	46.6	60	40.3	50	60.2
Skilled	17	6.1	6	4.6	7	5.8	15	6.0	9	6.0	3	3.6
Service	19	6.8	14	10.7	3	2.5	37	14.9	30	20.1	4	4.8
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	279		131		121		249		149		83	
 <u>(QUESTION 71: When you were last working, were you doing the job for which you were best trained?)</u>												
Yes	210	74.5	95	73.6	93	74.4	197	79.4	111	74.5	70	85.4
No	70	24.8	32	24.8	32	25.6	48	19.4	37	24.8	10	12.2
No Response	2	.7	2	1.6	0	0	3	1.2	1	.7	2	2.4
Total	282		129		125		248		149		82	
 <u>(QUESTION 71.1: "If not, why not?")</u>												
No work in field	41	56.9	17	51.5	20	62.5	26	52.0	20	52.6	5	50.0
Don't like the field	7	9.7	2	6.1	5	15.6	9	18.0	7	18.4	1	10.0
Other	21	29.2	11	33.3	7	21.9	11	22.0	7	18.4	4	40.0
No Response	3	4.2	3	9.1	0	0	4	8.0	4	10.5	0	0
Total	72		33		32		50		38		10	

Length of Unemployment  
All Persons  
List Sampling

(Question 1.1: "How long have you been out of work?")

	<u>No. of Response</u>	<u>%</u>
Under 4 weeks	8	8.99
4-25 weeks	12	13.48
26-51 weeks	31	34.83
52-77 weeks	25	28.09
78-103 weeks	1	1.12
104-129 weeks	3	3.37
130-155 weeks	1	1.12
156+ weeks	7	7.87
No Response	<u>1</u>	1.12
Total	<u>89</u>	

Nature of Job Search  
All Persons  
List Sampling

(Question 1.4: "What kind of job are you looking for?")

	<u>No. of Response</u>	<u>%</u>
Agriculture	0	0
Unskilled	36	42.35
Semiskilled	40	47.06
Skilled	0	0
Service	9	10.59
Other	0	0
No Response	<u>0</u>	0
Total	<u>85</u>	

Nature of Job Search  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>(QUESTION 1.8: "How did you hear of this job?")</b>												
State Employment Service referred	13	5.9	7	6.5	5	4.9	9	9.2	5	9.4	3	7.3
Want ads, etc.	15	6.8	7	6.5	6	5.8	9	9.2	4	7.6	5	12.2
Private employment agency	7	3.2	1	.9	4	3.9	9	9.2	6	11.3	2	4.9
School referred	1	.5	0	0	1	1.0	2	2.0	1	1.9	1	2.4
Family, friends or relations	104	47.1	51	47.2	52	40.5	35	35.7	21	39.6	13	31.7
Union referred	19	8.6	15	13.9	4	3.9	1	1.0	1	1.9	0	0
Walk-in	52	23.5	23	21.3	27	26.2	19	19.4	7	13.2	12	29.3
Previous employer	5	2.3	2	1.9	3	2.9	5	5.1	4	7.6	0	0
Other	5	2.3	2	1.9	1	1.0	9	9.2	4	7.6	5	12.2
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	221		108		103		98		53		41	
<b>(QUESTION 1.9 "How long have you had this job?")</b>												
1-10 weeks	48	21.6	21	19.4	25	24.0	20	20.2	10	18.5	8	19.5
11-20 weeks	23	10.4	10	9.3	12	11.5	9	9.1	5	9.3	3	7.3
21-30 weeks	28	12.6	10	9.3	16	15.4	13	13.1	7	13.0	6	14.6
31-40 weeks	15	6.8	9	8.3	6	5.8	7	7.1	4	7.4	3	7.3
41-50 weeks	24	10.8	11	10.2	13	12.5	10	10.1	6	11.1	4	9.8
51-60 weeks	7	3.2	3	2.8	3	2.9	2	2.0	0	0	2	4.9
61-70 weeks	5	2.3	4	3.7	1	1.0	2	2.0	1	1.9	1	2.4
71-80	13	5.9	5	4.6	6	5.8	9	9.1	5	9.3	4	10.0
81-90	3	1.4	3	2.8	0	0	1	1.0	1	1.9	0	0
91-100	14	6.3	9	8.3	5	4.8	3	3.0	2	3.7	1	2.4
100+	39	17.6	20	18.6	17	16.3	18	18.2	11	20.4	6	14.6
No Response	3	1.4	3	2.8	0	0	5	5.0	2	3.7	3	7.3
Total	222		108		104		99		54		41	

Nature of Previous Job Search  
 Long-term Employed Persons  
 "Short Form" Sampling

(QUESTION 1.8:  
 "How did you hear  
 of this job?").

<u>Answer</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
State Employment Service referral	46	5.4
Want ads, etc.	55	6.4
Private Employment Agency	28	3.3
School referral	15	1.8
Family, friends, etc.	306	35.6
Union referral	51	5.9
Walk-in	234	27.2
Previous employer	31	3.6
Other	93	10.8
Total	859	

Nature of Job Search  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 5: "In looking for a job, what kind of places of business or government have you visited?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All kinds												
No specification	9	3.2	5	3.8	4	3.2	7	2.8	4	2.6	3	3.7
Mentions both government agencies and private firms	83	29.1	29	22.0	41	33.1	62	24.7	34	22.4	18	22.0
Mentions government agencies only	29	10.2	16	12.1	11	8.9	43	17.1	35	23.0	7	8.5
Mentions private retail or service firms only	37	13.0	17	12.9	14	11.3	46	18.3	29	19.1	14	17.1
Mentions building construction only	5	1.8	2	1.5	3	2.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mentions manufacturing firms only	32	11.2	14	10.6	18	14.5	28	11.2	10	6.6	17	20.7
Mentions agriculture only	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mentions a mixture of above private firms	29	10.2	17	12.9	9	7.3	17	6.8	10	6.6	7	8.5
Mentions agriculture and other industries and/or government	1	.4	0	0	1	.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newspapers and/or telephone book	1	.4	0	0	1	.8	11	4.4	8	5.3	2	2.4
Waits for old boss to recall	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	.8	0	0	2	2.4

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Nature of Job Search  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 5: "In looking for a job, what kind of places of business or government have you visited?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Waits for union to recall (union hall)	21	7.4	12	9.1	6	4.8	2	.8	2	1.3	0	0
Private employment agencies	4	1.4	2	1.5	2	1.6	3	1.2	3	2.0	0	0
Private and government employment agencies	1	.4	0	0	1	.8	5	2.0	5	3.3	0	0
Other	3	1.1	1	.8	0	0	4	1.6	2	1.3	2	2.4
Goes most often to union hall and one of above	11	3.9	5	3.8	6	4.8	2	.8	0	0	2	2.4
No Response	19	6.7	12	9.1	7	5.6	19	7.6	10	6.6	8	9.8
Total	285		132		124		251		152		82	

Nature of Job Search  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(QUESTION 5.1: "How often do you go to each? [e.g., once only, once a week, once a month]").

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily	77	27.1	26	19.7	39	31.7	29	11.6	13	8.6	13	16.1
2-3 times a week	68	23.9	36	27.3	27	21.9	48	19.3	27	17.9	16	19.7
Once a week	41	14.4	19	14.4	19	15.5	42	16.9	21	13.9	19	23.5
Once a month	10	3.5	4	3.0	3	2.4	20	8.0	15	9.9	4	4.9
Several times a yr.	3	1.1	1	.8	2	1.6	3	1.2	2	1.3	1	1.2
Irregular	34	12.0	22	16.7	11	8.9	46	18.5	35	23.2	8	10.0
Once only	19	6.7	8	6.1	8	6.5	32	12.8	24	15.9	7	8.6
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	32	11.3	16	12.1	14	11.4	29	11.7	14	9.3	13	16.0
Total	284		132		123		249		151		81	

Nature of Job Search  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 7: "How far away from home (in miles) do you look for work?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	<u>Total</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Mexican American</u>		<u>Total</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Mexican American</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-5 miles	36	12.7	12	9.2	20	16.3	56	22.6	23	15.4	29	35.4
6-10 miles	47	16.6	12	9.2	28	22.8	71	28.6	39	26.2	26	31.7
11-15 miles	53	18.7	28	21.4	19	15.5	47	18.9	32	21.4	14	17.1
16-20 miles	53	18.7	25	19.1	22	17.9	33	13.3	26	17.4	4	4.9
21-25 miles	29	10.2	18	13.7	9	7.3	8	3.2	6	4.0	2	2.5
26-30 miles	23	8.1	15	11.5	8	6.5	10	4.0	7	4.7	1	1.3
Over 30 miles	34	12.0	17	13.0	15	12.2	11	4.4	7	4.7	3	3.7
No Response	8	2.8	4	3.0	2	1.6	12	4.8	9	6.0	3	3.7
Total	283		131		123		248		149		82	

Nature of Job Search  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 5: "In looking for a job, what kind of places of business or government have you visited?")

Item	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All kinds - no specification	12	5.4	6	5.3	4	3.9	4	4.0	1	1.8	3	7.3
Mentions govt. agencies & private firms	41	18.3	23	20.4	17	16.7	19	18.8	11	20.0	7	17.1
Mentions govt. agencies only	24	10.7	15	13.3	6	5.9	10	9.9	8	14.6	1	2.4
Mentions private retail or service firms only	23	10.3	8	7.1	15	14.7	20	19.8	11	20.0	8	19.5
Mentions bldg. construction only	7	3.1	5	4.4	2	2.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mentions mfg. firms only	31	13.8	11	9.7	20	19.6	14	13.9	5	9.1	9	21.9
Mentions agriculture only	1	.5	1	.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mentions mixture of private firms	21	9.4	12	10.6	9	8.8	5	5.0	1	1.8	4	9.8
Mentions agriculture & other industries	1	.5	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newspapers or phone book	3	1.3	1	.9	2	2.0	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
Waits for old boss to recall	1	.5	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waits for union to recall	20	8.9	15	13.3	5	4.9	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
Private employment agencies	5	2.2	2	1.8	3	2.9	9	8.9	6	10.9	3	7.3
Private and govt. agencies	4	1.8	0	0	3	2.9	2	2.0	1	1.8	1	2.4
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Goes to union hall & 1 of above	6	2.7	6	5.3	0	0	2	2.0	2	3.6	0	0
No Response	24	10.7	8	7.1	14	13.7	14	13.9	7	12.7	5	12.2
Total	224		113		102		101		55		41	

Nature of Job Search  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 5.1: "How often do you go to each? [e.g., once only, once a week, once a month]").

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily	66	29.6	27	23.9	37	36.6	19	19.0	6	10.9	13	32.5
2-3 times a week	48	21.5	22	19.5	25	24.8	17	17.0	10	18.2	7	17.5
Once a week	23	10.3	9	8.0	11	10.9	10	10.0	5	9.1	5	12.5
Once a month	2	.9	1	.9	1	1.0	4	4.0	2	3.6	2	5.0
Several times a yr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3.0	2	3.6	1	2.5
Irregular	30	13.5	26	23.0	4	4.0	16	16.0	11	20.0	4	10.0
Once only	20	9.0	11	9.7	8	7.9	12	12.0	8	14.6	3	7.5
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	34	15.3	17	15.0	15	14.9	19	19.0	11	20.0	5	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>223</b>		<b>113</b>		<b>101</b>		<b>100</b>		<b>55</b>		<b>40</b>	
(Question 7: "How far away from home (in miles) do you usually look for work?")												
1-5 miles	26	11.7	11	9.9	15	14.7	28	27.2	13	22.8	13	31.7
6-10 miles	31	14.0	7	6.3	23	22.5	25	24.3	14	24.6	11	26.8
11-15 miles	40	18.0	16	14.4	21	20.6	20	19.4	13	22.8	7	17.1
16-20 miles	45	20.3	24	21.6	18	17.6	10	9.7	6	10.5	3	7.3
21-25 miles	12	5.4	7	6.3	5	4.9	3	2.9	2	3.5	1	2.4
26-30 miles	22	10.0	15	13.5	7	6.9	6	5.9	2	3.5	4	10.0
Over 30 miles	29	13.1	20	18.0	8	7.8	4	3.9	3	5.3	1	2.4
No Response	17	7.7	11	9.9	5	4.9	7	6.8	4	7.0	1	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>222</b>		<b>111</b>		<b>102</b>		<b>103</b>		<b>57</b>		<b>41</b>	

Nature of Jobs  
 Long-term Employed Persons  
 "Short Form" Sampling

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Agriculture	0	0
Unskilled	170	18.0
Semiskilled	454	48.0
Skilled	182	19.3
Service	100	10.6
Self-employed	25	2.7
Army	2	.2
Other	0	0
No response	12	1.3
Total	945	

Hours Worked Per Week  
 Long-term Employed Persons  
 "Short Form" Sampling

<u>Hours</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Below 10	8	.9
10-19	17	1.8
20-29	22	2.4
30-39	57	6.1
40	637	68.4
41-49	76	8.1
50-59	24	2.6
60-69	12	1.3
70+	9	1.0
No response	70	7.5
Total	932	

Previous Employment  
 Long-term Employed Persons  
 "Short Form" Sampling

(QUESTION 1.10: "What did you do before you had this job?")

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<u>Employed at another job</u>	699	77.6
<u>Unemployed</u>	76	8.4
<u>Student</u>	24	2.7
<u>No response</u>	102	11.3
Total	901	

Subsample  
 Nature of Jobs Held Previously

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<u>Agriculture</u>	10	4.5
<u>Unskilled</u>	46	20.6
<u>Semiskilled</u>	108	48.4
<u>Skilled</u>	37	16.6
<u>Service</u>	22	10.0
Total	223	

Use of State Employment Service  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 9: "Are you now registered at the State Employment Service?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%
Yes	216	75.5	102	77.3	92	73.6	160	62.5	96	62.7	52	60.5
No	70	24.5	30	22.7	33	26.4	95	37.1	57	37.3	33	38.4
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.4	0	0	1	1.1
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	

\* \* \* \* \*

(Question 9.1: "Have you had any referrals from the State Employment Service  
[during current spell of unemployment]?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%
Yes	44	20.1	20	19.2	20	21.7	57	33.5	37	35.6	16	29.6
No	168	76.7	79	76.0	71	77.2	108	63.5	63	60.6	37	68.5
No Response	7	3.2	5	4.8	1	1.1	5	2.9	4	3.8	1	1.9
Total	219		104		92		170		104		54	

\* \* \* \* \*

(Question 10: "In the past three years, have you found any jobs through the State  
Employment Service?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%
Yes	252	88.1	119	90.1	107	85.6	212	83.5	130	84.9	70	83.3
No	33	11.5	13	9.9	17	13.6	42	16.5	23	15.1	14	16.7
No Response	1	.4	0	0	1	.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	286		132		125		254		153		84	

Willingness to Move  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 8: "Suppose you were able to get the type of work that you want, but that this would involve moving yourself and your family to a new location. Would you consider moving?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	225	78.7	108	81.8	96	76.8	142	55.5	91	59.5	40	46.5
No	60	21.0	23	17.4	29	23.2	113	44.1	61	39.9	46	53.5
No Response	1	.3	1	.8	0	0	1	.4	1	.6	0	0
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	

\* \* \* \* \*

(Question 8.1: "If yes, how far would you move?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Los Angeles County only	65	28.5	28	25.4	32	33.3	72	49.7	41	44.1	30	73.2
Southern California	21	9.2	5	4.5	13	13.5	19	13.1	13	14.0	6	14.6
Anywhere in California	45	19.7	26	23.6	15	15.6	28	19.3	24	25.8	0	0
Anywhere in United States	92	40.3	48	43.6	35	36.5	25	17.2	14	15.0	5	12.2
Other or No Response	5	2.2	3	2.7	1	1.0	1	.7	1	1.1	0	0
Total	228		110		96		145		93		41	

Interest in Retraining  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 13: "Would you consider going back to school to learn how to do another job?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	227	79.4	114	86.4	95	76.0	201	78.5	131	85.6	57	66.3
No	58	20.3	18	13.6	30	24.0	54	21.1	22	14.4	28	32.6
N.R.* or other	1	.4	0	0	0	0	1	.4	0	0	1	1.2
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	

\*N.R. means  
No Response

\* \* \* \* \*

(Question 13.1: "If yes, for what kind of training would you go back to school?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Academic (diploma)	14	6.4	6	5.3	6	6.7	19	9.5	13	9.9	5	8.8
Ind. Arts*	11	5.0	9	7.9	0	0	6	3.0	4	3.1	2	3.5
Vocational	164	74.6	80	70.2	74	82.2	147	73.1	97	74.1	39	68.4
Business	9	4.1	5	4.4	4	4.4	21	10.5	13	9.9	7	12.3
Other	22	10.0	14	12.3	6	6.7	8	4.0	4	3.1	4	7.0
Don't Know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	220		114		90		201		131		57	

\*Industrial Arts--Photography, drafting  
clothing design, etc.

\* \* \* \* \*

(Question 13.2: "To your knowledge, is this training offered in any of the local schools?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	87	40.9	57	54.3	26	28.6	114	57.9	87	68.0	20	35.7
No	84	39.4	30	28.6	46	50.6	49	24.9	18	14.1	28	50.0
Other	16	7.5	9	8.6	7	7.7	15	7.6	9	7.0	3	5.4
No Response	26	12.2	9	8.6	12	13.2	19	9.6	14	10.9	5	8.9
Total	213		105		91		197		128		56	

Interest in Retraining  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 13: "Would you consider going back to school to learn how to do another job?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	160	71.1	88	78.6	66	64.1	71	68.9	41	71.9	27	65.9
No	64	28.4	23	20.5	37	35.9	32	31.1	16	28.1	14	34.1
No Response	1	.4	1	.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	225		112		103		103		57		41	
(Question 13.1: "If yes, for what kind of training would you go back to school?")												
Academic	17	10.5	7	7.9	9	13.4	12	17.1	9	21.9	3	11.5
Industrial arts	10	6.2	9	10.1	1	1.5	1	1.4	1	2.4	0	0
Vocational	120	74.1	66	74.2	50	74.6	49	70.0	28	68.3	19	73.1
Business	7	4.3	6	6.7	1	1.5	5	7.1	2	4.9	2	7.7
Other	6	3.7	1	1.1	5	7.5	3	4.3	1	2.4	2	7.7
Don't Know	2	1.2	0	0	1	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	162		89		67		70		41		26	
(Question 13.2: "To your knowledge, is this training offered in any of the local schools?")												
Yes	100	64.9	63	71.6	34	55.7	41	60.3	25	62.5	8	32.0
No	30	19.5	13	14.8	16	26.2	17	25.0	9	22.5	14	56.0
Other	7	4.6	5	5.7	1	1.6	5	7.4	1	2.5	3	12.0
No Response	17	11.0	7	7.9	10	16.4	5	7.4	5	12.5	0	0
Total	154		88		61		68		40		25	

Perceptions of Labor Market  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>(QUESTION 12: "Do you think you have difficulty in getting jobs?")</b>												
Yes	161	56.7	75	57.3	72	57.6	145	56.9	92	60.5	44	51.2
No	122	43.0	56	42.7	53	42.4	108	42.3	58	38.2	42	48.8
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.4	1	.7	0	0
No Response	1	.3	0	0	0	0	1	.4	1	.7	0	0
Total	284		131		125		255		152		86	
<b>(QUESTION 12.1: "If yes, why do you think that is?")*</b>												
Personal attitudes or emotional problems	10	6.7	3	4.4	5	7.5	11	7.8	5	5.7	2	4.6
Racial discrimination	8	5.4	7	10.1	1	1.5	14	9.9	14	15.9	0	0
Sex discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.7	0	0	0	0
Religious discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age	32	21.5	13	18.8	15	22.4	20	14.2	8	9.1	10	22.7
Poor health	9	6.0	5	7.3	3	4.5	8	5.7	5	5.7	1	2.3
Lack of education	18	12.1	4	5.8	12	17.9	26	18.4	10	11.4	16	36.4
Lack of skill	27	18.1	15	21.7	12	17.9	23	16.3	17	19.3	6	13.6
Other (mainly no jobs available)	45	30.2	22	31.9	19	28.4	38	26.9	29	32.9	9	20.4
Total	149		69		67		141		88		44	
*First response												
<b>(QUESTION 12.2: "Do you think you have difficulty in keeping jobs?")</b>												
Yes	26	9.2	7	5.3	18	14.6	16	6.3	8	5.2	4	4.7
No	256	90.5	124	93.9	105	85.4	240	93.7	145	94.8	82	95.3
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	1	.3	1	.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	283		132		123		256		153		86	

Perceptions of Labor Market  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 12: "Do you think you have difficulty in getting jobs?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	99	43.8	45	39.8	50	48.5	30	29.1	16	28.1	13	31.7
No	126	55.8	68	60.2	52	50.5	72	69.9	41	71.9	27	65.9
No Response	1	.4	0	0	1	1.0	1	1.0	0	0	1	2.4
Total	226		113		103		103		57		41	
(Question 12.1: "If yes, why do you think that is?")												
Personal attitudes or emotional problems	6	6.4	3	7.9	3	5.8	2	6.9	1	6.7	1	7.7
Racial discrimination	14	14.9	12	31.6	2	3.9	3	10.3	3	20.0	0	0
Sex discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religious discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Age	11	11.7	3	7.9	7	13.5	3	10.3	1	6.7	2	15.4
Poor health	3	3.2	2	5.3	1	1.9	1	3.5	1	6.7	0	0
Lack of education	16	17.0	5	13.2	11	21.2	6	20.7	3	20.0	3	23.1
Lack of skill	19	20.2	7	18.4	11	21.2	6	20.7	4	26.7	2	15.4
Other (mainly no jobs available)	25	26.6	6	15.8	17	32.7	8	27.6	2	13.3	5	38.5
Total	94		38		52		29		15		13	
(Question 12.2: "Do you think you have difficulty in <u>keeping</u> jobs?")												
Yes	18	8.0	8	7.1	10	9.7	6	5.8	4	7.0	2	4.9
No	208	92.0	105	92.9	93	90.3	97	94.2	53	93.0	39	95.1
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	226		113		103		103		57		41	

Perceptions of Labor Market  
All Persons  
List Sampling

(Question 12: "Do you think you have difficulty in getting jobs?")

	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	66	52.38
No	59	46.83
Other	0	0
No Response	0	0
Total	125	

(Question 12.1: "If yes, why do you think that is?")

	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>%</u>
Personal attitudes or emotional problems	1	1.67
Racial discrimination	2	3.33
Sex discrimination	0	0
Religious discrimination	0	0
Age	18	30.00
Poor Health	6	10.00
Lack of Education	3	5.00
Lack of Skill	5	8.33
Other (mainly no jobs available)	25	41.67
Total	60	

(Question 12.2: "Do you think you have difficulty in keeping jobs?")

	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	10	8.70
No	105	91.30
Other	0	0
No Response	0	0
Total	115	

Sources of Income  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>(QUESTION 67: "Are you getting unemployment insurance benefits at the present time?")</u>												
Yes	102	35.7	45	34.1	48	38.4	42	16.4	21	13.7	18	20.9
No	184	64.3	87	65.9	77	61.6	214	83.6	132	86.3	68	79.1
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	
 <u>(QUESTION 67.2: "If yes, how much do you get?")</u>												
Under \$20 week	2	2.0	2	4.6	0	0	1	2.5	0	0	1	5.6
\$20-29 a week	12	11.7	8	18.1	4	8.3	11	27.5	6	31.6	3	16.6
\$30-39	21	20.6	7	15.9	14	29.2	16	40.0	7	36.8	9	50.0
\$40-49	32	31.4	15	34.1	13	27.1	7	17.5	2	10.5	5	27.9
\$50-59	32	31.4	12	27.3	15	31.2	2	5.0	2	10.5	0	0
No Response	3	3.0	0	0	2	4.2	3	7.5	2	10.5	0	0
Total	102		44		48		40		19		18	
 <u>(QUESTION 67.3: "If not, why not?")</u>												
Ineligible	64	35.4	33	39.8	24	30.8	126	59.4	87	66.9	30	44.1
Prior earnings too low	7	3.9	2	2.4	4	5.1	13	6.1	8	6.1	3	4.4
Waiting period	43	23.8	20	24.1	20	25.6	11	5.2	4	3.1	7	10.3
Benefits exhausted	48	26.5	21	25.3	22	28.2	37	17.4	21	16.1	14	20.6
Other reasons	11	6.1	2	2.4	7	9.0	17	8.0	2	1.5	14	20.6
No Response	8	4.4	5	6.0	1	1.3	8	3.8	8	6.1	0	0
Total	181		83		78		212		130		68	

Sources of Income  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(QUESTION 68: "Do you have any other source of income?")												
Major Source*												
Pension	10	5.7	5	6.3	2	2.6	6	2.8	2	1.6	4	5.2
Private insurance	1	.6	0	0	1	1.3	4	1.8	2	1.6	1	1.3
Public assistance	25	14.3	11	13.8	12	15.8	49	22.6	36	28.8	10	13.0
Private agencies	1	.6	0	0	1	1.3	4	1.8	2	1.6	2	2.6
Relatives or friends	50	28.6	18	22.5	29	38.2	55	25.4	28	22.4	22	28.6
Spouse	46	26.3	20	25.0	21	27.6	72	33.2	37	29.6	33	42.9
Other	40	22.9	25	31.2	10	13.2	27	12.4	18	14.4	5	6.5
No Response	2	1.1	1	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	175		80		76		217		125		77	

\* Only 13 of the total men and 21 of the total women mentioned a second source of income, and only 4 and 5 respectively, referred to a third source. Obviously, the respondents to this question had previously indicated that they were not receiving unemployment compensation.

Previous Earnings  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(QUESTION 69: "When you were last working, how much did you make?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$50 a week	21	7.4	10	7.6	8	6.5	91	36.1	54	35.5	31	37.4
\$50-59 a week	21	7.4	9	6.9	12	9.7	61	24.2	43	28.3	16	19.3
\$60-69 " "	37	13.0	16	12.2	20	16.1	41	16.3	22	14.5	17	20.5
\$70-79 " "	36	12.7	17	13.0	14	11.3	24	9.5	14	9.2	7	8.4
\$80-89 " "	33	11.6	13	9.9	16	12.9	20	7.9	10	6.6	7	8.4
\$90-99 " "	29	10.2	14	10.7	14	11.3	8	3.2	4	2.6	3	3.6
\$100+	104	36.6	51	38.9	40	32.3	6	2.4	4	2.6	2	2.4
No Response	3	1.1	1	.8	0	0	1	.4	1	.7	0	0
Total	284		131		124		252		152		83	
Average	\$80.42		\$80.70		\$79.15		\$55.38		\$54.22		\$56.52	

Expenditures  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

Contract rent per month - renters (Question 48.2).

	MALES					FEMALES				
	Total		Negro		Mexican American	Total		Negro		Mexican American
	No.	%	No.	%	No. %	No.	%	No.	%	No. %
Under \$20	1	.4	0	0	1 .9	3	1.4	2	1.5	1 1.5
\$20-29	5	2.0	2	1.8	3 2.6	4	1.8	2	1.5	2 3.0
\$30-39	9	3.6	1	.9	3 2.6	13	6.0	9	6.6	4 5.9
\$40-49	34	13.6	16	14.5	15 13.0	18	8.3	8	5.9	8 11.8
\$50-59	49	19.7	23	20.9	22 19.1	47	21.6	32	23.5	10 14.7
\$60-69	65	26.1	24	26.4	37 32.2	58	26.6	38	27.9	16 23.5
\$70-79	36	14.5	17	15.4	16 13.9	44	20.2	27	19.8	15 22.1
\$80-89	26	10.4	16	14.5	9 7.8	11	5.0	5	3.7	6 8.8
\$90-99	3	1.2	1	.9	1 .9	5	2.3	2	1.5	2 3.0
\$100 +	11	4.4	6	5.4	3 2.6	10	4.6	7	5.2	3 4.4
No Response	10	4.0	4	3.6	5 4.3	5	2.3	4	2.9	1 1.5
Total	249		110		115	218		136		68

Mortgage payments per month - owners (Question 48.1).

	MALES					FEMALES				
	Total		Negro		Mexican American	Total		Negro		Mexican American
	No.	%	No.	%	No. %	No.	%	No.	%	No. %
Under \$50	1	3.1				1	3.8			
\$50-69	6	18.7				0	0			
\$70-89	6	18.7	Insufficient Sample			3	11.5	Insufficient Sample		
\$90 +	14	43.8				14	53.8			
No Response	5	15.6				8	30.8			
Total	32					26				

Expenditures  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

Total Utilities (gas, electricity, phone) per month (Question 49).

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
\$1-5	11	4.8	5	4.5	6	5.8	7	3.1	6	4.4	1	1.3
\$6-10	36	15.8	12	10.8	20	19.4	39	17.5	20	14.7	16	21.3
\$11-15	63	27.6	32	28.8	27	26.2	53	23.8	32	23.5	20	26.7
\$16-20	38	16.7	17	15.3	19	18.4	54	24.2	36	26.5	16	21.3
\$21-25	31	13.6	18	16.2	12	11.7	23	10.3	15	11.0	7	9.3
\$26-30	6	2.6	5	4.5	1	1.0	20	9.0	11	8.1	7	9.3
\$31-35	9	3.9	8	7.2	1	1.0	6	2.7	3	2.2	3	4.0
Over \$35	9	3.9	5	4.5	3	2.9	7	3.1	6	4.4	0	0
No Response	25	11.0	9	8.1	14	13.6	14	6.3	7	5.1	5	6.7
Total	228		111		103		223		136		75	
Total food expenditures per week (Question 52).												
Under \$10	12	4.4	6	4.7	3	2.5	11	4.4	8	5.3	3	3.5
\$10-14	36	13.0	23	18.1	11	9.2	35	13.9	22	14.5	7	8.2
\$15-19	44	15.9	25	19.7	13	10.8	44	17.5	32	21.0	10	11.8
\$20-24	59	21.4	30	23.6	22	18.4	37	14.7	20	13.2	15	17.6
\$25-29	41	14.8	14	11.0	25	20.8	46	18.2	28	18.4	16	18.8
\$30-34	28	10.1	7	5.5	15	12.5	41	16.3	22	14.5	17	20.0
\$35-39	21	7.6	7	5.5	14	11.7	10	4.0	9	5.9	1	1.2
\$40 +	27	9.8	12	9.4	12	10.0	18	7.1	5	3.3	12	14.1
No Response	8	2.9	3	2.4	5	4.2	10	4.0	6	4.0	4	4.7
Total	276		127		120		252		152		85	
Medical and dental expenses per month (Question 53).												
\$1-5	18	16.4	12	25.5	6	11.8	14	13.7	6	12.8	6	13.9
\$6-10	19	17.3	7	14.9	11	21.6	14	13.7	8	17.0	5	11.6
\$11-15	15	13.6	4	8.5	7	13.7	12	11.8	4	8.5	3	7.0
\$16-20	12	10.9	5	10.6	6	11.8	17	16.7	5	10.6	12	27.9
\$21-25	10	9.1	5	10.6	4	7.8	11	10.8	6	12.8	5	11.6
\$26-30	6	5.5	1	2.1	5	9.8	3	2.9	1	2.1	2	4.6
Over \$30	12	10.9	4	8.5	6	11.8	10	10.0	4	8.5	5	11.6
No Response	18	16.4	9	19.1	6	11.8	21	20.6	13	27.7	5	11.6
Total	110		47		51		102		47		43	

Transportation  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(Question 50: "Do you own a car?")												
<u>Answer</u>												
Yes	156	54.7	77	58.3	63	50.8	69	26.9	32	20.9	32	37.2
No	129	45.3	55	41.7	61	49.2	187	73.1	121	79.1	54	62.8
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	285		132		124		256		153		86	
(Question 50.1: "If car owner, what is the year of the car?")												
<u>Answer</u>												
1950 or earlier	18	11.5	8	10.4	8	12.7	6	8.7	3	9.1	3	9.4
1951-55	55	34.5	34	44.2	19	30.2	15	21.8	9	27.3	5	15.6
1956-60	58	38.5	25	32.5	24	38.2	40	58.0	18	54.5	19	59.3
1961-65	24	15.5	10	13.0	12	19.0	8	11.5	3	9.1	5	15.7
Total	155		77		63		69		33		32	
(Question 51: "How do you usually get to work?")												
<u>Answer</u>												
Walk	12	4.2	5	3.8	5	4.0	11	4.4	6	4.1	4	4.7
Drive own car	139	48.6	71	53.8	57	45.6	24	9.6	15	10.2	6	7.1
Car pool	15	5.2	3	2.3	9	7.2	14	5.6	6	4.1	8	9.4
Public transportation	114	39.9	50	37.9	54	43.2	192	77.1	113	76.9	67	78.8
Other	4	1.4	2	1.5	0	0	3	1.2	2	1.4	0	0
No Response	2	.7	1	.8	0	0	5	2.0	5	3.4	0	0
Total	286		132		125		249		147		85	
(Question 51.1: "Approximately how much does it cost you each week to get to work?")												
<u>Answer</u>												
Under \$3	11	4.1	3	2.3	5	4.2	17	7.1	12	8.5	5	6.1
\$3	71	26.5	25	19.5	39	33.1	99	41.6	42	29.8	51	62.2
\$4	33	12.3	12	9.4	18	15.3	24	10.1	14	9.9	7	8.5
\$5	50	18.7	24	18.7	23	19.5	36	15.1	27	19.1	8	9.8
\$6	19	7.1	13	10.2	4	3.4	12	5.0	10	7.1	1	1.2
\$7	11	4.1	7	5.5	4	3.4	5	2.1	3	2.1	1	1.2
\$8	8	3.0	4	3.1	4	3.4	1	.4	0	0	1	1.2
\$9	4	1.5	4	3.1	0	0	1	.4	1	.7	0	0
\$10	20	7.5	10	7.8	10	8.5	5	2.1	4	2.8	1	1.2
Over \$10	19	7.1	14	11.0	3	2.5	1	.4	1	.7	0	0
No Response	22	8.2	12	9.4	8	6.8	37	15.6	27	19.1	7	8.5
Total	268		128		118		238		141		82	

Transportation  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

	MALE						FEMALE					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
(QUESTION 50: "Do you own a car?")	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	146	64.6	72	64.3	66	63.5	32	31.1	19	33.3	12	29.3
No	80	35.4	40	35.7	38	36.5	71	68.9	38	66.7	29	70.7
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	226		112		104		103		57		41	
(QUESTION 50.1: "If car owner, what is the year of the car?")												
1950 or earlier	6	4.1	4	5.6	2	2.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
1951-55	39	26.4	28	38.9	10	14.7	10	31.3	8	42.1	1	8.3
1956-60	78	52.7	30	41.7	44	64.7	14	43.7	7	36.8	7	58.3
1961-65	24	16.2	9	12.5	12	17.6	7	21.9	4	21.1	3	25.0
No Response	1	.7	1	1.4	0	0	1	3.1	0	0	1	8.3
Total	148		72		68		32		19		12	
(QUESTION 51: "How do you usually get to work?")												
Walk	17	7.6	6	5.4	11	10.6	8	7.8	1	1.8	6	14.6
Drive own car	125	55.6	60	54.0	57	54.8	20	19.4	11	19.3	8	19.5
Car pool	31	13.8	18	16.2	13	12.5	11	10.7	7	12.3	4	9.8
Public transportation	45	20.0	23	20.7	20	19.2	61	59.2	37	64.9	21	51.2
Other	6	2.7	3	2.7	3	2.9	3	2.9	1	1.8	2	4.9
No Response	1	.4	1	.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	225		111		104		103		57		41	
(QUESTION 51.1: "Approximately how much does it cost you each week to get to work?")												
Under \$3	9	4.4	4	3.8	5	5.5	9	9.7	6	11.1	3	8.6
\$3	53	25.6	25	23.6	28	30.8	38	40.9	17	31.5	18	51.4
\$4	25	12.1	9	8.5	14	15.4	11	11.8	7	13.0	4	11.4
\$5	47	22.7	22	20.8	21	23.1	18	19.4	12	22.2	6	17.1
\$6	18	8.7	11	10.4	6	6.6	3	3.2	2	3.7	1	2.9
\$7	16	7.7	9	8.5	5	5.5	5	5.4	4	7.4	1	2.9
\$8	13	6.3	7	6.6	6	6.6	1	1.1	1	1.9	0	0
\$9	1	.5	0	0	1	1.1	1	1.1	1	1.9	0	0
\$10	11	5.3	10	9.4	0	0	1	1.1	0	0	1	2.9
Over \$10	10	4.8	6	5.7	4	4.4	3	3.2	3	5.6	0	0
No Response	4	1.9	3	2.8	1	1.1	3	3.2	1	1.9	1	2.9
Total	207		106		91		93		54		35	

Medical Care  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(Question 54: "Do you have a prepaid Medical plan?")												
Yes	40	14.0	21	15.9	15	12.0	46	18.0	26	17.0	17	19.8
No	236	82.5	107	81.1	104	83.2	205	80.1	126	82.4	65	75.6
Paid by Union	9	3.1	4	3.0	5	4.0	4	1.6	1	.7	4	4.6
No Response	1	.4	0	0	1	.8	1	.4	0	0	0	0
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	
(Question 54.1: "If yes, how much do the premiums cost you each month?")												
\$1	2	5.6	2	11.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
\$2	1	2.8	1	5.6	0	0	1	2.9	0	0	1	6.7
\$3	1	2.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
\$4	2	5.6	1	5.6	1	7.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
\$5	3	8.3	1	5.6	1	7.1	1	2.9	1	5.9	0	0
\$6	5	13.9	1	5.6	4	28.6	3	8.8	2	11.8	1	6.7
\$7	2	5.6	2	11.1	0	0	2	5.9	0	0	2	13.3
\$8	1	2.8	0	0	1	7.1	1	2.9	0	0	1	6.7
\$9	2	5.6	1	5.6	1	7.1	1	2.9	0	0	1	6.7
Over \$9	9	25.0	6	33.6	2	14.2	16	47.1	9	52.9	6	40.0
No Response	8	22.2	3	16.7	4	28.6	9	26.5	5	29.4	3	20.0
Total	36		18		14		34		17		15	
(Question 54.2: "If yes, does it cover your dependents too?")												
Yes	32	78.1	14	70.0	14	82.4	35	85.4	17	89.5	15	78.9
No	7	17.0	4	20.0	3	17.6	2	4.9	1	5.3	1	5.3
No Response	2	4.9	2	10.0	0	0	4	9.8	1	5.3	3	15.8
Total	41		20		17		41		19		19	
(Question 56: "Do you use the city or county health services?")												
Yes	121	42.3	53	40.1	59	47.2	136	53.1	95	62.1	36	41.9
No	163	57.0	78	59.1	65	52.0	119	46.5	58	37.9	49	57.0
No Response	2	.7	1	.8	1	.8	1	.4	0	0	1	1.2
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	

CONTINUED FROM  
PRECEDING PAGE

Medical Care  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

	MALE						FEMALE					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(QUESTION 56.1: "If yes, which ones?")												
Mentions County Hospital only	81	66.9	39	73.6	37	63.8	89	65.4	68	71.6	18	50.0
Mentions more than 1 public hospital	2	1.7	1	1.9	1	1.7	2	1.5	1	1.0	1	2.8
Mentions public health centers	16	13.2	7	13.2	7	12.1	19	14.0	10	10.5	9	25.0
Mentions private hos- pitals & clinics	4	3.3	3	5.7	1	1.7	9	6.6	5	5.3	3	8.3
Mentions combination	12	9.9	2	3.8	9	15.5	11	8.1	7	7.4	3	8.3
Other	2	1.7	1	1.9	0	0	2	1.5	2	2.1	0	0
Private doctor	4	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	0	0	0	0	3	5.2	4	2.9	2	2.1	2	5.6
Total	121		53		58		136		95		36	
(QUESTION 56.2: "If yes, for what pur- poses generally?")												
Emergencies	23	19.5	7	13.5	12	21.4	21	15.6	13	13.7	7	20.0
Maternity	8	6.8	2	3.9	6	10.7	8	5.9	7	7.4	1	2.9
Checkup--children	18	15.3	7	13.5	10	17.9	20	14.8	10	10.5	8	22.9
Shots (allergy)	3	2.5	1	1.9	2	3.6	10	7.4	5	5.3	5	14.3
X-rays	2	1.7	0	0	0	0	4	3.0	1	1.0	3	8.6
Other regular care	22	18.6	11	21.2	11	19.6	22	16.3	18	18.9	4	11.4
Mentions regular care & emergency	29	24.6	15	28.9	12	21.4	38	28.2	35	36.8	2	5.7
Other	1	.9	0	0	1	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	12	10.2	9	17.3	2	3.6	12	8.9	6	6.3	5	14.3
Total	118		52		56		135		95		35	
(QUESTION 57: "If you were ill or had an accident, or one of your child- ren were ill, where would you go for care?")												
County hospital only	176	61.5	78	59.1	81	64.8	161	62.9	108	70.6	44	51.2
More than one county hospital	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	.8	2	1.3	0	0
Public health cen- ters	5	1.8	3	3.3	2	1.6	5	1.9	3	2.0	2	2.3
Private hospitals & clinics	34	11.9	17	12.9	12	9.6	31	12.1	12	7.8	15	17.4
Combination	18	6.3	8	6.1	6	4.8	18	7.0	11	7.2	7	8.1
Other	17	5.9	14	10.6	2	1.6	4	1.6	3	2.0	0	0
Private doctor	27	9.4	9	6.8	18	14.4	28	10.9	12	7.8	15	17.4
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	9	3.2	3	0	4	3.2	7	2.7	2	1.3	3	3.5
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	

Knowledge of Government Programs  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 14: "Have you heard of the Government retraining programs, night courses, or other programs to give more training to people?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	156	54.6	68	51.5	64	51.2	130	50.8	75	49.0	47	54.6
No	130	45.4	64	48.5	61	48.8	124	48.4	76	49.7	39	45.4
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	.8	2	1.3	0	0
Total	286		132		125		256		153		86	

\* \* \* \* \*

(Question 15: "Have you noticed, either at work or elsewhere, any results from recent civil rights activity or FEPC legislation?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	52	18.2	33	25.0	12	9.6	52	20.4	40	26.1	11	12.9
No	233	81.5	99	75.0	112	89.6	201	78.8	113	73.9	72	84.7
No Response	1	.3	0	0	1	.8	2	.8	0	0	2	2.4
Total	286		132		125		255		153		85	

\* \* \* \* \*

(Question 15.1: "If yes, can you tell me what results you've noticed?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Can get more jobs	12	23.1	8	24.2	2	16.7	23	44.2	19	47.5	4	36.4
Can get better jobs	4	7.7	3	9.1	0	0	1	1.9	1	2.5	0	0
Combination	6	11.5	5	15.2	0	0	5	9.6	5	12.5	0	0
Union membership easier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Better work conditions	2	3.9	2	6.1	0	0	1	1.9	0	0	1	9.1
Other	28	53.9	15	45.5	10	83.3	20	38.5	13	32.5	6	54.6
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3.9	2	5.0	0	0
Total	52		33		12		52		40		11	

Knowledge of Government Programs  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 14: "Have you heard of the Government retraining programs, night courses, or other programs to give more training to people?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	<u>Total</u> No. %		<u>Negro</u> No. %		<u>Mexican American</u> No. %		<u>Total</u> No. %		<u>Negro</u> No. %		<u>Mexican American</u> No. %	
Yes	117	51.5	62	54.9	49	47.1	47	45.6	31	54.4	13	31.7
No	109	48.0	50	44.3	55	52.9	55	53.4	26	45.6	27	65.9
No Response	1	.4	1	.9	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	1	2.4
Total	227		113		104		103		57		41	

(Question 15: "Have you noticed, either at work or elsewhere, any results from recent civil rights activity or FEPC legislation?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	<u>Total</u> No. %		<u>Negro</u> No. %		<u>Mexican American</u> No. %		<u>Total</u> No. %		<u>Negro</u> No. %		<u>Mexican American</u> No. %	
Yes	46	20.4	32	28.3	12	11.8	14	13.6	12	21.0	2	4.9
No	179	79.6	81	71.7	90	88.2	88	85.4	45	79.0	38	92.7
No Response	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	1	2.4
Total	225		113		102		103		57		41	

Perceptions of Discrimination  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 39: "Some people believe that certain types of people have a better chance to get a job. If there were two men, just the same except that (1) one is 20 years old and (2) one is 30 years old, who do you think would have the better chance for a job? How about (1) a 30 year old or (2) a 40 year old? How about (1) a 40 year old or (2) a 50 year old? (Circle appropriate numbers)").

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-1-1	130	48.5	65	53.3	50	42.4	135	56.7	91	65.0	37	45.7
1-2-1	4	1.5	2	1.6	2	1.7	3	1.3	1	.7	2	2.5
1-1-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	.8	1	.7	1	1.2
1-2-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-1-1	105	39.2	46	37.7	53	44.9	77	32.4	35	25.0	34	42.0
2-1-2	1	.4	0	0	0	0	3	1.3	0	0	1	1.2
2-2-1	12	4.5	5	4.1	5	4.2	13	5.5	9	6.4	4	4.9
2-2-2	9	3.4	2	1.6	4	3.4	3	1.3	2	1.4	1	1.2
No Response	7	2.6	2	1.6	4	3.4	2	.8	1	.7	1	1.2
Total	268		122		118		238		140		81	

(Question 39, Part 2: "How about a (1) Negro or a (2) Mexican-American? A (1) Mexican-American or an (2) Anglo? A (1) Negro or an (2) Anglo?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-1-1	5	2.0	2	1.8	1	.9	4	1.8	1	.8	3	3.9
1-2-1	8	3.3	1	.9	6	5.6	6	2.7	2	1.5	4	5.1
1-1-2	6	2.4	1	.9	5	4.6	3	1.3	1	.8	1	1.3
1-2-2	56	22.9	25	22.5	30	27.8	65	28.8	34	25.8	25	32.0
2-1-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2.2	2	1.5	2	2.6
2-1-2	12	4.9	4	3.6	8	7.4	12	5.3	6	4.6	6	7.7
2-2-1	2	.8	0	0	2	1.8	2	.9	1	.8	1	1.3
2-2-2	127	51.8	67	60.4	45	41.7	116	51.3	79	59.9	31	39.7
No Response	29	11.8	11	9.9	11	10.2	13	5.8	6	4.6	5	6.4
Total	245		111		108		226		132		78	

Perceptions of Discrimination  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

Age

(Question 39: "Some people believe that certain types of people have a better chance to get a job. If there were two men, just the same except that (1) one is 20 years old and (2) one is 30 years old, who do you think would have the better chance for a job? How about a (1) 30 year old or a (2) 40 year old? How about a (1) 40 year old or a (2) 50 year old? [Circle appropriate numbers] ").

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-1-1	115	54.8	66	62.3	44	45.8	64	65.3	37	68.5	25	62.5
1-2-1	3	1.4	1	.9	2	2.1	3	3.1	1	1.9	2	5.0
1-1-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	1	2.5
1-2-2	1	.5	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-1-1	66	31.4	27	25.5	38	39.6	26	26.5	14	25.9	10	25.0
2-1-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-2-1	13	6.2	8	7.6	5	5.2	2	2.0	1	1.9	1	2.5
2-2-2	6	2.9	1	.9	4	4.2	1	1.0	1	1.9	0	0
No Response	6	2.9	3	2.8	2	2.1	1	1.0	0	0	1	2.5
Total	210		106		96		98		54		40	

Ethnic Background

(Question 39: "How about a (1) Negro or a (2) Mexican-American? A (1) Mexican-American or an (2) Anglo? A (1) Negro or an (2) Anglo?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1-1-1	1	.5	0	0	1	1.2	1	1.1	0	0	1	2.5
1-2-1	1	.5	0	0	1	1.2	1	1.1	1	2.1	0	0
1-1-2	1	.5	0	0	1	1.2	2	2.2	0	0	2	5.0
1-2-2	56	28.6	29	28.7	26	30.2	23	25.3	11	23.4	10	25.0
2-1-1	1	.5	0	0	0	0	3	3.3	0	0	3	7.5
2-1-2	10	5.1	3	3.0	7	8.1	1	1.1	0	0	1	2.5
2-2-1	2	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-2-2	101	51.5	64	63.4	34	39.5	51	56.0	33	70.2	17	42.5
No Response	23	11.7	4	4.0	15	17.4	9	9.9	2	4.3	6	15.0
Total	196		101		86		91		47		40	

Main Aim in Life  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 42: "What would you say is your main aim in life? That is, what would you most like to do in your life-time?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Success at work - more income, better job (specified)	76	28.3	39	30.9	27	22.7	47	19.1	34	22.7	8	10.1
Better home for self & family	59	21.9	29	23.0	29	24.4	57	23.2	34	22.7	20	25.3
More leisure time	9	3.4	6	4.8	2	1.7	8	3.3	5	3.3	3	3.8
Security against poverty and unemployment	42	15.6	16	12.7	21	17.7	49	19.9	30	20.0	16	20.3
Opportunity to live & work without discrimination	4	1.5	1	.8	2	1.7	1	.4	1	.7	0	0
Acquire more education (inc. for children)	14	5.2	3	2.4	9	7.6	18	7.3	9	6.0	9	11.4
Better health & medical care	4	1.5	2	1.6	2	1.7	2	.8	0	0	2	2.5
Combination of above	58	21.6	28	22.2	26	21.9	59	24.0	35	23.3	20	25.3
Other	3	1.1	2	1.6	1	.8	5	2.0	2	1.3	1	1.3
Total	269		126		119		246		150		79	

Main Aim in Life  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 42: "What would you say is your main aim in life? That is, what would you most like to do in your life-time?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Success at work - more income, better job (specified)	64	29.9	34	30.9	29	30.2	22	23.4	14	25.5	7	19.4
Better home for self and family	46	21.5	27	24.6	18	18.7	31	33.0	16	29.1	13	36.1
More Leisure time	17	7.9	9	8.2	5	5.2	7	7.5	5	9.1	2	5.0
Security against poverty & unemployment	34	15.9	19	17.3	15	15.6	12	12.8	5	9.1	7	19.4
Opportunity to live & work without discrimination	2	.9	2	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Acquire more education (including for children)	10	4.7	2	1.8	8	8.3	7	7.5	4	7.3	3	8.3
Better health & medical care	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Combination of above	40	18.7	16	14.6	21	21.9	13	13.8	9	16.4	4	11.1
Other	1	.5	1	.9	0	0	2	2.1	2	3.6	0	0
Total	214		110		96		94		55		36	

Job Aspirations  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 44: "What kind of work would you most like to do? What type of job would you most like to have?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%
Related to past job, same skill range	126	44.1	60	45.5	50	40.0	104	41.1	60	39.2	37	44.6
Related to past job, higher skill range	11	3.8	4	3.0	5	4.0	23	9.1	14	9.1	9	10.9
Unrelated to past job, same skill range	21	7.3	7	5.3	14	11.2	22	8.7	9	5.9	9	10.9
Unrelated to past job, higher skill range	106	37.1	48	36.4	48	38.4	88	34.8	61	39.9	22	26.5
Other	18	6.3	12	9.1	5	4.0	14	5.5	8	5.2	5	6.0
No Response	4	1.4	1	.8	3	2.4	2	.8	1	.6	1	1.2
Total	286		132		125		253		153		83	

Family Aspirations  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 45: "What would you like to be able to do for your family? What would make your family life more satisfying? What would you like to have for your family?")

Answer	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%	Total No.	%	Negro No.	%	Mexican American No.	%
Education	28	10.9	11	9.0	15	12.8	56	23.4	25	17.0	27	34.2
Security	87	33.9	37	30.3	41	35.0	70	29.3	45	30.6	21	26.6
Home	95	37.0	54	44.3	38	32.5	65	27.2	43	29.2	20	25.3
Health	1	.4	1	.8	0	0	6	2.5	3	2.0	3	3.8
Job	13	5.1	3	2.5	10	8.6	7	2.9	5	3.4	2	2.5
Other	22	8.6	13	10.7	8	6.8	32	13.4	26	17.7	3	3.8
No Response	11	4.3	3	2.5	5	4.3	3	1.3	0	0	3	3.8
Total	257		122		117		239		147		79	

Perceptions of Barriers  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 46: "What do you think really stands in your way and prevents you from doing and getting what you want?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Racial discrimination	12	4.7	9	7.5	2	1.8	6	2.7	6	4.4	0	0
Age	13	5.1	3	2.5	7	6.3	8	3.6	2	1.5	5	6.9
Lack of money	35	13.7	17	14.2	17	15.3	35	15.6	22	16.2	11	15.1
Health	14	5.5	6	5.0	5	4.5	6	2.7	2	1.5	3	4.1
Lack of education	44	17.2	15	12.5	27	24.3	48	21.3	25	18.4	19	26.0
Lack of job skill	83	32.4	44	36.7	31	27.9	41	18.2	29	21.3	11	15.1
Problems in home	8	3.1	5	4.2	3	2.7	29	12.9	15	11.0	11	15.1
Combination of above	30	11.7	15	12.5	13	11.7	40	17.8	27	19.9	10	13.7
Other	17	6.6	6	5.0	6	5.4	12	5.3	8	5.9	3	4.1
Total	256		120		111		225		136		73	

Job Aspirations  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 44: "What kind of work would you most like to do? What type of job would you most like to have?")

	MALES						FEMALES					
	<u>Total</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Mexican American</u>		<u>Total</u>		<u>Negro</u>		<u>Mexican American</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Related to past job, same skill range	77	34.2	36	31.9	36	35.3	38	36.9	20	35.1	17	41.5
Related to past job, higher skill range	22	9.8	12	10.6	10	9.8	10	9.7	4	7.0	4	9.8
Unrelated to past job, same skill range	17	7.6	10	8.9	7	6.9	7	6.8	3	5.3	4	9.8
Unrelated to past job, higher skill range	84	37.3	46	40.7	36	35.3	41	39.8	26	45.6	14	34.2
Other	24	10.7	8	7.1	13	12.8	6	5.8	4	7.0	1	2.4
No Response	1	.4	1	.9	0	0	1	1.0	0	0	1	2.4
Total	225		113		102		103		57		41	

Family Aspirations  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(QUESTION 45: "What would you like to be able to do for your family? What would make your family life more satisfying? What would you like to have for your family?")

	MALE						FEMALE					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Education	21	9.9	9	8.7	11	11.2	14	14.4	5	9.1	9	23.7
Security	73	34.4	39	37.5	31	31.6	33	34.0	18	32.7	13	34.2
Home	87	41.0	44	42.3	40	40.8	25	25.8	16	29.1	9	23.7
Health	2	.9	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
Job	2	.9	0	0	2	2.0	3	3.1	2	3.6	0	0
Other	22	10.4	11	10.6	9	9.2	18	18.6	12	21.8	5	13.2
No Response	5	2.4	0	0	4	4.1	3	3.1	1	1.8	2	5.3
Total	212		104		98		97		55		38	

Perceptions of Barriers  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(QUESTION 46: "What do you think really stands in your way and prevents you from doing and getting what you want?")

Racial discrimination	7	3.8	6	6.1	1	1.3	4	4.6	4	8.3	0	0
Age	7	3.8	2	2.0	3	3.8	2	2.3	0	0	1	2.9
Lack of money	60	32.4	37	37.4	22	27.5	24	27.6	14	29.2	9	26.5
Health	6	3.3	2	2.0	4	5.0	2	2.3	0	0	2	5.9
Lack of education	37	20.0	17	17.2	19	23.8	14	16.1	5	10.4	9	26.5
Lack of job skill	30	16.2	19	19.2	11	13.8	12	13.8	7	14.6	4	11.8
Problems in home	4	2.2	3	3.0	1	1.3	10	11.5	4	8.3	4	11.8
Combination	28	15.1	12	12.1	16	20.0	14	16.1	11	22.9	3	8.8
Other	6	3.2	1	1.0	3	3.8	5	5.8	3	6.3	2	5.9
Total	185		99		80		87		48		34	

Perceptions of Area  
Currently Unemployed Persons  
Household Sampling

(Question 47: "If you had the power to make the decision, which of the following things would you consider most important to do and which ones least important:

- (a) Leave this area pretty much as it is;
- (b) Build some new homes;
- (c) Build some new or improved apartment houses;
- (d) Put up more schools or community centers;
- (e) Bring in more factories and stores to provide jobs;
- (f) Build more parks and playgrounds;
- (g) Build more hospitals and clinics;
- (h) Anything else (specify)."

MOST IMPORTANT	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(a)	19	6.7	4	3.1	11	8.8	13	5.1	6	3.9	4	4.7
(b)	30	10.6	14	10.9	14	11.2	37	14.5	25	16.3	10	11.6
(c)	30	10.6	17	13.2	9	7.2	22	8.6	15	9.8	6	7.0
(d)	59	20.8	25	19.4	29	23.2	62	24.2	37	24.2	23	26.7
(e)	113	39.9	60	46.5	47	37.6	97	37.9	56	36.6	35	40.7
(f)	3	1.1	1	.8	1	.8	1	.4	0	0	1	1.2
(g)	19	6.7	6	4.6	10	8.0	13	5.1	8	5.2	3	3.5
(h)	4	1.4	0	0	2	1.6	7	2.7	3	2.0	3	3.5
No Response	6	2.1	2	1.6	2	1.6	4	1.6	3	2.0	1	1.2
Total	283		129		125		256		153		86	
<b>SECOND MOST IMPORTANT</b>												
(a)	4	1.4	0	0	4	3.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
(b)	34	12.1	21	16.4	11	8.8	39	15.2	21	13.7	17	19.8
(c)	40	14.2	19	14.8	14	11.2	33	15.9	19	12.4	10	11.6
(d)	62	22.0	27	21.1	30	24.0	57	22.3	40	26.1	16	18.6
(e)	54	19.2	20	15.6	29	23.2	41	16.0	28	18.3	12	14.0
(f)	24	8.5	9	7.0	10	8.0	24	9.4	8	5.2	10	11.6
(g)	37	13.1	21	16.4	16	12.8	39	15.2	23	15.0	16	18.6
(h)	1	.4	0	0	1	.8	3	1.2	0	0	1	1.2
No Response	26	9.2	11	8.6	10	8.0	20	7.8	14	9.2	4	4.6
Total	282		128		125		256		153		86	
<b>LEAST IMPORTANT</b>												
(a)	177	62.8	91	70.5	72	57.6	172	67.5	109	71.7	54	62.8
(b)	5	1.8	1	.8	2	1.6	6	2.4	5	3.3	1	1.2
(c)	16	5.7	6	4.6	10	8.0	14	5.5	8	5.3	5	5.8
(d)	6	2.1	2	1.6	3	2.4	6	2.3	3	2.0	3	3.5
(e)	5	1.8	2	1.6	1	.8	2	.8	1	.7	0	0
(f)	17	6.0	8	6.2	7	5.6	12	4.7	5	3.3	7	8.1
(g)	5	1.8	2	1.6	3	2.4	3	1.2	0	0	3	3.5
(h)	3	1.1	3	2.3	0	0	2	.8	1	.7	1	1.2
No Response	48	17.0	14	10.8	27	21.6	38	14.9	20	13.2	12	13.9
Total	282		129		125		255		152		86	

Perceptions of Area  
Employed Persons with History of Unemployment  
Household Sampling

(Question 47: "If you had the power to make the decision, which of the following things would you consider most important to do and which ones least important:

- (a) Leave this area pretty much as it is;
- (b) Build some new homes;
- (c) Build some new or improved apartment houses;
- (d) Put up more schools or community centers;
- (e) Bring in more factories and stores to provide jobs;
- (f) Build more parks and playgrounds;
- (g) Build more hospitals and clinics;
- (h) Anything else (specify)."

MOST IMPORTANT	MALES						FEMALES					
	Total		Negro		Mexican American		Total		Negro		Mexican American	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(a)	14	6.2	6	5.3	6	5.8	12	11.7	4	7.0	8	19.5
(b)	39	17.2	18	15.9	19	18.3	11	10.7	5	8.8	5	12.2
(c)	26	11.5	15	13.3	10	9.6	11	10.7	7	12.3	3	7.3
(d)	28	12.3	11	9.7	17	16.4	21	20.4	16	28.1	4	9.8
(e)	86	37.9	50	44.3	33	31.7	33	32.0	19	33.3	13	31.7
(f)	3	1.3	0	0	3	2.9	3	2.9	0	0	3	7.3
(g)	19	8.4	6	5.3	12	11.5	8	7.8	3	5.3	4	9.8
(h)	5	2.2	3	2.7	2	1.9	3	2.9	2	3.5	1	2.4
No Response	7	3.1	4	3.5	2	1.9	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
Total	227		113		104		103		57		41	
<b>SECOND MOST IMPORTANT</b>												
(a)	1	.4	0	0	1	1.0	2	1.9	1	1.8	1	2.4
(b)	36	15.9	21	18.6	15	14.4	9	8.7	6	10.5	2	4.9
(c)	37	16.3	19	16.8	15	14.4	16	15.5	10	17.5	5	12.2
(d)	55	24.2	30	26.6	25	24.0	19	18.5	9	15.8	9	21.9
(e)	32	14.1	11	9.7	20	19.2	26	25.2	13	22.8	12	29.3
(f)	15	6.6	7	6.2	5	4.8	5	4.9	4	7.0	1	2.4
(g)	31	13.7	17	15.0	14	13.5	19	18.5	10	17.5	8	19.5
(h)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Response	20	8.8	8	7.1	9	8.7	7	6.8	4	7.0	3	7.3
Total	227		113		104		103		57		41	
<b>LEAST IMPORTANT</b>												
(a)	153	68.6	84	75.0	63	62.4	67	65.0	39	68.4	24	58.5
(b)	8	3.6	4	3.6	4	4.0	3	2.9	1	1.8	2	4.9
(c)	4	1.8	2	1.8	2	2.0	3	2.9	2	3.5	1	2.4
(d)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(e)	4	1.8	2	1.8	1	1.0	3	2.9	0	0	3	7.3
(f)	11	4.9	4	3.6	7	6.9	8	7.8	6	10.5	2	4.9
(g)	1	.5	1	.9	0	0	3	2.9	3	5.3	0	0
(h)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.0	1	1.8	0	0
No Response	42	18.8	15	13.4	24	23.8	15	14.6	5	8.8	9	21.9
Total	223		112		101		103		57		41	

Perceptions of Area  
All Persons  
List Sampling

(Question 47: "If you had the power to make the decision, which of the following things would you consider most important to do and which ones least important:

- a. Leave this area pretty much as it is;
- b. Build some new homes;
- c. Build some new or improved apartment houses;
- d. Put up more schools or community centers;
- e.. Bring in more factories and stores to provide jobs;
- f. Build more parks and playgrounds;
- g. Build more hospitals and clinics;
- h. Anything else (specify)."

<u>Most Important</u>	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>%</u>
a.	2	1.60
b.	20	16.00
c.	11	8.80
d.	22	17.60
e.	46	36.80
f.	3	2.40
g.	10	8.00
h.	0	0
No Response	<u>11</u>	8.80
Total	<u>125</u>	

<u>Second Most Important</u>	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>%</u>
a.	1	.80
b.	16	12.80
c.	14	11.20
d.	28	22.40
e.	17	13.60
f.	13	10.40
g.	18	14.40
h.	0	0
No Response	<u>18</u>	14.40
Total	<u>125</u>	

<u>Least Important</u>	<u>No. of Responses</u>	<u>%</u>
a.	1	.80
b.	0	0
c.	0	0
d.	0	0
e.	0	0
f.	0	0
g.	0	0
h.	5	4.00
No Response	<u>119</u>	95.20
Total	<u>125</u>	

## IX

## AN OVERVIEW

This report, the orthodox economists to the contrary, accepts the premise that area redevelopment is desirable both in principle and in practice. We do not share the view, held by many, that the decline of a region necessarily reflects the operation of long-run and essentially salutary economic forces, or that the admitted barriers to large-scale movement of workers out of a depressed area are evanescent. The history of the "trap ghetto," in the apt phrase of Earl Raab and Hugh Folk, demonstrates that the area has a permanence which defies the easy generalizations and symmetrical models of economic theory.<sup>1</sup>

It is true, of course, that the ghetto does not trap everyone. Some depart for more appealing work and residence in more attractive areas, but a great many remain and, especially in the urban "ports of entry," many others arrive to replenish the ranks of the poverty-stricken. Whether area redevelopment should seek to transform the community from one of high transiency to one of residential stability remains debatable, but it is certain that positive action for social and economic improvement is needed in either case.

Some scholars regard the urban "ports of entry," such as the ARA study area, as the natural continuation of an historical process through which minority groups are assimilated into the fabric of American society. Professor Oscar Handlin of Harvard University, for example, has argued that:

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Earl Raab and Hugh Folk, The Pattern of Dependent Poverty in California, Welfare Study Commission, California Department of Social Welfare, reissued January 1964, pp. 371-375.

In historical perspective, the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans in the New York Metropolitan Region do not present the radically new problem they seem to pose in the columns of the daily newspaper. Rather, their adjustment, difficult as it is, is but the most recent of a long series. The hardships such people have created and suffered have been concomitants of the necessity for accommodating in the city a large, unskilled, and poorly paid labor force needed for urban growth. These newest arrivals have thus but assumed the role formerly played by European immigrants....

The Negroes and the Puerto Ricans have followed the general outline of the experience of earlier immigrants. These latest arrivals diverged from that earlier experience because color prejudice and the social and economic conditions they encountered impeded their freedom of movement, both in space and in social and economic status. That divergence in experience need not be more than temporary.<sup>2</sup>

This, of course, is an optimistic and hopeful viewpoint, which implies that the barriers confronting Negroes and other disadvantaged groups in modern America are essentially little greater than those which confronted European (and, perhaps, Oriental) immigrants earlier in this century. The barriers, presumably, will erode, though the time span may be longer. The denizens of the urban ghetto will eventually become middle-class Americans, and their places in the "port of entry" will then be taken by others who are pursuing the same path to acceptance.

This viewpoint is hardly accepted universally. Raab and Folk share Professor Handlin's view that the immigrant ghetto has served an important and useful function in American life, but distinguish this from the "trap ghetto" which contains many of the modern-day poor:

There was a typical spiral out of the ghettos for immigrants and their children: a foothold in the growing American economy, leading to a move up in the economic scale, leading to heightened contact and acculturation, leading to higher educational aspirations and achievement, leading in turn to an even higher rung on the economic ladder and so forth. In this way, most of the immigrant ghettos have spiraled out

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Oscar Handlin, The Newcomers, New York, Anchor Books, 1959, p. 120.

of existence. Insofar as they lingered, they lingered as cultural rather than economic ghettos.

Less dramatic have been the ghettos made up of native immigrants: those who have migrated from the rural areas, and especially from the rural areas of the south, seeking - like the immigrant from abroad - new economic opportunity, and in some cases new freedom, in the industrial cities of the north and west. To some extent the same fringe pathologies and delinquencies were created as had been created in the foreign immigrant ghettos; and the same rich human wealth was provided for the economy. The same spiral up and out of the ghetto often occurred more swiftly because of the absence of language problems.

However, two deterrent factors - one old and one new - must now modify the comfortable image of the ghetto-dweller spiraling out of the ghettos, and out of poverty. The first and oldest deterrent factor lies in the artificial restraints which have been imposed on the historic spiral out of the ghetto. . . .

At the same time, however, the second deterrent factor has been gathering impact: apart from any considerations of color, apart from any application of artificial restraints, the spiral out of the ghetto and out of poverty is becoming more and more difficult. In the past there have been natural breaks in the enclosing ghetto circle. There has been, for example, more room in the economy for those immigrant groups with low educational status. In today's automated economy, as has already been demonstrated in cold statistical language, there are for the under-educated fewer and fewer jobs with a future - indeed fewer and fewer jobs of any kind.

The Trap Ghetto is thus distinguished from the traditional ghettos by its "closed circle" character. It might be defined as: growing concentration of depressed immigrants to the city who are caught in a closed circle formed by low economic status, low educational status, low levels of employment opportunity and limited social contact. The spiral upward and outward necessarily becomes a trickling affair.... The Trap Ghetto, being a trap, is encircled by an extra retaining wall that the old immigrant ghettos never had; a circle of hopelessness, which becomes part of the vicious circle, further affecting academic achievement and even school attendance.<sup>3</sup>

The debate over the alleged parallels between the immigrant ghettos of the past and the urban ghettos of the present is a counterpart of the raging controversy over the effects of automation, which is focused on the question of

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Raab and Folk, op. cit., pp. 372-374.

whether the nature of ongoing technological change is qualitatively the same as or different from the nature of change that has occurred in decades past. Again, in policy terms, the associated question is whether traditional or innovative measures are required to meet the problem. With respect to the specific problem of hard-core unemployment and poverty in an urban ghetto like the ARA study area, the specialists appear to be divided roughly into three schools of thought: (1) those who believe that competitive free-market processes can be relied upon, with a minimum of governmental intervention; (2) those who would place primary emphasis upon governmental fiscal and monetary measures to boost aggregate demand; and (3) those who regard the present problems as sufficiently unique to justify major structural changes in the economy, through a variety of devices ranging from retraining to comprehensive area redevelopment. Obviously, rigid lines of demarcation should not be drawn between these respective schools: some classicists will accept varying degrees of fiscal or monetary intervention, and a substantial body of economists will argue that a combination of demand-boosters and structural revisions is needed.

Whatever their differences in emphasis and approach, the "aggregate demand" and "structural" schools agree substantially that poverty and unemployment are serious problems, that their solution should not be left to the unhindered long-run processes of evolution, and that their impact falls in intolerable degree upon a number of important groups in our society: the aged, the racial minorities, the unskilled and uneducated, the female heads of households, the dispossessed farmers or farm workers, and the physically or mentally handicapped. The Council of Economic Advisers, regarded as an exponent of the "demand" viewpoint, has eloquently described the problem of the poor:

The poor inhabit a world scarcely recognizable, and rarely recognized, by the majority of their fellow Americans. It is a world apart, whose inhabitants are isolated from the mainstream of American life and

alienated from its values. It is a world where Americans are literally concerned with day-to-day survival--a roof over their heads, where the next meal is coming from. It is a world where a minor illness is a major tragedy, where pride and privacy must be sacrificed to get help, where honesty can become a luxury and ambition a myth. Worst of all, the poverty of the fathers is visited upon the children.

...Poverty breeds poverty. A poor individual or family has a high probability of staying poor. Low incomes carry with them high risks of illness; limitations on mobility; limited access to education, information, and training. Poor parents cannot give their children the opportunities for better health and education needed to improve their lot. Lack of motivation, hope, and incentive is a more subtle but no less powerful barrier than lack of financial means. Thus the cruel legacy of poverty is passed from parents to children.<sup>4</sup>

The Council's report thus spotlights the critical factor which differentiates the urban ghetto of today from the immigrant ghetto of yesterday: the transmission of poverty and hopelessness from one generation to the next. Whatever the initial handicaps and disabilities suffered by the recent immigrant in his ghetto, it was always anticipated that his children, and certainly his grandchildren, would find life much easier. There was a visible route out of the poverty of the ghetto. No such generalization is possible today; indeed, the Council points to a recent study of AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) recipients which showed that over 40 percent of those parents "were themselves raised in homes where public assistance had been received."<sup>5</sup>

The poverty of today has a personal and sociological quality which makes it particularly difficult to combat. If its origins were entirely economic, the general provision of more jobs would contribute decisively to its solution. But the poverty of a depressed area resident, as Messrs. Armstead and

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<sup>4</sup>  
Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers, January 1964, pp. 55, 69-70.

<sup>5</sup>  
Ibid., p. 70.

Townsend argue so effectively in the attached special report, is connected inseparably with his own image of himself, of the community in which he lives, and of the larger society which engulfs it. There is no reason to believe that the creation of new economic opportunities throughout this vast country or region would automatically ease his difficulties, though it may be a necessary precondition to their easement.

So eminent (if unorthodox) an economist as Professor J. Kenneth Galbraith has recognized the importance of those non-economic elements in the behavior of those who reside in what we choose to call a "depressed area":

Insular poverty has something to do with the desire of a comparatively large number of people to spend their lives at or near the place of their birth. This homing instinct causes them to bar the solution, always open as an individual remedy in a country without barriers to emigration, to escape the island of poverty in which they were born.... In some circumstances escape may not be possible. Especially in the urban slum, race or poverty may confine individuals to an area of intrinsically limited opportunity. And once again the environment perpetuates its handicaps through poor schools, evil neighborhood influences, and bad preparation for life.... The most certain thing about modern poverty is that it is not efficiently remedied by a general and tolerably well-distributed advance in income. Case poverty is not remedied because the specific individual inadequacy precludes employment and participation in the general advance. Insular poverty is not directly alleviated because the advance does not necessarily remove the specific frustrations of environment to which the people of these islands are subject. This is not to say that it has no effect.... But it remains that advance cannot improve the position of those who, by virtue of self or environment, cannot participate or are not reached.<sup>6</sup>

The ARA study area illustrates the complexity of the human factors in those problems associated with poverty. One of the few defensible generalizations that emerge from this study is that not many generalizations are possible in any evaluation of the nature of poverty and of the poverty-stricken. While it is true that the study area contains a disproportionate number of those with inadequate education, and that there is a relationship between lack of

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<sup>6</sup>

J. Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society, New York, Mentor Books, 1963, pp. 253-254.

education and unemployment, only 8.3 percent of the unemployed men in our survey would be classified as "functional illiterates" (those having completed less than the fifth grade in school) and one-quarter of the sample had completed high school. While it is true that migration from the rural areas and small towns of the South creates problems of great magnitude in the study area, almost one-half of the unemployed men surveyed had lived in California ten years or more. While it is true that welfare dependency is proportionately much higher in the study area than in other areas of the county, only a minority of the currently unemployed men were receiving either unemployment compensation or public assistance at the time of the survey.<sup>7</sup>

The startling fact about the hard-core unemployed in the central city is that so many of them vanish from sight so quickly and so completely. While the press and other media reflect a continuing concern with the "excessive" expenditures for relief and other assistance to the poor and the unemployed, the reality appears to be quite different. Public and private agencies reach only a proportion of the long-term unemployed men (many of the public assistance benefits are directed to the female heads of households, who constitute by far the largest number of those receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children). Of those unemployed men in our study area who were not receiving unemployment compensation at the time of interview, more than 70 percent report that they support themselves with payments received from friends or relatives, a spouse, or "other sources."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> While it might be argued that the responses may not always be frank in these areas, a danger which is inherent in any survey, there appears to be no reason to challenge the essential accuracy of these answers.

<sup>8</sup> It is possible that the proportion of those receiving public assistance will rise as the new Aid to Families with Dependent Children-Unemployed Parents program becomes older, but it should be noted that all of the interviewing in this survey took place after that program became effective on February 1 of this year.

Though unfortunately it is not possible to determine the exact categories of aid suggested by the term "other sources," general observation of the area (and some of the comments made by Messrs. Armstead and Townsend in their special report) will provide a basis for reasonable speculation. A number of the unemployed undoubtedly receive occasional income from odd jobs in the neighborhood. Perhaps of equal or greater significance is the income obtained, in varying amounts, from activities classified as illegal or illicit by society: gambling, "numbers," dope pushing, prostitution, theft, and so forth. The extent of such practices in the area is unknown, but it is inevitable that crime and "immorality" will flourish in the interstices of our society, where many of the "respectable" individuals and institutions seldom venture. One observer noted recently that "stealing" is one of the few jobs readily available to young people in the slum areas.<sup>9</sup> The poor cannot afford middle-class morality.

The culture of poverty has a quality which is unique. As each generation passes its heritage along to the next, the younger members of poverty-stricken families soon learn to adjust to the condition in which they find themselves. Life becomes a matter of surviving as best one can, and the "great issues" which excite the nation have little meaning. The satisfactions of the moment take precedence over the uncertain "rewards" of the future. Newspapers and books are not read, conversations are not held, school is not attended, and families are not "raised" in any conventional sense. The laws passed in Washington and Sacramento rarely change the way life is lived in the heart of the ghetto.

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See the excellent article by Dr. Robert Coles, "Youth: Opportunity to Be What?" New Republic, November 7, 1964, pp. 59-64.

For these reasons, it is futile to anticipate that broad monetary or fiscal measures or devices to enhance worker mobility through the traditional channels will obviate the need for programs directed to the structural problems of a given area. The hard-core unemployed are so completely isolated from the mainstream of American life that a concentrated effort becomes necessary to break into the vicious circle which governs their lives. Even the retraining programs which have received vast publicity are without significance to many of the unemployed: the evidence of this fact in Virginia has previously been cited in this report, and the survey conducted in the ARA study area demonstrates that about 50 percent of the residents interviewed had never heard of the government's training opportunities (though 75 percent expressed an interest in retraining). Good jobs available 10 or 15 miles from home rarely come to their attention, and even if they are made aware, it is improbable that very many would be optimistic about their chances in competition with the workers from "better" areas.

This is why area redevelopment makes sense in both economic and social terms, despite the immense difficulties inherent in it. The problems of the most disadvantaged groups -- the minorities, the elderly, the handicapped, the poorly educated of all races and ages -- must initially be met in the community where they live. The insular poverty of which Professor Galbraith speaks, whether it is associated with the "homing instinct" or some other phenomenon, traps these outcasts almost as effectively as a concentration camp. Any program which fails to break through the walls of the ghetto, or remains outside their immediate daily experience, is doomed to frustration.

This does not mean, of course, that an area redevelopment program in a narrow and limited sense will necessarily be effective. Redevelopment which

does not mobilize local community resources or engage the active participation of the residents affected can become as sterile and self-defeating as "urban renewal" has become in many parts of the country. Perhaps the most valuable contribution to be made by redevelopment does not arise from the establishment of new firms in the area, but, rather, from the possibilities of constructive and unified community action in the planning process itself.

## X

## SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## I. The Study Area: Its People and Problems

The ARA study area, located in the central, south central, and east Los Angeles sections, is characterized by a diversity of ethnic groups, with a predominance of Negro and Mexican American population. Approximately 28 percent of all families with income fall below the \$3,000 a year "poverty" level. Causes of poverty and unemployment vary somewhat from one part of the area to another; discrimination, inadequate education, and related social problems are critical factors in the minority-group areas, whereas problems associated with age and personal maladjustment are important in the downtown and northwest sections of the study area. Total population in the study area has declined since the end of World War II, but our analysis of recent trends indicates a prospective reversal of this pattern. Even an optimistic appraisal, however, suggests that population increase within the area will be modest in the foreseeable future, in comparison with the startling increases in other parts of the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

## II. Area Redevelopment in Perspective

Existing programs of assistance to "depressed" areas have not effectively met the problem of hard-core unemployment in urban subareas, partly because of technical requirements which disqualify most populous metropolitan regions containing pockets of grinding poverty in the midst of an otherwise prosperous community. A major problem is the unrealism of currently defined labor market areas and the inadequacy of the single criterion of unemployment rate. Absence of regular unemployment figures by subarea within the city and county and of other necessary data hinders the formulation of meaningful anti-poverty programs.

Recommendations:

(1) In view of the urgent need for more current data, the feasibility of reducing the gap between censuses from ten to five years should be explored. Meanwhile, Congress should appropriate funds for special censuses in areas where unemployment and poverty appear to be especially acute. In addition, the staff of the Department of Employment and other data-gathering agencies should be expanded to make possible a continuing flow of information on unemployment in local areas, job vacancies, and similar factors. Statistical data gathered by public agencies should reflect more information on how minority-group members fare in areas where equal opportunities are a matter of concern to such groups. Corrective actions in some areas are hindered by the color-blindness in some of these records.

(2) The existing technical requirements in area redevelopment and similar programs should be revised to allow greater flexibility in the provision of assistance to all areas, urban and rural, in which significant numbers of people are poverty-stricken and unemployed. Such assistance should increasingly take the form of grants and loans for development of new or improved public facilities, as well as the stimulation of job-creating enterprises and retraining programs.

(3) In all areas designated under this expanded program, federal and state antidiscrimination agencies should be granted sufficient funds to make possible a more effective enforcement of contract provisions requiring equal opportunity in employment. In particular, specific evidence of recruitment in minority-group areas with high unemployment should be a precondition for award of government contracts.

### III. Poverty in the Study Area: A General View

Available statistics, mainly those from the 1960 Census, demonstrate that the study area contains more concentrated poverty and unemployment than does any other area in the metropolitan region. Further, there is considerable evidence to suggest that unemployment figures are understated because of excessively low labor force participation rates in many parts of the area.

Problems of poverty are accentuated by the pervasiveness of family disorganization and resulting dependency on public assistance in the central and south central areas. In consequence, the study area accounts for about two-thirds of all expenditures under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program.

### IV. Some Social Problems in the Study Area

Our research has shown that all those social problems spotlighted in the President's 1964 Economic Report -- poor health, inadequate education, substandard housing, and crime and delinquency -- are particularly critical in the ARA study area. The area experiences a much greater incidence of major diseases, of deaths attributable to health deficiencies, of functional illiteracy and school dropouts, of dilapidated and deteriorating housing, and of delinquency and dependency petitions filed under the Juvenile Court Law, than does the remainder of the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

#### Recommendations:

(1) Regular physical examinations, including chest X-rays, should be made available without charge to all school children and their parents once every semester, to the recipients of public assistance, and to registrants at employment service offices. Information on all matters affecting health and family welfare should be transmitted in all such centers.

(2) Since many qualified youngsters drop out of school for financial reasons, consideration should be given to establishment of a revised version of the "GI Bill," under which all persons would be eligible to receive assistance from the federal government toward completion of their education. Grants or family allowances under this program would not be limited to a few exceptionally bright youngsters, but would be available to all who meet the minimum academic and personal requirements. The program, of course, would apply to all school grades from elementary through college.

(3) Existing and proposed tutorial projects for disadvantaged youngsters should be expanded and strengthened, with federal assistance where necessary but without loss of the flexibility and local control which they now enjoy.

(4) A direct attack should be launched against existing educational deficiencies in regions of the country from which the disadvantaged members of minority groups are migrating in large numbers. The need for educational improvement is of such critical nature that we cannot await the slow and often imperceptible advancement of standards in areas which have traditionally maintained discriminatory and inferior facilities. All federal funds for school aid in such regions should carry an enforceable proviso that they are to be used on a totally nondiscriminatory basis for the immediate improvement of educational standards and facilities. If this proves insufficient or ineffective, a "crash" program should be initiated, involving where necessary the establishment of federally financed and controlled schools which would admit all pupils without discrimination. Local school systems would remain intact, but each family would have the option of sending children either to the federal or to the local school. Federal schools could be shifted to local control at such time as the regular school district can guarantee the continuing provision of adequate and nondiscriminatory education.

(5) Community centers should be attached to each and every public school in disadvantaged areas, at which a variety of services in the fields of health, personal and vocational counseling, orientation on the use of public facilities, and training would be available to every resident of the community.

(6) Responsible authorities should immediately explore the feasibility of a tax forgiveness, or a carry-forward of the tax due in a particular year, in exchange for actual physical improvements made by the owner of residential property in any area designated for restoration. Such tax exemption would be conditioned on an advance certification by a public agency of the need for improvement and a limitation of the circumstances under which rents could be raised as a consequence of such improvements.

(7) Consideration should also be given to a procedure for forbearance of monthly mortgage payments during periods of lost or severely reduced income on the part of the borrower. The federal government is already deeply involved in the home financing area through FHA-insured and VA-guaranteed loans and in other ways, and a program of mortgage payment forbearance would reduce foreclosures, encourage home ownership and community stability, and thereby control government liabilities.

#### V. "Depressed Areas": Alternative Approaches and Programs

A number of problems afflict "depressed areas" having large proportions of poorly educated persons who have suffered many decades of persistent discrimination and maltreatment. Such persons are difficult to reach through traditional channels of communication and leadership. Many administrators regard the most disadvantaged members of our society as being beyond the reach of their particular programs, and the pressures for statistical records further accentuate a tendency to exclude the extremely depressed from existing programs. The usual

"urban renewal" policies have tended to worsen, rather than improve, the plight of those living within the areas involved.

Policymakers must choose among a number of alternatives, in the light of currently limited finances and uncertain public support. Certain priorities are suggested by our studies:

(1) Greater emphasis should be placed by legislative bodies upon far-reaching reforms, rather than upon ameliorative measures which are costly without eliminating the underlying causes of poverty.

(2) There is an overwhelming need for new public facilities which reflect imaginative planning and mobilize the latent resources of local leadership which exist in all disadvantaged areas.

(3) Provision of jobs rates a high priority, but further consideration must be given to the recruitment policies of newly established firms, skill levels, and transportation factors which can either promote or hinder the employment of study area residents.

## VI. Industrial Location and Land Use

Available information suggests that the newer "growth" industries have usually located outside the study area and its immediate environs and that there has been some tendency for existing firms to relocate in parts of the county (or in Orange County) distant from central Los Angeles. Land availability and cost and the size of needed facilities, often reflecting technological change, appear to be the major factors influencing these decisions, but problems of title clearance, zoning, population movement, and transportation also have been mentioned. Factors mentioned as favorable to location in the study area have been proximity to downtown Los Angeles and ready accessibility to potential customers. In addition, it seems likely that the rapidly growing minority

population, the gradual rise in land costs in outlying areas, the availability of a large work force with improved skills, and transportation improvement will eventually enhance the attractiveness of the study area for many businessmen.

Recommendations:

(1) The Small Business Administration, ARA, and the business and/or economics faculties of UCLA, USC, California State College at Los Angeles, and other institutions of higher learning should initiate a cooperative program designed to provide counseling and technical assistance to businessmen now located, or considering locating, in the ARA study area.

(2) The Treasury Department, in consultation with ARA, SBA, and other agencies, should consider possible ways by which property depreciation allowances for tax purposes might be revised to encourage better development of areas which are presently undeveloped or poorly maintained.

(3) Review by state and local governments of property assessments and taxes, with a view to promoting a better utilization of available land in urban areas, would be helpful to any contemplated program of industrial and commercial redevelopment.

(4) Professor Sar Levitan's proposals for preferential treatment to depressed areas in the granting of government contracts and the offering of rapid tax-amortization or other tax incentives to new business location in such areas should be implemented.

(5) An expanded and liberalized policy of government loans or loan guarantees for construction of high-rise commercial and industrial buildings in designated areas with high land costs, such as the ARA study area, should receive consideration.

(6) As a prelude to a more extensive redevelopment program, the Small Business Administration might consider the granting of special technical and

financial assistance, including working capital loans, to small businessmen now located in the study area, who might otherwise find it necessary to cease operations or relocate. Such loans should be conditioned upon the recipient's participation in continuing programs to improve marketing, inventory, and financial policies.

#### VII. Jobs for the Unemployed

Attention should be directed to ways by which the referral of unemployed persons to existing jobs can be improved, new jobs can be created, and recruitment expedited for those unskilled jobs not now held by domestic workers. The first problem could be partially met, in the Los Angeles area, by a further strengthening of the counseling and placement functions of the State Employment Service and by certain modifications of the transportation barriers to worker mobility. Precedents for the creation of new jobs are already available, and further experiments in the public sector of the economy will undoubtedly spotlight many tasks in education and elsewhere which could be performed by residents of depressed areas. Extensive surveys by the Institute of Industrial Relations in the ARA study area indicate that significant numbers of unemployed or underemployed males could be attracted into agricultural work under certain conditions.

#### Recommendations:

(1) Recommendations of the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare for action to promote greater employer use of the Employment Service and expansion of its counseling facilities should be implemented.

(2) In the greater Los Angeles area, the State Employment Service should examine its referral policies so as to give higher priority to the placement

of the hard-core unemployed, especially those in groups which have traditionally suffered special disabilities such as discrimination and housing segregation.

(3) Particular efforts should be made, at both the federal and the state levels, to increase the effectiveness of the Employment Service as a source of data on the labor market and as a communicator of such information to present and prospective workers and employers. Wherever necessary, the Service should be granted additional staff to perform these functions.

(4) In view of the severe problems created by the absence of an adequate transit system and the long distances in greater Los Angeles, unemployed persons seeking work and registered at the Employment Service should be granted passes so that they may travel on public transportation at a reduced rate during the period of unemployment and job-seeking. Federal grants to local transit systems could offset losses that might result from this policy.

(5) Federal, state, and local governments should evaluate present and prospective job requirements, and the anticipated demand for employees in particular occupations, for the purpose of determining those occupational areas in which new and socially useful jobs could be created for unemployed persons of low education and skill. A conscious effort should be made to establish auxiliary positions, to be filled primarily by persons residing in low-income areas, in occupations such as teaching, social work, recreational supervision, medical care, and vocational or personal counseling.

(6) Public policy should make every effort to curtail and prevent use of foreign labor import programs either through any revived form of P.L. 78 or through P.L. 414. These serve to depress incomes of hired farm workers, accentuate poverty in rural areas, and increase the number of unskilled refugees from the farm economy who move to the metropolis seeking opportunities which are often lacking for them. (See the companion report After the Bracero,

prepared by the Institute as an outgrowth of the present study, for a detailed discussion of this and the following recommendations.)

(7) Further efforts should be made to recruit domestic unemployed or underemployed persons for unskilled work now performed predominantly by Mexican nationals (braceros) under special contract. Since it is generally recognized that wages and other conditions are not sufficient to attract large numbers of domestic workers at the present time, the Institute of Industrial Relations proposes the following minimum improvements in the economic status of farm laborers:

(a) Farm laborers should be covered under the state's unemployment insurance system at the earliest possible date, so that they have access to the same form of supplemental wage income available to other seasonal workers in California.

(b) The Manpower Development and Training Act, with its training allowances and other inducements, can provide the means to insure an adequate farm labor supply during the next two years, at least, and will at the same time provide much needed remedial education and skill training for agricultural workers, with flexible training programs at mobile centers which will also serve as sources of a labor supply at time of peak demand.

(c) "Week-haul" programs should be initiated, under which workers residing in urban areas can be transported regularly to farm regions to work in the fields over short periods of time and then return to their families.

(d) Surplus military housing should be utilized to provide housing for workers and appropriate accommodations for the training centers proposed above.

(e) Human-relations training for farm supervisors and other personnel, along the lines of the existing Blythe demonstration project in California, should be encouraged and expanded.

Appendix I

Personnel of ARA Project on Unemployment and Poverty

General Director: Benjamin Aaron, Professor of Law  
and Director of Institute of Industrial  
Relations

Project Supervisor: Paul Bullock, Research Specialist

Associate Project Supervisor: Fred H. Schmidt, Research Specialist

Chief Researcher: Robert Singleton, Research Assistant III

Research Assistants: Judith Chanin  
Robert Farrell  
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Joel Leidner  
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Frank Sifuentes  
Richard Spiller

Coro Foundation Interns: Kay Gannon  
Stan A. Lehman  
Patricia McFeely  
Steve Weiner

Consultants: William Armstead, Student Committee for  
Improvement in Watts  
Dr. Fred E. Case, Professor of Real Estate  
and Urban Land Economics  
Dr. Herman P. Miller, Research Economist,  
Institute of Government and Public Affairs  
Dr. Leo Reeder, Director, Survey Research  
Center, and Professor of Public Health  
Richard Townsend, Student Committee for  
Improvement in Watts

Project Secretary: Mrs. Cheryl Karacsony

Secretary to Project  
Supervisor: Miss Deborah Frisch

## Appendix II

### An Illustration of Differential Property Tax Rates Under Act 142, State of Hawaii

The Hawaiian legislation, with a differential tax factor which becomes effective on January 1, 1965, provides for the classification of land into its highest and best uses and the progressive shift of the tax burden, every two years, until the tax rate on buildings is eventually only 40 percent of the corresponding rate on vacant land.

The land classes subject to the differential tax feature are as follows:

- 1) Residential
- 2) Hotel/Apartment
- 3) Industrial
- 4) Commercial

Each county will assess the net taxable real property by class and allocate the total tax revenues accordingly. Thus, if the assessment of all residential class properties amounts to \$600,000,000, and total assessed valuation in the county is \$2,000,000,000, those properties must produce 30 percent of all tax revenues. If 60 percent of the residential valuation is on land, and the remaining 40 percent on buildings, the tax base for land would be \$360,000,000 and for buildings \$240,000,000. The tax rate in each case would be determined by dividing the amount of revenue to be raised by the net taxable valuation of the property. However, when a building tax factor of 90 percent goes into effect on January 1, 1965, the share of buildings will be reduced (in the above case) to \$216,000,000 and the total value of net taxable property to \$576,000,000. Since the valuation of land remains the same and residential properties must produce 30 percent of revenues (or \$9,000,000), the resulting tax rate on buildings is \$14.06 per \$1,000 of

net taxable real property and on land \$15.63 per \$1,000.

The residential building factor will eventually be reduced to 40 percent, where it will remain. On the same basic assumptions as are contained in the previous illustration, the revised valuation of buildings would be only \$96,000,000 for the purpose of computing the tax revenue and rate, and the resulting rates would be \$7.89 per \$1,000 of taxable property on buildings and \$19.74 per \$1,000 on land.

Two land classes -- agricultural and conservation -- will be exempt from the differential tax system. In classifying lands into the various use classifications, the Director of Taxation is to consider land use plans, zoning, and any other relevant factors.

Source: Tax Information Release, Department of Taxation,  
State of Hawaii, October 1, 1963.

## Appendix III

### Technical Note on Survey Sampling Procedure (Prepared by UCLA Survey Research Center)

#### I. Introduction:

The individuals interviewed in the study were selected by a probability sample of clusters of housing units in Los Angeles County. The housing unit was utilized as the elementary unit in the study because it was felt that an area sample with houses defined as the elementary units would best adapt to probability sampling. Furthermore, since available data from other sources are generally provided on a housing unit basis, comparison with the population of the whole area would be facilitated.

The sampling procedure actually was multistage. The Census Tracts to be sampled were arbitrarily selected inside of the study area for practical reasons:

The 1960 Census counted 24,966 unemployed (male and female, 14 years and over) in the study area. Of these, an estimate of 21,000 unemployed were 20 years and over. The number of households in the study area was about 200,000. These figures show that in order to get 1,000 interviews from unemployed people, we would have to contact approximately 10,000 households.<sup>1</sup> This is why the Census Tracts chosen were those with the highest

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<sup>1</sup>The unemployment figure is for all unemployed. An estimate of "hard-core" unemployment (over 6 months) can be derived from national figures. The Manpower Report of the President, March 1964, shows that the number of persons unemployed 27 weeks and over varies between 11.5 and 16.7% of the total unemployed (Table A-12) between 1960 and 1963. Using an even more generous estimate of the percentage of hard-core unemployed--namely, 25%--we would have a total of 5,000 hard-core unemployed in the study area. In order to contact 1,000 of this group of 5,000, we would be required to contact a fifth of the households in the area--in other words, 40,000 contacts.

unemployment rate, thereby reducing costs and time spent.

A second practical consideration arose from the fact that we would mainly be interviewing Negroes and Mexican-Americans, utilizing Negro interviewers for the Negro areas and Spanish-speaking interviewers for the Mexican-American areas. In order to keep down costs and amount of time spent, it was therefore decided to select Census Tracts with the heaviest concentrations of either Negroes or Spanish-speaking minorities.

## II. Selection of Census Tracts:

Two criteria were thus concurrently used in the selection of census tracts:

1. High unemployment rate.
2. High minority group population.

Using the 1960 data, 10 Census Tracts for each minority group were selected. These tracts, in order to be selected, had to rank highest in unemployment rate and have the heaviest rate of minority group population. The downtown areas (tracts 2071 to 2079), as well as Census Tract 2242, were excluded at Mr. Bullock's request. On the other hand, in each of the subdivisions of the study area where no tracts were selected according to the procedure described above, one census tract was chosen applying the same criteria to the subdivision. This increased the number of census tracts selected from 20 to 26.

## III. Selection of Blocks:

It had been originally decided that 10 blocks would be selected from each census tract so that we would have a total of 200 blocks. In each of these blocks 5 households would then be obtained which would result in 1,000 households. However, it can be seen that this would result in too many households

since 120 interviews were previously obtained through the use of the original lists. Furthermore, the addition of 6 census tracts provided us with 300 more household units. It was then decided to decrease the number of blocks in each Census Tract and to keep the number of blocks proportional to the number of household units in the Census Tract: One block per 100 household units in the Census Tract as indicated in the 1960 Census. Some departure from this rule was forced by changes in the household unit number which took place since 1960, especially along the freeways.

The method of selection originated with the enumeration of the blocks. The respective number of housing units in each block was then included in a listing of the blocks. By the method of systematic sampling, a random number table was used to select block one of a given tract and then every  $N_i/100$ th number was added to the starting number to designate the proper blocks to include in the sample ( $N_i$  was the number of housing units in tract  $i$ ).

#### IV. Selection of Housing Units:

Having selected the blocks included in the sample, phase two of the sampling procedure involved the selection of the elementary units of households within the blocks.

The second phase of the study consisted of the selection of a cluster sample of five housing units from each of the blocks in the sample. No information was available on the location of the housing units on the respective blocks. In order to select the cluster sample of housing units on the blocks in a probabilistic manner, it was necessary to cruise each block and take a visual census of the location of units. Cruising merely consisted of driving around each block and enumerating the units on each side of the block. Having made the listing, the cluster of units could be selected. A random number

table was used to obtain a number corresponding to one of the enumerated housing units. This unit and the four succeeding units served as the cluster. If any of the units did not contain individuals eligible for inclusion in the study, they were omitted; the interviewer proceeded to the adjoining housing unit on the block moving in a clockwise manner around the block. If five interviews were unattainable from the block selected, the interviewer proceeded to the next block on the original block-enumeration list and continued interviewing.

#### V. Summary:

A summary of the sampling procedure may be beneficial at this time. A number of census tracts in Los Angeles County were chosen for the study because they all exhibited a high incidence of unemployment. A two-phase sampling procedure was utilized in selecting a number of clusters of housing units to be sampled. The residents of the housing units were the individuals included in the study. The process of selection of clusters utilized the statistical concept of probability sample to the maximum extent within the limitations of funds and data available.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

Table I  
Population Figures  
Selected Statistical Areas  
City of Los Angeles

Area	Total	Negro	Spanish Surname	% Negro	% Spanish Surname
<b>Avalon*</b>					
1950	61,648	54,948	2,820	89.1	4.6
1960	52,486	49,734	1,313	94.8	2.5
Oct. 1, 1964	52,400				
<b>Boyle Heights*</b>					
1950	90,850	3,539	40,448	3.9	44.5
1960	84,733	7,218	51,253	8.5	60.5
Oct. '63	84,100				
<b>Central*</b>					
1950	34,210	22,104	6,275	64.6	18.3
1960	23,367	16,078	4,386	68.8	18.8
Oct. '63	23,000				
<b>Downtown*</b>					
1950	34,787	1,281	7,986	3.7	23.0
1960	20,496	1,144	4,193	5.6	20.5
Oct. '63	19,700				
<b>Elysian Park*</b>					
1950	29,147	104	6,255	0.35	21.5
1960	24,459	98	7,950	0.40	32.5
Oct. '63	24,300				
<b>Exposition Park*</b>					
1950	74,362	7,685	3,909	10.3	5.3
1960	70,488	42,619	6,127	60.5	8.7
Oct. '63	70,600				
<b>Green Meadows*</b>					
1950	84,596	9,708	6,108	11.5	7.2
1960	94,586	60,449	9,990	63.9	10.7
Oct. '63	95,300				
<b>Leimert Park</b>					
1950	43,645	84	445	0.19	1.02
1960	43,289	7,447	2,404	17.2	5.5
Oct. '63	43,500				
<b>Lincoln Heights*</b>					
1950	32,382	466	11,141	1.43	34.4
1960	31,396	773	17,871	2.5	56.9
Oct. '63	30,300				

Area	Total	Negro	Spanish Surname	% Negro	% Spanish Surname
<b>Mt. Washington</b>					
1950	15,617	18	1,508	0.11	9.7
1960	15,147	45	5,224	0.29	34.5
Oct. '63	15,300				
<b>Santa Barbara*</b>					
1950	61,511	16,878	3,282	27.4	5.3
1960	59,045	29,792	6,208	50.4	10.5
Oct. '63	60,300				
<b>South Vermont*</b>					
1950	66,182	446	823	0.13	1.2
1960	63,242	18,860	6,131	29.8	9.7
Oct. '63	63,800				
<b>University*</b>					
1950	30,923	2,068	3,747	6.7	12.1
1960	21,623	3,040	5,759	14.0	26.6
Oct. '63	21,600				
<b>Watts*</b>					
1950	29,786	22,046	7,256	74.0	24.4
1960	34,001	29,580	3,576	87.0	10.5
Oct. '63	34,300				
<b>West Adams</b>					
1950	68,144	6,620	1,228	9.7	1.8
1960	69,677	36,291	1,574	52.1	2.3
Oct. '63	69,200				
<b>Westlake*</b>					
1950	73,177	1,688	5,605	2.3	7.7
1960	58,680	1,640	8,674	2.8	14.8
Oct. '63	58,700				
<b>Wholesale*</b>					
1950	23,679	7,094	7,428	29.9	31.4
1960	9,690	2,759	1,755	28.4	18.1
Oct. '63	9,500				
<b>Wilshire</b>					
1950	80,856	1,574	1,621	1.9	2.0
1960	79,654	3,911	4,342	4.9	5.4
Oct. '63	82,600				

\* Subareas contained wholly or in significant part within the ARA study area.

TABLE II

Population Trends  
Areas of Negro Concentration  
City of Los Angeles  
1950-1960

Areas Losing Negro Population		Areas Gaining Negro Population	
Area	Loss	Area	Gain
Avalon	5,214	Boyle Heights**	3,679
Central	6,026	Exposition Park	34,934
Downtown*	137	Green Meadows	50,741
Wholesale	4,335	Leimert Park	7,363
		Santa Barbara	12,914
		South Vermont	18,414
		University	972
		Watts	7,534
		West Adams	29,671
		Wilshire**	<u>2,337</u>
	<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> 15,712		168,559

\*Area of small residential population

\*\*Areas with small Negro population which had proportionately large increases between 1950 and 1960

Table III

Annual Rates of Population Flow in Basic ARA Study Area  
1950 - 1960 and 1960 - 1963  
Comparable Tracts

Tract and Area (1950 Equivalent)	1950-1960	1960-1963	Tract and Area (1950 Equivalent)	1950-1960	1960-1963
Mount Washington 1853 (68)	- 19.2	- 8.6	Downtown 2071 (116)	- 147.5	152.6
Elysian Park 1975 (114)	- 3.6	+ 8.6	2072 (117)	- 53.9	8.0
1976 (115A)	- 12.6	- 12.9	2073 (185B)	- 283.1	- 5.4
1977 (115B)	+ 1.3	- 50.6	2074 (180)	- 282.6	- 2.3
Annual Rate, Elysian Park	- 14.9	- 54.9	2075 (181)	- 218.7	- 58.3
			2076 (182)	- 182.1	- 8.0
			2077 (183)	- 107.1	- 1.1
			2078 (185A)	- 51.4	- .6
			2079 (184)	- 102.7	- 4.0
			Annual Rate, Downtown	-1429.1	240.3
Lincoln Heights 1991 (73)	+ 33.6	+ 31.4	Westlake 2081/2 (113)	- 123.6	- 7.1
1994 (70)	+ 4.0	+ 3.7	2083 (108)	- 16.4	- 10.3
1995/6 (69)	+ 39.8	- 323.4	2088 (110A)	- 25.3	0.6
1997 (120)	- 178.9	- 57.4	2089 (110B)	- 36.6	+ 6.6
Annual Rate, Lincoln Heights	- 101.5	- 345.7	2091 (111)	- 109.3	- 0.9
			2092 (112)	- 221.8	- 9.7
Boyle Heights 2031/2 (124)	+ 78.1	+ 26.3	2093 (173)	- 198.7	- 12.3
2034 (121)	- 51.7	36.3	2094 (172)	- 118.1	0.3
2035 (125)	- 199.3	9.1	2095 (174)	- 92.8	+ 10.9
2036 (126)	- 72.9	+ 7.7	2096 (175)	- 262.3	6.0
2037 (127A)	+ 49.6	+ 3.1	2097 (177)	- 124.5	10.3
2038 (127B)	- 0.5	+ 13.4	2098 (176)	- 62.9	+ 0.6
2042/3 (129)	- 43.7	+ 29.7	Annual Rate, Westlake	-1392.3	- 39.4
2044 (128)	- 89.1	- 8.0			
2045 (122)	- 175.0	+ 16.9	Wilshire 2122 (170A)	- 50.9	- 1.7
2049 (134)	- 89.3	+ 10.0			
Annual Rate, Boyle Heights	- 593.8	+ 53.7			
			Santa Barbara 2211 (170A)	- 8.5	+ 47.4
Wholesale Industry 2061 (118)	- 255.2	- 14.0	2214 (203)	+ 13.5	11.1
2062 (186)	- 291.9	0	2219/21 (213)	- 21.4	+ 18.0
2063 (187)	- 358.1	- 11.7	2222 (211)	- 40.4	+ 47.1
2064 (188)	- 273.6	- 15.7	2225 (214)	- 57.4	+ 2.6
Annual Rate, Wholesale Ind.	-1178.8	- 41.4	2226 (215)	- 32.3	+ 46.6
			Annual Rate, Santa Barbara	- 146.5	+150.6

Tract and Area (1950 Equivalent)	1950-1960	1960-1963	Tract and Area (1950 Equivalent)	1950-1960	1960-1963
<b>University</b>			<b>South Vermont</b>		
2241 (220)	- 186.7	- 17.1	2371 (258)	- 50.2	- 0.6
2243 (178)	+ 0.3	+ 18.6	2374 (260)	+ 2.2	- 0.6
2245 (221)	- 197.6	- 19.1	2375/6 (261)	- 24.1	+ 7.1
2246 (222)	- 172.8	- 13.1	2377 (264)	- 18.1	+ 42.0
Annual Rate, University	- 536.8	- 30.9	Annual Rate, South Vermont	- 90.2	+ 48.0
<b>Central</b>			<b>Green Meadows</b>		
2261 (224)	- 252.2	- 33.7	2391 (269)	- 3.2	- 6.6
2262 (189)	- 134.6	- 30.9	2392 (268)	- 24.1	- 12.0
2263 (223)	- 317.0	- 50.0	2393 (270)	+ 84.5	0.0
2264 (225)	- 104.5	- 10.0	2394 (271)	+ 10.1	- 8.0
2265/6 (226)	- 176.3	- 5.4	2395 (273)	+ 46.1	+ 4.3
2267 (227)	- 99.7	+ 16.6	2396 (272)	+ 24.7	+ 4.3
Annual Rate, Central	-1084.3	-113.4	2397 (274)	+ 50.3	+ 29.4
			2398 (275)	+ 58.8	+ 38.6
			2399/ 2401 (280A)	+ 51.4	+ 22.9
<b>Avalon</b>			2402 (279)	- 27.8	+ 28.3
2281 (253)	- 221.9	- 24.9	2405 (281)	+ 19.6	+ 60.6
2282 (252)	- 61.8	+ 0.6	2408/9 (283)	+ 220.7	-137.0
2283 (248)	- 74.9	- 4.3	2411 (282)	- 3.0	+ 2.3
2284 (247)	- 75.4	+ 1.1	Annual Rate, Green Meadows	+ 508.1	+ 27.4
2285/6 (249)	- 85.0	- 9.7			
2287 (254)	- 60.0	+ 35.1			
2288 (255)	- 128.6	+ 11.4			
2289/91 (256)	- 91.8	- 28.9	<b>Watts</b>		
2292/3 (250)	- 41.9	+ 4.0	2421 (517B)	+ 126.5	0.0
2294 (251)	- 74.9	- 20.9	2422 (285B)	- 61.9	+ 3.4
Annual Rate, Avalon	- 916.2	- 36.3	2423 (285A)	+ 8.3	+ 13.4
			2425/6 (286A)	+ 389.0	+ 11.1
			2427 (286B)	- 84.2	+ 16.9
			2428/9/ 31 (287)	+ 42.1	+ 46.6
<b>Exposition Park</b>			Annual Rate, Watts	+ 419.8	+ 91.4
2312 (218)	- 12.1	+ 22.0	Annual Rate		
2313 (217)	+ 40.8	+ 12.9	Total Area	-6990.9	-477.4
2317 (236)	- 10.3	+ 9.1			
2318 (244)	- 131.3	+ 4.3			
2319 (245)	- 156.8	+ 9.4			
2327 (242)	+ 34.4	+ 4.6			
2328 (246)	- 109.0	0.0			
Annual Rate, Exposition Park	- 344.3	+ 62.3			

Note: These annual rates were computed by dividing the net population change of the decennial census (4/1/50 thru 4/1/60) by 10 and the net population change of the City Planning Commission (4/1/60 thru 10/1/63) by 3.5

Table IV

COMPARATIVE DATA  
1960

Category	ARA Study Area	City of Los Angeles	Standard Met. Stat. Area	SMSA (Negroes Only)
Total Population	545,286	2,479,015	6,742,696	
Negro % of Total	224,743 41.22	334,916 13.5	464,717 6.9	
White, Total	298,331	2,061,808	6,148,220	
Spanish Surname % of Total Pop.	147,760 27.1	260,389 10.5	629,292 9.3	
Population per Household Nonwhite Only*	2.71 3.12	2.77 3.15	2.99 3.33	3.32
Persons Under 18, Total Living with Both Parents	177,164 122,289	758,642 631,341	2,284,467 1,977,665	
Persons under 18, Nonwhite Only* Living with Both Parents	93,522 58,425	149,747 102,610	225,874 162,478	
Total School Enrollment, 5-34 yrs of age	117,618	566,631	1,647,623	
Median School Years Completed, Total (Over 25)	9.26	12.1	12.1	
Nonwhite Only*	9.88	11.1	11.1	10.8
Spanish Surname Only	8.09	8.9	8.9	
Median Age, Male Nonwhite Only* Spanish Surname Only	30.69 26.73 23.45	32.2 27.6 24.1	30.0 26.5 22.2	25.5
Median Age, Female Nonwhite Only* Spanish Surname Only	30.50 26.70 23.41	34.2 27.6 24.5	30.0 26.5 22.1	26.4
Marital Status Total, Over Age 14	394,071	1,847,872	4,837,063	
Single	100,277	399,796	951,683	
Married	218,841	1,166,209	3,260,001	
Separated	23,207	47,318	92,151	
Widowed	43,105	170,370	386,161	
Divorced	31,848	111,497	239,218	

Category	ARA Study Area	City of L.A.	Standard Met. Stat. Area	SMSA (Negroes Only)
<b>Marital Status</b>				
<b>Nonwhite Only*</b>				
Total, Over 14	166,250	288,088	399,845	
Single	36,419	65,008	90,154	
Married	102,723	180,955	256,243	
Separated	14,009	18,976	24,011	
Widowed	14,665	22,207	28,520	
Divorced	12,443	19,918	24,928	
<b>Spanish Surname</b>				
Total, Over 14	95,297	170,836	393,527	
Single	26,702	45,935	99,930	
Married	58,052	106,671	258,815	
Separated	4,171	5,442	10,299	
Widowed	6,004	10,594	20,326	
Divorced	4,539	7,636	14,456	
<b>Employment Status</b>				
<b>Males, Over Age 14</b>				
Total	197,787	878,584	2,325,726	
Civilian Labor Force	143,423	696,598	1,872,435	
Unemployed	17,278	46,092	101,477	
% Unemployed	12.05	6.7	5.6	
<b>Females, Over Age 14</b>				
Total	197,559	970,945	2,513,679	
Labor Force	80,526	393,622	946,296	
Unemployed	7,688	24,955	56,360	
% Unemployed	9.55	6.3	6.0	
<b>Nonwhite Males</b>				
Only, Total*	80,419	139,210	195,039	145,868
Civilian Labor Force	61,789	110,397	151,548	112,186
Unemployed	7,818	10,814	14,202	12,409
% Unemployed	12.65	9.8	9.4	11.1
<b>Nonwhite Females</b>				
Only, Total*		149,275	204,610	161,926
In Labor Force	38,243	72,354	95,810	75,783
% Unemployed				10.0
<b>Spanish Surname Males</b>				
Only, Total	42,892	83,796	195,938	
Civilian Labor Force	33,161	66,487	155,981	
Unemployed	3,499	5,541	11,559	
% Unemployed	10.6	8.3	7.4	
<b>Spanish Surname Females</b>				
Only, Total		87,040	197,589	
In Labor Force	17,117	32,718	67,521	
% Unemployed			8.2	
<b>Percent of Total</b>				
Immigration Originating in the South, 1955-60, Persons over 5	42.49	21.5	19.4	

Category	ARA Study Area	City of L.A.	Standard Met. Stat. Area	SMSA (Negroes Only)
Median Family Income,				
Total	\$4,613.84	\$6,896	\$7,066	
Nonwhite Only*	4,378.49	5,050	5,163	
Spanish Surname Only	4,886.86	5,564	5,762	
Male Occupational Distribution, Total Employed	126,145	645,166	1,726,039	
%Prof. & Tech.	4.31	16.0	14.8	
%Skilled (Craftsmen)	14.74	17.4	20.5	
%Service Workers	13.28	7.6	6.3	
%Laborers	11.61	5.7	5.9	
Male Occupational Distribution, Nonwhite Only, Total*	53,971	99,583	137,346	99,777
%Prof. & Tech.	3.61	8.1	8.2	4.9
%Skilled (Craftsmen)	12.13	12.6	13.0	13.6
%Service Workers	17.41	15.8	14.9	16.7
%Laborers	14.01	11.2	12.5	14.1
Female Occupational Distribution, Total Employed	72,838	368,522	889,457	
%Prof. & Tech.	5.79	12.4	12.9	
%Clerical	20.98	35.2	35.7	
%Operatives	26.96	14.8	14.7	
%Private Household	10.96	6.1	5.3	
Female Occupational Distribution, Nonwhite, Total*	34,074	65,925	87,423	68,130
%Prof. & Tech.	5.48	8.7	8.9	8.2
%Clerical	14.22	20.4	19.6	15.5
%Operatives	22.25	19.3	18.9	18.2
%Private Household	21.27	18.9	19.7	23.5
Total Employed by Industry	198,983	1,013,688	2,615,496	167,907
% in Manufacturing	29.37	26.8	30.6	21.2
% in Construction	4.47	4.7	5.5	5.2
% in Transportation	4.15	3.2	3.3	
% in Communication	1.94	2.7	2.9	
% in Retail Trade	13.54	14.8	14.6	
% in Private Households	4.48	2.7	2.2	
% in Public Administration	4.20	4.3	4.3	8.8
Means of Transportation				
Total	198,983	991,514	2,592,257	
% in Private Auto or Car Pool	51.36	70.7	77.3	
% in Bus or Streetcar	26.77	13.0	7.5	
% Walking	8.71	5.4	5.1	

Housing Characteristics

Category	ARA Study Area	City of Los Angeles	Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area
All Housing Units	213,718	935,507	2,369,151
Owner Occupied	49,457	404,652	1,243,334
Nonwhite Only*	22,869	46,406	70,891
Renter Occupied	145,713	471,358	971,173
Nonwhite Only*	54,876	83,539	103,063
Available Vacant	14,865	45,913	111,469
For Sale Only	503	6,165	21,117
For Rent	14,362	39,748	90,352
Year Structure Built			
Total			
1950 to 3-1960	15,416	286,102	971,614
1940 to 1949	19,312	168,303	479,157
1939 or earlier	179,594	481,797	919,278
Nonwhite Only			
1950 to 3-1960	8,792	18,643	33,128
1940 to 1949	10,754	19,957	32,332
1939 or earlier	58,328	91,496	108,611
Spanish Surname Only			
1950 to 3-1960	2,364	12,885	45,164
1940 to 1949	3,669	9,975	27,927
1939 or earlier	33,618	47,890	84,775
Median Persons Per Unit			
Total		2.3	2.6
Nonwhite Only		2.6	2.9
Spanish Surname Only		3.3	3.7
Persons Per Room, Total			
0.50 or less		395,508	940,694
0.51 to .75		205,740	539,222
.76 to 1.00		202,862	538,395
1.00 or more		71,900	196,196
Persons Per Room, Nonwhite			
0.50 or less		48,517	61,292
0.51 to .75		28,319	37,542
.76 to 1.00		32,510	44,346
1.01 or more		20,599	30,774
Persons Per Room, Spanish Surname			
0.50 or less	8,656	17,877	34,889
0.51 to .75	6,910	14,184	31,537
.76 to 1.00	12,185	21,126	48,967
1.01 or more	11,900	17,563	42,473

Category	ARA Study Area	City of Los Angeles	Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area
Year Moved Into Unit,			
Total			
1958 to 3-1960	86,662	371,876	936,224
1954 to 1957	49,207	232,204	607,269
1953 or earlier	59,904	272,688	672,102
Nonwhite Only			
1958 to 3-1960	34,801	60,537	79,879
1954 to 1957	21,127	37,023	49,638
1953 or earlier	21,946	32,536	44,554
Spanish Surname Only			
1958 to 3-1960	18,618	33,262	70,459
1954 to 1957	10,265	18,875	44,869
1953 or earlier	10,768	18,613	42,538
Gross Rent, Median			
Total	\$61	\$78	\$81
Nonwhite	73	72	72
Spanish Surname	60	65	68

\* It should be remembered that the "Nonwhite" category includes Orientals, whose economic status tends to be more favorable than that of the Negroes. Thus, the figures shown in this category tend to overstate the status of Negroes.

Table V  
 Poverty and Deprivation Levels  
 Family Incomes, 1959  
 Los Angeles Area

Poverty Level - Family Income of \$3000 a year or less  
 Deprivation Level - Family Income of \$4000 a year or less

Area	Total No. of Families With Income	Total No. Under \$3000	%	Total No. Between \$3000-3999	%	Total No. Under \$4000	%
L.A. Metropolitan Area (L.A. and Orange Counties)	1,743,868	216,554	12.4	112,734	6.5	329,288	18.9
City of Los Angeles	636,522	91,513	14.4	46,938	7.4	138,451	21.8
ARA Study Area	121,454	33,993	28.0	16,006	13.2	49,999	41.2
Metropolitan Area - ARA Study Area	1,622,414	182,561	11.3	96,728	6.0	279,289	17.2
City of L.A. - ARA Study Area City Tracts	535,449	62,350	11.6	33,170	6.2	95,520	17.8
City Tracts in ARA Study Area	101,073	29,163	28.9	13,768	13.6	42,931	42.5

Source: Census Tract Data, 1960 Census

Table VI

Family Income by Census Tracts  
ARA Study Area

✓ under \$3000  
✓✓ under \$4000  
median income for  
whole tract

<u>Tract</u>	<u>Under \$3000</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>\$3-3999</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Total Number of Families</u>
1853	276	20.9	158	12.0	1315
1975	170	20.0	150	17.6	848
1976	190	29.5	114	17.7	642
1977	165	23.4	95	13.5	703
1991	197	20.6	100	10.4	953
1992	321	23.9	136	10.1	1338
1994	150	21.6	100	14.4	694
1995	124	21.9	53	9.3	566
✓✓1996	41	30.5	32	23.8	134
1997	156	19.4	91	11.3	801
1999	150	28.1	89	16.6	533
✓✓2031	381	39.4	174	18.0	966
2032	179	21.8	67	8.1	819
✓2034	441	56.7	180	23.1	777
2035	190	23.9	79	9.9	792
2036	327	31.3	131	12.5	1043
2037	399	28.1	180	12.6	1418
2038	152	19.1	116	14.6	793
2042	222	32.8	93	13.7	675
2043	238	22.3	108	10.1	1067
2044	303	29.8	139	13.6	1015
✓✓2045	423	42.7	186	18.7	990
2049	145	18.5	97	12.3	783
✓2061	256	69.0	51	13.7	371
✓✓2062	64	31.6	56	27.7	202
✓✓2063	143	47.1	44	14.5	303
2064	44	32.5	27	20.0	135
2071	252	32.6	117	15.1	771
✓✓2072	19	29.6	16	25.0	64
✓2073	29	70.7	3	7.3	41
✓2074	20	55.5	---	---	36
✓✓2075	194	49.1	53	13.4	394
2076	112	32.8	52	15.2	341
✓2077	74	52.1	29	20.4	142
2078	16	28.0	4	7.0	57
✓✓2079	106	42.4	31	12.4	250
2081	164	28.4	117	20.3	576
2082	215	27.4	127	16.2	782
2083	288	27.3	105	9.9	1054
2088	187	26.7	89	12.7	700
2089	303	30.3	124	12.4	998
2091	313	26.3	190	15.9	1189

<u>Tract</u>	<u>Under \$3000</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>\$3-3999</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Total Number of Families</u>
2092	138	27.3	91	18.0	505
2093	131	31.5	37	8.9	415
✓✓2094	344	41.4	118	14.2	829
2095	224	33.3	111	16.5	672
2096	149	29.4	90	17.7	506
✓✓2097	191	38.8	84	17.0	492
2098	129	19.3	76	11.3	667
2122	173	18.2	146	15.3	950
2211	241	22.3	167	15.5	1076
2214	208	30.1	70	10.1	691
2217	258	26.0	134	13.5	992
2218	151	19.4	138	17.7	766
2219	167	25.2	63	9.5	662
2221	195	23.6	127	15.3	825
2222	143	21.4	102	15.3	666
2225	312	38.0	108	13.1	821
2226	124	13.6	55	6.0	910
✓✓2241	137	34.7	64	16.2	394
2243	165	19.8	109	13.1	830
2244	304	30.2	156	15.5	1004
✓✓2245	193	40.2	81	17.1	479
✓✓2246	272	36.8	99	13.4	738
2247	107	30.0	36	10.1	356
2261	100	28.0	39	10.9	356
✓✓2262	179	44.7	44	11.0	400
2263	189	23.9	115	16.4	700
✓✓2264	407	34.0	217	18.1	1197
✓✓2265	326	41.3	117	14.8	789
2266	206	33.9	93	15.3	606
2267	392	35.3	148	13.3	1110
✓✓2281	375	38.5	185	19.0	973
2282	409	31.8	185	14.3	1286
2283	433	33.5	205	15.8	1292
2284	412	32.0	183	14.2	1286
2285	209	28.7	82	11.3	728
2286	151	21.1	134	18.7	713
2287	466	34.5	205	15.1	1350
✓✓2288	360	41.8	116	13.4	861
✓✓2289	293	44.8	68	10.3	654
✓✓2291	293	42.2	86	12.4	693
✓✓2292	212	30.1	165	23.5	702
2293	176	21.2	167	20.1	830
2294	387	32.7	181	15.3	1183
2312	377	28.3	197	14.7	1333
2313	270	23.9	139	12.3	1128
2317	309	23.2	150	11.2	1328
2318	358	36.6	122	12.4	978
2319	309	30.6	75	7.4	1008
2327	189	20.1	203	21.6	939
2328	159	23.0	131	18.9	691
2371	296	7.2	150	11.3	1321

<u>Tract</u>	<u>Under \$3000</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>\$3-3999</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Total Number of Families</u>
2374	287	17.4	173	10.5	1645
2375	168	27.6	96	15.8	607
2376	223	20.4	95	8.6	1093
2377	348	26.8	161	12.4	1295
✓2391	119	35.3	65	19.2	337
2392	173	25.7	84	12.5	672
2393	315	22.6	213	14.5	1393
2394	200	32.2	85	13.6	621
2395	273	22.3	101	8.2	1221
2396	308	31.3	165	16.7	983
2397	251	24.4	146	14.2	1027
2398	264	17.8	169	11.4	1480
2399	259	25.1	114	11.0	1031
2401	117	21.7	43	7.9	538
2402	202	19.8	66	6.4	1019
2403	252	22.8	134	12.1	1104
2405	256	20.1	128	10.0	1268
2406	192	21.8	111	12.6	877
2408	218	27.9	84	10.7	781
2409	311	26.4	139	11.8	1175
2411	336	21.7	184	11.9	1544
2414	248	21.8	124	10.9	1136
2416	136	17.9	81	10.6	758
✓2421	399	59.3	83	12.3	672
2422	348	36.9	101	10.7	943
2423	204	28.5	96	13.4	714
✓2425	223	45.6	82	16.8	488
✓2426	746	62.6	210	17.6	1191
2427	316	35.7	93	10.5	885
2428	95	22.9	50	12.0	414
2429	127	24.9	61	11.9	510
✓2431	412	45.8	150	16.6	899
5309	269	20.1	141	10.5	1333
5310	324	26.7	153	12.6	1209
5311	355	23.2	172	11.2	1525
5312	416	22.1	197	10.4	1877
5313	301	18.8	190	11.9	1595
5314	97	22.0	45	10.2	440
5315	421	23.4	208	11.5	1796
5316	422	21.8	188	9.7	1935
5327	191	32.9	74	12.7	579
5328	180	22.7	61	7.7	790
5329	396	33.5	68	5.7	1182
5330	242	20.3	168	14.1	1187
5350	350	26.9	146	11.2	1297
5351	433	21.7	211	10.6	1987
5353	285	25.3	135	11.9	1126
5354	148	28.2	81	15.4	523
Total Study Area	33,993	28.0	16,006	13.2	121,454

Table VII - A

Death Rates  
of City of Los Angeles by Age  
Applied to Age Distribution of Population  
of City and City Study Area  
1961

	<u>Under 1 Yr</u>	<u>1-4 Yrs</u>	<u>5-14 Yrs</u>	<u>15-24 Yrs</u>	<u>25-44 Yrs</u>	<u>45-64 Yrs</u>	<u>65-74 Yrs</u>	<u>75 and Over Yrs</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
City Death Rates	25.1	0.9	0.3	0.9	2.4	12.0	37.3	103.8	10.3
Population City of Los Angeles	51,251	197,981	413,867	295,439	716,078	550,406	168,756	85,237	2,479,015
Percent Distri- bution Ages	2.07	7.99	16.69	11.92	28.89	22.20	6.81	3.44	100.0
Deaths per 1000	1,353	178	124	266	1,719	6,605	6,295	8,848	25,388
Percent Total Deaths	5.33	0.70	0.49	1.05	6.77	26.02	24.80	34.85	100.0
Population City Study Area	11,403	41,090	73,171	57,733	125,157	97,401	33,077	19,067	458,099
Percent Distri- bution Ages	2.49	8.97	15.97	12.60	27.32	21.26	7.22	4.16	100.0
Deaths per 1000 at City Rates	301	37	22	52	300	1,169	1,221	979	5,094
Percent Total Deaths at City Rates	5.91	0.73	0.43	1.02	5.89	22.95	24.22	38.85	100.0
Actual Deaths Per 1000 in Study Area									6,233
									22.36% increase

Source: Vital Statistics  
Los Angeles City, 1961

Table VII - B

Infant and Fetal Death Rates

	<u>Los Angeles</u>	<u>L.A. Minus City Study Area</u>	<u>City Study Area</u>	<u>Percent Study Area Exceeds City</u>
Infant Mortality Deaths under 1 year per 1000 births	23.7	21.5	30.1	40.0
Neo-Natal Deaths Deaths under 28 days per 1000 births	18.2	16.6	22.7	36.6
Fetal Deaths Deaths after 20-week ges- tation per 1000 live births	14.7	13.0	19.4	49.2

Source: Vital Statistics,  
Los Angeles City, 1960

Table VIII

Functional Illiteracy  
in Study Area by  
School Grades Completed

	<u>Number Persons 25 and Over</u>	<u>Number no School</u>	<u>% no School</u>	<u>Number 1-4 Years School</u>	<u>% 1-4 Years School</u>	<u>Total Under 5 Years School</u>	<u>% Under 5 Years School</u>
Study Area	341,334	14,477	4.24	32,180	9.43	46,657	13.67
L.A. County	3,540,413	56,424	1.59	111,367	3.15	167,791	4.74
L.A. County with Study Area Excluded	3,199,079	41,947	1.31	79,187	2.48	121,134	3.79
City of L.A. Tracts in Study Area	274,533	10,985	4.00	24,026	8.75	35,011	12.75
City of Los Angeles	1,521,289	33,815	2.22	56,361	3.71	90,176	5.93
City of L.A. with Study Area Excluded	1,246,756	22,830	1.83	32,335	2.59	55,165	4.42

Source: U.S. Census, 1960

TABLE IX

Quality of Education

Average Salaries of Classroom Teachers in Public Schools (Estimated),  
1962-63 (Alaska Adjusted):

<u>Best Ten States</u>		<u>Worst Ten States</u>	
1. California	\$7,050	41. Georgia	\$4,637
2. New York	6,950	42. West Virginia	4,475
3. Michigan	6,444	43. Tennessee	4,300
4. Connecticut	6,400	44. Kentucky	4,275
5. Illinois	6,360	45. No. Dakota	4,275
6. New Jersey	6,308	46. So. Carolina	4,150
7. Nevada	6,270	47. Alabama	3,988
8. Arizona	6,250	48. So. Dakota	3,950
9. Washington	6,245	49. Arkansas	3,737
10. Maryland	6,128	50. Mississippi	3,610

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United States 5,735

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Selected Southern or Border States:

25. Florida	5,450
26. Texas	5,300
27. Missouri	5,289
30. Oklahoma	5,175
32. Louisiana	5,100
43. Tennessee	4,300
47. Alabama	3,988
49. Arkansas	3,737
50. Mississippi	3,610

Table X

Quality of Education

Per-Capita Expenditures of State and Local Governments for All  
Public Education, 1961 (Alaska adjusted):

<u>Best Ten States</u>		<u>Worst Ten States</u>	
1. California	\$170.60	41. No. Carolina	\$86.97
2. Wyoming	167.16	42. Missouri	86.30
3. Utah	161.57	43. Mississippi	84.56
4. Colorado	149.41	44. Maine	84.48
5. Washington	148.00	45. Alabama	82.77
6. New Mexico	146.90	46. Kentucky	82.22
7. Nevada	145.15	47. Georgia	81.46
8. Oregon	144.86	48. So. Carolina	77.69
9. Arizona	138.10	49. Tennessee	76.35
10. Minnesota	137.55	50. Arkansas	76.13

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 United States 112.40  
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Selected Southern or Border States

25. Louisiana	109.61
26. Oklahoma	109.41
34. Texas	97.94
35. Florida	94.62
42. Missouri	86.30
43. Mississippi	84.56
45. Alabama	82.77
49. Tennessee	76.35
50. Arkansas	76.13

Table XI

Quality of Education

Pupils per Classroom Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, Fall, 1961:

<u>Best Ten States</u>		<u>Worst Ten States</u>	
1. South Dakota	19.2	41. Arkansas	27.8
2. Wyoming	19.6	42. South Carolina	28.1
3. North Dakota	20.2	43. Arizona	28.6
4. Nebraska	20.9	44. Tennessee	28.6
5. Kansas	21.5	45. California	28.7
6. Montana	21.5	46. Georgia	28.9
7. Iowa	22.1	47. North Carolina	28.9
8. Delaware	22.4	48. Mississippi	29.1
9. Oregon	22.5	49. Hawaii	29.6
10. Vermont	22.5	50. Alabama	29.9

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 United States 25.6  
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Selected Southern or Border States

29. Oklahoma	25.8
31. Florida	25.9
32. Texas	26.0
36. Louisiana	26.8
38. Missouri	27.1
41. Arkansas	27.8
44. Tennessee	28.6
48. Mississippi	29.1
50. Alabama	29.9

Table XIII

## Housing

Selected Characteristics in  
Study Area Compared to City  
and County, 1960

	Study Area (141 Census Tracts) (1)	County of Los Angeles (2)	City Study Area (125 Census Tracts) (3)	City of Los Angeles (4)	Study Area As a Percent of County (5)	Study Area As a Percent of City (6)	Percent of Total Units in Study Area (7)	Percent of Total of Units in County (8)
Total Units	213,718	2,142,139	187,113	935,507	9.9	20.0	100.0	100.0
Owner Occupied	49,457	1,096,983	39,993	404,652	4.5	9.8	23.1	51.2
Nonwhite Only	22,869	69,714	20,808	46,406	32.8	44.8	10.7	3.2
Renter Occupied	145,713	913,629	130,254	471,358	15.9	27.6	68.1	42.6
Nonwhite Only	54,876	102,101	51,567	83,539	53.7	61.7	25.6	4.7
Available Vacant	14,865	97,570	13,648	45,913	15.2	29.7	6.9	4.5
For Sale Only	503	16,503	431	6,165	3.0	6.9	0.24	0.77
For Rent	14,362	81,067	13,217	39,748	17.7	33.2	6.7	3.7
Dilapidated	8,445	29,394	6,933	13,362	28.7	51.8	3.9	1.3
Deteriorating	40,410	140,468	35,255	69,655	28.7	50.6	18.9	6.5

Source: 1960 U.S. Census

Table XIII

Requests for Delinquency or Dependency  
 Petitions (Numbers 600, 601, and 602)  
 1961

County of Los Angeles

Petitions*	Male	Female	Total
600	1109	1136	2245
601	1795	940	2735
<u>602</u>	<u>7042</u>	<u>1241</u>	<u>8283</u>
Totals	9946	3317	13,263

Source: Delinquency-Dependency Patterns  
 and Related Socio-Economic  
 Characteristics 1960-1961,  
 Los Angeles County Department  
 of Community Services

\* See page 57 for definitions

Table XIV

Delinquency-Dependency Petitions  
of Youth Population  
1962

	<u>Los Angeles County</u>	<u>Study Area</u>	<u>Study Area as a Percent of County</u>
Youth Population			
0 - 17	2,161,455	171,905	7.95
10 - 17	811,141	57,863	7.13
Petitions*			
600 Total	2,437	499	20.48
Male	1,197		
Female	1,240		
Families	1,470		
601 Total	3,301	529	16.02
Male	2,103		
Female	1,198		
Families	3,122		
602 Total	8,750	1,780	20.34
Male	7,405		
Female	1,345		
Families	8,274		

Source: Special print-out of Los Angeles County Department of Community Services data on delinquency-dependency rates for 140 census tracts in study area, 1962.

\*See page 57 for definitions

Table XV

Location and Size of Firms  
Selected Industries  
1963

Code* (No. of Employees)	Aerospace		Aircraft		Aircraft & Missile Components	
	ARA Area**	All Others	ARA	All Others	ARA	All Others
1		1		3	3	2
2				3	3	5
3		1		1	1	5
4	1			2	3	11
5						5
6				1		3
7		3				2
8						2
9		3		8	1	1
Unknown						
TOTAL	1	8	0	18	11	36

\* Code explanation at end of table  
 \*\* Extended area, defined at end of table

Code (No. of Employees)	Aircraft & Missile Parts		Aircraft Components		Aircraft Parts	
	ARA Area	All Others	ARA Area	All Others	ARA Area	All Others
1	4	7		3	2	9
2	2	7	2	4	2	9
3	4	2		4	1	6
4	2	2	1		1	2
5				2		
6	1					1
7						
8						
9						
Unknown						
TOTAL	13	18	3	13	6	27

Code (No. of Employees)	Aluminum		Aluminum Products		Apparel, Men's & Ladies (N.E.C.)		Chemicals, Industrial	
	ARA	All Others	ARA	All Others	ARA	All Others	ARA	All Others
1	2	2	4	3	2	1	9	8
2	3			1	1		9	3
3	4		1		1	2	4	1
4		1	1	1	2	3	4	1
5	1					2	2	1
6			2			1	2	
7								
8		1						1
9							1	
Unknown								
TOTAL	10	4	8	5	6	9	31	15

Code (No. of Employees)	Contractors, General		Electronics (Incl. Electronics General, Electronics Assembly, & Electronic Components)	
	ARA	All Others	ARA	All Others
1	16	13	1	32
2	5	19	3	32
3	3	12	1	20
4	6	15	5	17
5	4	3	2	8
6		1	2	5
7		1		2
8		1	2	6
9				5
Unknown				<u>2</u>
TOTAL	<u>34</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>16</u>	129

Code (No. of Employees)	Electronic Equipment		Machinery		Metal Stampings		Petroleum Products (N.E.C.)	
	ARA	All Others	ARA	All Others	ARA	All Others	ARA	All Others
1	5	7	5	4	7	5	4	5
2	2	2	2		4	4	2	2
3	1	2	1	1	6	7		1
4		1			1	4	6	
5							4	1
6		1		1			1	1
7								
8			1				3	
9		1					3	
Unknown								
TOTAL	8	14	9	6	18	20	23	10

Code (No. of Employees)	Petroleum Production		Rubber Products (N.E.C.)		Research & Development		Sportswear	
	ARA	ALL Others	ARA	ALL Others	ARA	ALL Others	ARA	ALL Others
1	3	3	5	5	1	16	1	1
2	8	6	3	4	1	6		
3	1	1	5	1	1	4	4	4
4	3	1	4	2	1	9	3	3
5	1	2		1		1	2	
6	3					2	1	
7				1				
8	1							
9								
Unknown					1	1		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>

Code (No. of Employees)	Steel		Steel Fabrication	
	ARA	ALL Others	ARA	ALL Others
1	9	2	2	10
2	7	1	9	8
3	7		8	6
4	4		4	
5		1	4	1
6	1			1
7				
8			1	1
9	1	1		1
Unknown				
TOTAL	29	5	28	28

Source: Selected listings as classified in the L.A. Business Directory and Buyers Guide, 1963-1964 Edition (L.A. Chamber of Commerce).

The Directory lists all firms in the L.A. and Orange County areas employing 20 or more persons.

Companies were counted under a particular product or service heading only if their Standard Industrial Classification Codes were given. Branches, if listed under the name of the parent company or division and without codes of their own, were not recorded.

The area was defined as Postal Zones 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33, 37, 44, 47, 54, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, and 63 (see Postal Zone Map). Companies in Vernon, Huntington Park, South Gate, Lynwood, Compton, Gardena, City of Industry and City of Commerce were also listed.

Number of Employees - Codes:

1	1 - 19 employees
2	20 - 49
3	50 - 99
4	100 - 249
5	250 - 499
6	500 - 999
7	1000 - 1999
8	2000 - 4999
9	Over 5000 employees

Note: The above codes refer to the total number of employees of a given firm. Therefore, in cases where a company maintains a headquarters office in downtown Los Angeles (for example) and branch offices or plants scattered throughout the region or country, only a portion of its total employment will actually be located within the defined areas. This obviously overstates the number of jobs in the area, particularly in categories in which large corporations are represented.

Table XVI

Comparative Land Values Per Square Foot  
 Selected Areas  
 1964

<u>Area</u>	<u>Land Cost for Manufacturing</u>
City of Industry	40-45¢ per sq. ft.
La Mirada	70-75¢
Compton	\$1.00
South Central Los Angeles	1.25
East Los Angeles (mfg. district near Noakes Street)	1.50
Vernon	1.50-1.75
City of Commerce	2.00-2.25

Source: Realtors in Los Angeles area interviewed by Institute staff.

TABLE XVII

## Survey of Personnel Requirements

Los Angeles City Schools

Job Categories	October 1963-64	1970-71	Basis for Prediction	Educational Requirements
<b>Teachers:</b>				
Elementary	10,539	13,079	Ratio of enrollment 1963-64 to est. enrollment 1970-71	B.A. and Credential
Secondary	9,843	13,190		
Junior College (Day)	992	1,445		
<b>Counselors:</b>				
Elementary	68	84	Same as above	
Secondary	124	166		M.A. & Credential
Assistant Supervisors of Attendance:	117	150	Same as above*	B.A. & Credential
<b>Medical Services:</b>				
School Physicians	124	159	Same as above*	M.D.
School Nurses	388	497		R.N.
School Dentists	21	27		Dental Degree

\*Elementary and High School Only

TABLE XVIII

## Survey of Personnel Requirements

County Bureau of Public Assistance

Job Categories	1964	1970		
Social Workers	1,716	2,324	Growth in popu- lation and effect of anti- cipated legisla- tion	B.A. for all entry level jobs

SPECIAL REPORTS

PROJECTED SOURCES OF DATA ON SOCIAL  
AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN THE LOS ANGELES AREA

By

Herman P. Miller

October, 1964

Dr. Herman P. Miller is currently on leave from his position as Special Assistant to the Director, U. S. Bureau of the Census, and as a member of the Economics Department at American University in Washington, D.C., to serve as Research Economist at the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at UCLA. Dr. Miller is the author of Rich Man, Poor Man, has testified frequently before congressional committees, and is one of the country's leading experts on the sources of poverty.

## A. Introduction

Negotiations are now under way between the new Survey Research Center at UCLA and the Youth Opportunities Board of Los Angeles to develop and maintain a master sample of households representing the entire Los Angeles Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area as well as a specific segment thereof known as the Demonstration Area, which is a section of the county in which community action programs are now in progress. Samples of 4,000 households for each of these areas have already been designed for the Board by Professor Raymond Jessen of UCLA and initial interviews have been conducted using the questionnaire shown in attachment A. The purpose of this study was to update the 1960 Census for the SMSA as a whole and for the Demonstration Area in order to provide benchmark data that could be used as part of a statistical system to appraise the various programs for the rehabilitation of youth that have been undertaken by the Board.

If current plans are implemented, these samples will be turned over to the Center for development and maintenance and the Board will contract its future survey operations with that organization. These surveys would provide, for the first time, current information on a variety of characteristics, based on representative samples of the population. In addition, it is contemplated that the information collected in household interviews will be supplemented by data on juvenile delinquency, public assistance, and a variety of other records for individual families that will be obtained from a data bank to be maintained by the Board.

The purpose of this report is to describe the nature of the two organizations that will participate in this venture and to provide an indication of the sample and the statistical data that have already been

collected. Funds are now being requested from various government agencies to permit both organizations to expand their operations and to provide the data herein described as well as other data and research facilities for the Los Angeles area. Although the data that will be produced jointly by the Board and the Survey Research Center are intended primarily for the evaluation of specific rehabilitation projects, they will also be made available to other agencies which might desire to use them for other purposes. In view of the focus of the sample design on areas with a high incidence of juvenile delinquency and, therefore, low incomes, it is very likely that the results will be useful for special studies of hard-core unemployment, poverty, and other subjects in which there is great interest at the present time.

In order to maintain the confidentiality of the basic records that will be obtained, it will not be possible to provide punchcards or other information that might disclose the identity of individual respondents. This restriction, however, does not preclude the possibility of making special tabulations on a cost basis or of conducting special inquiries if such studies fit within the framework of the basic mandate under which the joint operation is being established.

#### B. UCLA Survey Research Center

A Survey Research Center was established at UCLA in July 1964 as a unit of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs. It is the only facility of its type in Southern California. This Center was established because of the increasingly greater demands that were being made upon various members of the faculty to undertake surveys; the overlap that occurred in recruitment, training, and supervision of staff; and the consequent duplication of efforts and resources as a result of not having

a central source for this kind of research methodology. There was increasing recognition of the need for a facility that would be a focal point on this campus for the research programs involving survey methodology.

The Center has three broad aims and functions: (1) service to the faculty, graduate students, and public agencies in designing, conducting, and processing surveys in health and health-related research; (2) advancement of the frontiers of research methodology in survey work by the conduct of research in particular problem areas; and (3) development and maintenance of an archival data library that will permit a variety of studies to be generated involving both substantive and methodological research on previously collected data. This Center will operate as the survey facility for all the campuses of the University of California located in Southern California and for the State Colleges in this area.

The following operating programs will be conducted by the Center:

a. An Instrument Design Service for the development of structured questionnaires.

b. A Sampling Service for the use of investigators who require the design of a sample survey. The Center will design special-purpose samples for particular studies, in addition to its basic function of developing and maintaining a master probability sample of households in Los Angeles County for use in a variety of research studies. As previously noted, such a sample has already been designed for the Board. Negotiations are in progress with the Board to contract its future survey operations with the Center.

c. A Data Bank for households included in the master sample will be maintained jointly by both organizations. This facility will not only include the usual information collected in household surveys, but also

information from official records maintained by the health, public assistance, police, and other departments of the city and county governments. Arrangements are being made by the Board to obtain this type of information on a regular basis.

d. An Interviewing Service will be further developed and expanded to meet the needs of research investigators for a variety of types of interviewers. A core of well-trained interviewers is currently available, representative of the various ethnic backgrounds in this area. This core group of interviewers will be expanded gradually to meet the developing growth needs of the Center.

e. The Center will act as the data collecting agent for the Urban Observatory that has been established at the Institute of Government and Public Affairs. The Observatory will conduct specific interdisciplinary research projects on representative panels of households in the Los Angeles area that will be interviewed in depth over a period of several years. The selection of the panels, the field work, coding, and tabulating of the results will be done by the Center. Overall responsibility for the studies, which initially will focus on problems of mental health, family stability, and poverty, will be centered in a team of social scientists that will constitute the Observatory.

f. A Coding Service for prompt and efficient transcription of field data preparatory to data processing.

g. A Data Processing Operations Unit to advise and assist faculty research investigators in the initial design of data collection instruments for efficient transfer of data to computing machinery; the proper use of computer programs for survey methods; and the development of new computer programs as needed by research investigators.

h. An Archival Data Library for the collection and maintenance of specialized data banks will be established. It will focus upon developing and maintaining specialized collections of punched cards or tapes in such fields as desired by research investigators on this campus.

i. A Laboratory for Methodological Research in sample surveys and other behavioral science research tools will be developed as an integral part of the Center. There is a need for basic research on sample survey methods to improve the efficiency and validity of the survey as an instrument of research. A program of research is now being developed.

#### C. Youth Opportunities Board

The Youth Opportunities Board of Greater Los Angeles is a joint-powers agency representing the city, county, and state governments in this area as well as the city and county school systems. The Board is financed by grants from a variety of federal, local government, and private sources. It is presently supported by funds provided through the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime and by federal grants-in-aid from the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare. It also receives additional funds from local agencies represented on the Board. Its objective is to conduct programs which will significantly reduce juvenile delinquency, youth offenses, and other symptoms of social maladjustment by means of direct action programs. These programs are designed to expand educational, economic, and social opportunities for youths as a demonstration of the value of coordinated youth service in the urban community. The Board is engaged in various demonstration projects in metropolitan Los Angeles in the areas of youth training and employment, education, community development, social welfare, recreation, mental health, and corrections.

One of the tools used by the Board to evaluate its operations is the Continuous Sampling Survey, which is the subject of this report. The basic objective of this survey is to provide a mechanism for continually updating the information needed for planning, control, and evaluation of the Board's programs. The 4000 household survey conducted earlier this year in the Demonstration Area and a similar survey of the same size conducted in the balance of the county were made to update the 1960 Census results and thereby provide a population base for computing rates of juvenile delinquency, arrests, school dropouts, and youth unemployment. The numbers of arrests, delinquents, and dropouts will be obtained from records provided to the Board by various government agencies within the county.

The major purpose of the Continuous Sampling Survey proposed for the future is to provide information about changes in attitudes and behavior within the Demonstration Area which will supplement and help explain the observed changes in rates. The secondary purposes consist of:

(a) a continuous updating of the demographic information about Los Angeles County and the Demonstration Area (population and labor force by age, sex, color, marital status, occupation, industry, income, school enrollment, educational attainment, etc.);

(b) a continuous assessing of the level and extent of youth needs (physical, economic, social, educational, and psychological) both inside the Demonstration Area and in the county generally; and

(c) a continuous assessing of the level of participation in Board programs of the total potential client population for each program in the Demonstration Area.

D. The Demographic Survey: July-August 1964<sup>1/</sup>

As noted above, the purpose of the demographic survey conducted in the summer of 1964 was to update 1960 Census data and to provide additional information leading to better estimates of the school dropout population and youth unemployment in these areas. Interviews were conducted with a representative sample of 4000 households for the county as a whole and with a sample of approximately equal size for the Demonstration Area. Personal interviews were conducted with a responsible member in each household concerning age, sex, relationship to head, ethnic group, ~~marital~~ status, and work status. Limited information on housing characteristics was also collected.

Additional information on selected subjects was obtained for all persons in every fourth household plus all additional households which contained at least one teenager (14-21 years old). The subjects covered on a sample basis included mobility, school enrollment, years of school completed, labor force status, and income in 1963.

The sample design used in the two areas was comparable but not identical. The sample for the county was drawn in two stages. The first stage was a sample of census tracts and the second stage a sample of blocks within the selected census tracts. The census tracts were stratified on the basis of ten geographic areas and an economic index based on rent and value of home. Two blocks were sampled from each tract. Within tracts, blocks were selected with probability proportionate to size based on number of occupied dwelling units.

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<sup>1</sup>The information presented in this and the following section is based largely on an unpublished working paper prepared by the Research Department of the Board, Continuous Sampling Survey, September 1964.

The sample in the Demonstration Area used only one stratification--delinquency cases in 1962. All blocks in the Demonstration Area were classified according to the number of delinquency cases reported by the County Probation Department for 1962. Each stratum consists of all blocks containing the same number of delinquency cases. Each stratum was sampled in proportion to its size with respect to number of occupied dwelling units. Two sampling rates were used, one for the zero blocks (i.e., those having no delinquency cases) and another for blocks having one or more cases. The sampling ratios resulted in the "delinquency" blocks having about four times the chance of inclusion in the sample as the "non-delinquency" blocks.

The data based on this survey are now on punch cards, and tabulations are being made. The results will be summarized in working papers to be prepared by the Board's Research Department.

#### E. Future Survey Plans

These surveys are intended to provide measures of the change in attitude toward various factors in the physical, psychological, and social environments for a sample of residents for the county as a whole and for the Demonstration Area. The information will be obtained in personal interviews with predesignated individuals subsampled from the Demographic Survey. Whenever it is feasible, interviews will be conducted in the home. Where there is a lack of privacy in the home, interviews will be conducted at other locations such as schools or clubs.

The questionnaires to be used will cover the following subject-matter areas:

- (a) current demographic information about the individual and his family;

(b) attitudes toward youth-serving and youth-related agencies such as schools, police and corrections, welfare, recreation, and employment services;

(c) awareness of and/or involvement in Board programs and attendant attitudes; and

(d) a perspective of the respondent's self-image and self-prediction of prospects.

The sample for these studies will initially be drawn as subsamples of the demographic survey conducted in July and August 1964. This survey covered over 20,000 individuals. Less than one-fourth of this group will be needed for the interpretive surveys planned for the next year. In order to maximize the data obtained in these surveys, the design will provide for the selection of more youth than adults, more males than females, and about the same number of individuals exposed to delinquency as those who are not. The sample will have a rotating design based on a three-month reporting period. This means that each individual will be in the sample twice. During any three-month period, one-half of the sample will consist of new households and one-half will consist of households that were previously interviewed.



7/64

INDIVIDUAL DATA

C.T.# 1-4	Blk.# 5-7	Fam.# 8-10	Case # 11-15
--------------	--------------	---------------	-----------------

16 RELATION TO HEAD		17 RACE		18 SEX	19-20 AGE	21 MARITAL STATUS	22 (Males, 14-21) ARMED SERVICES
H- 1	R- 4	W- 1	Or- 3	M- 1		MSP- 1 D- 4	DR- 1 Nev.Serv.- 3
W- 2	NR- 3	N- 2	O- 4	F- 2		MSA- 2 S- 5	
SD- 3	I- 6					W- 3 NM- 6	EN- 2 Serv.- 4

NAME

(Last) \_\_\_\_\_ (First) \_\_\_\_\_ (Middle) \_\_\_\_\_

ASK OF ALL BORN BEFORE JUNE 1, 1959 (5 years or older):

9. In what State or foreign country was he born?.....This State..... 23- 1
10. In what year did he move into this house or apt.?  
 Other \_\_\_\_\_ 24-  
 1961..... 25- 8  
 Quarters  
 1960..... - 9  
 1964 1 2..... 25- 1 -2 1955-59..... - 0  
 1963 1 2 3 4 - 3 -4 -5 -6 before 1955.. - X } skip to 14  
 1962 ..... - 7 always..... - Y }
11. Did he live in Los Angeles County April 1, 1959 (5 yrs. ago)? (If yes)....This house... 26- 1 } skip to 14  
 This city.... - 2 }
12. (If no) What city and state? (county, if rural) \_\_\_\_\_ 27-
13. (If different city or town) Did he live inside the city limits?.....Yes 28- 1  
 No - 2
14. Highest grade of school attended.....Never..... 29- 1  
 Kindergarten.. - 2  
 Elementary.... 30- 1-2-3-4-5- 6- 7- 8  
 High School... 31- 1- 2- 3- 4  
 College..... 32- 1- 2- 3- 4-5-6-7-8
15. Did he finish this grade or year?.....Yes 33- 1-(if grad. skip to 22)  
 No - 2
16. (If 14 or over) Is he now attending any school other than regular day school?.....Yes 34- 1  
 (Adult educ. classes, trade schools, etc.) No - 2
17. (If yes) \_\_\_\_\_ 35-  
 (subject or trade) \_\_\_\_\_ (school)
- IF 22 YEARS OLD OR OVER, SKIP TO Q. 25
18. Is he going back to school next fall?.....Yes 36- 1-skip to 22  
 No - 2
19. (If no) How long has he been out?.....Years 37- 1- 2- 3- 4-5-6-7-8  
 Months 38- 1- 2- 3- 4- 5-6-7-8-9-0-X-Y
20. Has he dropped out of school?.....Yes 39- 1  
 No - 2
21. Has he been suspended or expelled?.....Yes 40- 1  
 No - 2  
 (If not going) Why is he not in school? \_\_\_\_\_ 41-
22. What is (was) the name of last or present school?.....Elementary. 42- 1  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Jr. High... - 2  
 Sr. High... - 3  
 College.... - 4
23. Was it.....Private.... 43- 1  
 Parochial.. - 2  
 Public..... - 3
24. (By observation if possible) Does child live with.....one social and no biol. parents. 44- 4  
 both biological parents.. 44- 1 at least 2 social..... - 5  
 one biol. and one social. - 2 peers..... - 6  
 one biol. and no social... - 3 alone..... - 7  
 with spouse..... - 8

(ASK OF ALL BORN BEFORE JUNE 1950--14 years of age or older)

25. Did he work at any time last week? (Include part time work such as a Saturday job, clean up or delivering papers. Do not include own housework.) Yes 45- 1  
 No - 2-skip to 27
26. (If yes) How many hours did he work last week at all jobs?.....0 - 4.... 46- 1  
 5 -14.... - 2  
 15-29.... - 3  
 30-39.... - 4  
 40..... - 5 } skip to 31  
 41-48.... - 6  
 49..... - 7
27. Was he looking for work?.....Yes 47- 1-skip to 30  
 No - 2
28. Even though he did not work last week, does he now have a job he usually works at?.....Yes 48- 1-skip to 30  
 (will go back to) No - 2
29. What is the reason he is not looking for work? \_\_\_\_\_ 49-  
 (specify)
30. When did he work - even for a few days?.....1964..... 50- 1  
 1963..... - 2  
 1959-62..... - 3  
 1954-58..... - 4  
 1953 or earlier - 5 } skip to 38  
 Never worked... - 6
31. Last year - 1963 - did he work at all, even for a few days?.....Yes 51- 1  
 No - 2-skip to 33
32. (If yes) How many weeks did he work in 1963 - either full or part time? (Include paid vacation, paid sick leave, and military service.).....13 or less 52- 1  
 14-26..... - 2  
 27-39..... - 3  
 40-47..... - 4  
 48-49..... - 5  
 50-52..... - 6

IF WORKED IN 1954 OR AFTER - Describe in Q. 33-36 the job or business held last.

33. For whom did he work? \_\_\_\_\_ 53-  
 (Name of company, business, etc.)
34. What kind of business or industry was this? \_\_\_\_\_ 54-  
 (Bldg. trades, day work, trucking co., industry, government (city, county), etc.)
35. What kind of work was he doing? \_\_\_\_\_ 55-  
 (Truck driver, assembly line, 8th grade school teacher, sales clerk, maintenance, paint sprayer)
36. Class of worker. (Mark from information in 33-35 and ask if not clear.)  
 1. Employee of a private company, business or individual for wages, salary or commissions... 56- 1  
 2. Government employee (Federal, State, County, City)..... - 2  
 3. Self employed in own business, professional practice or farm..... - 3  
 4. Working without pay in a family business or farm..... - 4
37. How much did he earn in 1963 from all jobs, business, or profession? \_\_\_\_\_ 57-
38. How much did he receive in 1963 from social security, pensions, Veterans payments, unemployment insurance, or welfare payments? \_\_\_\_\_ 58-

BEFORE YOU LEAVE THIS FAMILY, RETURN TO YELLOW FAMILY QUESTIONNAIRE, QUESTIONS 6-8

Int. \_\_\_\_\_ 64-65  
 Date \_\_\_\_\_ 66-69



THE ANATOMY OF URBAN BLIGHT

A Preliminary Report

By

Fred E. Case

November 12, 1964

Dr. Fred E. Case is Professor of Real Estate and Urban Land Economics and an Assistant Dean in the Graduate School of Business Administration at UCLA. He is the author of many books and articles in the field of land economics, and is a leading expert on problems of housing for minority groups.

## Introduction

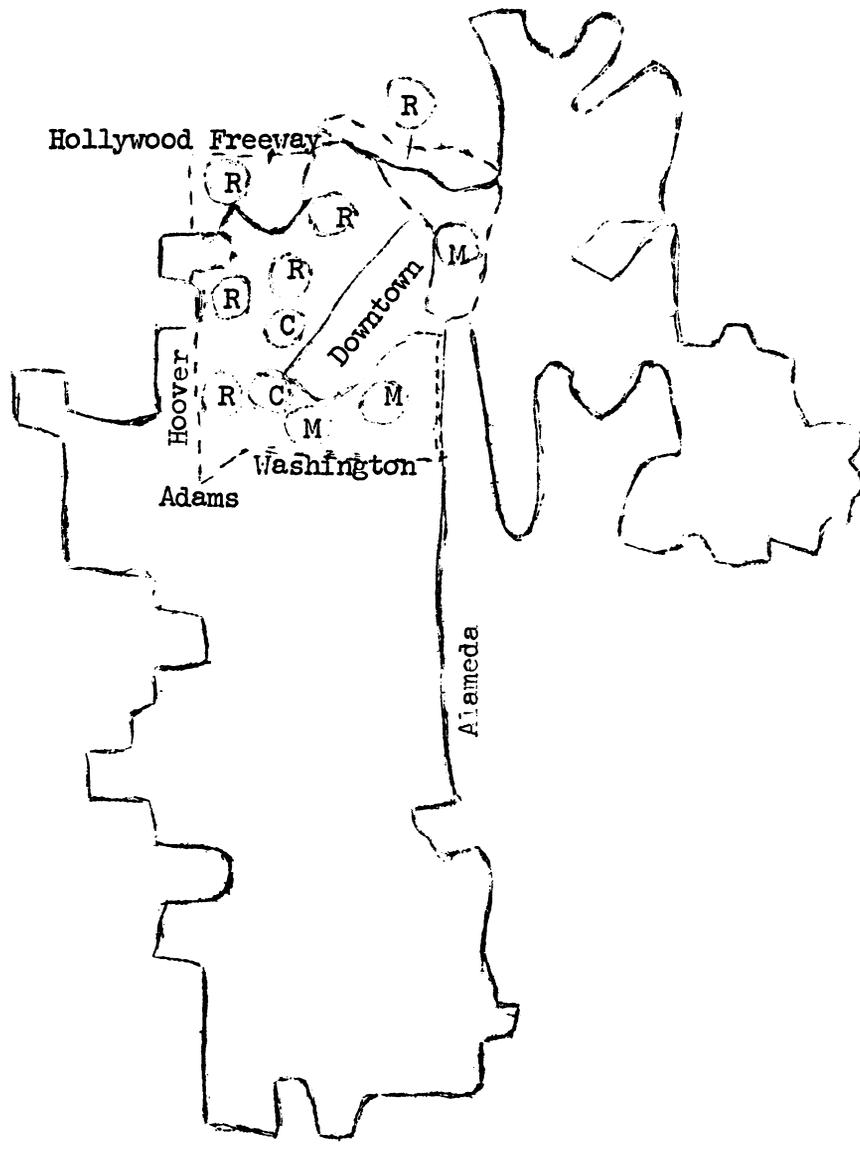
This report is a part of a larger study of urban renewal through code enforcement. Funds for this report were provided by the Real Estate Research Program and the Institute of Industrial Relations. The purpose of the report is to provide a reasonably complete analysis of data on property and population characteristics in the portion of central Los Angeles in which the original code enforcement program of the city of Los Angeles began. The conclusions should be accepted as preliminary since the major study will not be completed until December 1965.

### The Statement of the Problem

One of the most serious problems facing city officials today is the creeping decay that is surrounding central business districts in all of the major United States cities. This decay saps the cities' tax bases, supports human degradation, and multiplies urban social welfare, fire, police and related expenditures. Once ignored as being relatively insignificant, decay now threatens the financial health of both large and small cities throughout the nation.

City fathers have used two major approaches to eliminate, or at least mitigate, urban blight. Local contributions supported by substantial Federal loans and grants have been used to clear entire blocks of decayed properties and replace them with higher and better uses. Enforcement of building codes, supported by health, welfare, and fire protection programs, has been used in a very few cities to remove the worst properties in blighted areas and to rehabilitate the remainder. Federally supported "bulldozer" programs have proven to be costly, slow and limited in accomplishments in many instances. Code enforcement programs have been slow, costly to individual property owners, and have not always promoted improved property uses in the blighted areas.

In 1955 the city of Los Angeles inaugurated a pioneering program of urban renewal through code enforcement. In the next ten years this program was expanded to include properties surrounding the central business district within a mile to two mile radius (see map). Fortunately, a variety of data are now available on the population and land use characteristics of this



Relation of Housing Rehabilitation Area to ARA Study Area

——ARA area

-----Rehabilitation area

(R)

Zoned predominantly for residences

(M)

Zoned predominantly for manufacturing or for manufacturing and commerce

(C)

Zoned predominantly for commerce

area both before and after the code enforcement program began. Furthermore, the Department of Building and Safety has made available its records of what it did in the area. The planning department has made available land use information, and the tax assessor information on changes in assessment values. From these data has been developed the anatomy of a blighted area that is presented in the following paragraphs and accompanying tables.

#### Characteristics of the Area

The Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council has placed the study area of this report in the lowest social ranking in the county of Los Angeles. Such an area contains the oldest and least desirable housing in the Los Angeles urban area.<sup>1</sup> The population is laced with a higher proportion of minority population than other areas in the metropolitan region. Family income is close to, often below, the poverty or deprivation level since the bulk of the population is employed in minimal-skill jobs and only between 10 and 15 percent have attended college.

The 35 census tracts included in the study area are zoned for light and medium manufacturing, commercial and multiple family land uses, but the zoning maps provide little insight into the actual land uses in the area. In 1960 a land use study by the Los Angeles Regional Transportation Study indicated that the principal land uses in the area were for residential (31 percent of the area), commercial (24 percent) and street (29 percent) purposes. The Harbor freeway bisects the area from north to south, the

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<sup>1</sup> Marcia Meeker, Background for Planning (Los Angeles, California: Research Department, Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, 1964), pp. 81-84.

Olympic-San Diego freeway cuts through its lower portion from east to west, and the Hollywood and Santa Ana freeways provide an approximate northern boundary for the area. These land uses reflect the origins of the area as a combined residential-business area that, over the years, changed to a low-cost apartment, light manufacturing, miscellaneous retail store area. As the area aged, both its properties and its population suffered from neglect that even a ten-year program of code enforcement has not been able to eliminate entirely.

#### Population Changes

In 1960 the study area contained a population of 123,734, a decline of 26 percent over the 1950 population of 167,169 (Table 1). In this decade both the Anglo white and Negro population in the area declined while the white population with Spanish surname remained almost the same and the nonwhite population not included in the Negro category increased slightly. Significantly, the proportion of foreign-born Spanish surname population increased considerably. Apparently the area serves as a port of entry for foreign-born and nonwhite persons moving to the Los Angeles area.

Compared to the city of Los Angeles, the study area presents some sharp contrasts (Table 2). The city of Los Angeles gained population in all categories while the study area was losing population. However, its proportion of minority population was much greater.

As might be anticipated, the decline in population in the study area was accompanied by a decline in employed persons. A larger proportion were employed in private industry than was true in the city. Employment in all categories declined except in the unpaid family worker classification, but

Table 1

## Population Characteristics of the Rehabilitation Study Area, 1950 and 1960\*

Characteristic	1950		1960		Change 1960 over 1950	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total population	167,169	100%	123,734	100%	-43,795	-26%
White	136,266	82%	96,355	78%	-39,911	-29%
Negro	22,929	14	18,186	15	-4,743	-27
Other non-white	7,974	4	9,193	7	1,219	15
White with Spanish surname	24,218	100%	24,071	100%	147	a
Native born	17,894	74%	15,244	63%	-2,650	-15%
Foreign born	6,324	26	8,827	37	2,503	40
Employment						
Total employed	69,498	100%	55,537	100%	-13,961	-20%
Private wage and salary	59,376	85%	48,450	87%	-10,926	-18%
Government workers	4,551	7	3,401	6	-1,150	-25
Self-employed	5,448	8	3,486	6	-1,962	-36
Unpaid family workers	123	a	200	1	77	63
Labor pool						
Males 14 yrs. and older	74,888		55,468		-19,420	-26%
Male labor force	52,445		27,618		-24,827	-47
Male labor force as % of males 14 yrs. and older		70%		70%		
Civilian labor force	52,370		38,674		-13,696	-26%
Unemployed as % of civilian labor force		16%		14%		
Family Income	93,099 <sup>#</sup>	100%	24,333 <sup>#</sup>	100%		#
Under \$1,000	28,864	30%	1,521	7%		
\$ 1,000 - 1,999	18,819	20	2,290	9		
2,000 - 2,999	18,404	20	3,003	12		
3,000 - 3,999	11,344	12	3,310	14		
4,000 - 4,999	5,376	6	3,030	14		
5,000 - 5,999	2,771	3	2,948	12		
6,000 - 6,999	1,454	2	2,396	10		
7,000 - 9,999	1,367	2	3,613	15		
10,000 or more	664	1	2,418	10		
Not reported	4,036	4				
Median family income	\$1,939 <sup>##</sup>		\$4,670 <sup>##</sup>		\$2,731	141%
Median school yrs. completed <sup>aa</sup>	9.7		10.3		.6	6%

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Los Angeles-Long Beach Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, 1960. U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Final Report PHC(1)-82, "Census Tracts, Los Angeles-Long Beach, California, SMSA." U.S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Housing: 1950, "Block Statistics, Los Angeles, California," U.S. Census of Population, 1950, "Census Tracts, Los Angeles, California."

#1950 income is for families and unrelated individuals, 1960 income is for families only.

##Estimated from number of families reporting income.

aless than 1 percent.

aaEstimated from totals.

## Population Characteristics of the City of Los Angeles, 1950 and 1960

Characteristics	1950		1960		Change 1960 over 1950	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total population	1,970,358	100%	2,479,015	100%	508,657	26%
White	1,758,773	89%	2,061,808	83%	303,035	17%
Negro	171,209	9	334,916	14	163,707	96
Other non-white	40,376	2	82,291	3	41,915	103
White with Spanish surname	157,067	100%	260,389	100%	103,322	66%
Native born	119,620	76%	195,268	75%	75,648	63%
Foreign born-Mexico	34,061	22	53,338	20	19,277	57
-Other	3,386	2	11,783	5	8,397	248
Employment						
Total employed	526,656	100%	1,013,688	100%	487,032	92%
Private wage & salary	389,049	74%	797,916	79%	408,867	105%
Government workers	48,769	9	104,688	10	55,919	115
Self-employed	88,252	17	104,884	10	16,632	19
Unpaid family workers	586	###	6,200	1	5,614	958
Labor pool						
Males 14 yrs. and older	747,030		878,584		131,554	18%
Male labor force	579,845		696,598		116,753	20%
Male labor force as % of males						
14 yrs. and older		78%		79%		
Civilian labor force	577,435		691,258		113,823	20%
Unemployed as % of civilian labor force		9%		7%		
Family Income						
All families <sup>a</sup>	809,460	100%	636,522	100%		
Under \$1,000	155,740	19%	21,767	3%		
\$ 1,000 - \$1,999	112,940	14	30,599	5		
2,000 - 2,999	131,580	16	39,147	6		
3,000 - 3,999	131,080	16	46,938	8		
4,000 - 4,999	83,535	10	55,312	9		
5,000 - 5,999	56,495	7	65,487	10		
6,000 - 6,999	32,680	4	65,896	10		
7,000 - 9,999	45,700	6	151,554	24		
10,000 or more	20,045	3	159,822	25		
Not reported	39,665	5				
Median income for families and unrelated individuals	\$2,879		\$5,324###		\$2,445	85%
Median years of school completed	12.0		12.1		.1	10%

SOURCE: See Table 1.

###Families and related individuals, (corresponds to 1950 figure).

###Less than 1 percent.

<sup>a</sup>Income distribution for 1950 is for families and unrelated individuals. 1960 is for families only.

even the increase in this form of employment was considerably less than that in the city of Los Angeles.

Some of the decline in employed persons might have been due to the relatively high percentage of decrease in the male labor pool. For example, the decline in the male labor force was a minus 47 percent, as compared to a 20 percent increase in the city, and was almost twice as great as the percentage decline of the total population .

The origin of many of the economic woes of the population of the area can be traced to the unusually high unemployment rates that prevailed in both 1950 and 1960. In this decade the unemployment rate declined from 9 to 7 percent in Los Angeles city and from 16 to 14 percent in the study area. Obviously, with an unemployment rate twice as high as that for the city, the population would need many kinds of welfare services.

The generally low level of employment skills among those in the area who were employed and the high unemployment rate are reflected in the distribution of family income and the median family income in the study area. Even in 1960, 46 percent of the families in the area received incomes below \$5,000 annually, as compared to 31 percent of the population in Los Angeles city. Although the median family income in the study increased percentage-wise much more than did the median family income in Los Angeles, it was still approximately \$600 below the city average.

Perhaps some of the employment problems of the study area population can be traced to the lower average level of schooling. Typically the population in 1960 had received almost two years less than the general city population. Most significantly, the median of 10.3 school years suggests that more than one-half of the population did not complete high school.

### Housing Changes

Although the total housing units in the study area increased slightly, the percentage of units occupied declined sharply while the numbers and percentage of units vacant increased significantly. The percentage increase of housing units in Los Angeles city was 13 times greater than that for the study area, reflecting the continued decline of the study area as a family residential area. Surprisingly the overall vacancy rate in the study area in 1960 was lower than that for the city. The very high percentage of renter occupied units stamped the area as decidedly unique among housing areas in the city.

The impact of the code enforcement program in the study area is evidenced in a number of ways (Table 3). In 1950 almost one-half of the units in the area were deteriorating or dilapidated but by 1960 only 18 percent of the units were in this condition. This rate was only twice the rate for the city whereas in 1950 the rate was almost three times greater (Table 4). Most importantly, the percentage of deteriorating and dilapidated units declined by 46 percent in the study area as compared to an 8 percent decline in the city generally.

Average home values in the study area were much lower than average values for the city. In both 1950 and 1960 median values of owner occupied homes in the study area were equal to approximately 70 percent of the median values in the city, and in both the study area and the city median values increased by approximately 60 percent in the ten-year period.

Renter rather than owner occupied housing has been and is the most important residential land use in the study area, with low cost rental housing predominating. In 1960, 58 percent of the units rented for less

Table 3

## Housing Characteristics of the Rehabilitation Study Area, 1950 and 1960

Characteristics	1950		1960		Change 1960 over 1950	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total units	66,254	100%	67,797	100%	1,543	2%
Owner occupied	8,232	12%	6,117	9%	-2,115	-26%
Renter occupied	54,215	82	53,984	80	-231	-1
Vacant, available for rent or sale	2,348	4	6,518	9	+4,170	+18
Vacant, not available	1,459	2	1,178	2	-281	-19
Condition of units	47,317	100%	67,864	100%	20,547	43%
Sound	24,639	52%	55,637	82%	30,998	126
Deteriorating and dilapidated						
Deteriorated			9,826	18	-10,451	-46
Dilapidated	22,678	48%	2,401			
Value of owner-occupied units	3,757	100%	4,857	100%	1,100	29%
Less than \$5,000	381	10%	54	1%	-327	-86%
\$5,000 - \$9,999	1,889	52	1,368	28	-521	-28
10,000 - 14,999	980	24	1,747	36	+767	78
15,000 or more	507	14	1,688	35	+1,181	233
Median value*	\$7,745		\$12,400		\$4,655	60%
Monthly Rents**	48,903	100%	52,583	100%		
Less than \$20	4,089	8%	278	1%	-3,811	-93%
\$ 20 - \$39	30,375	62	10,634	20	-19,741	-65
40 - 59	9,443	19	19,635	37	+10,192	108
60 - 99	4,234	9	19,435	37	+15,201	359
100 or more	762	2	2,601	5	+1,839	241
Median rent gross			\$55.66			
contract	\$33.26		\$40.81		\$7.55	23%
Age of dwelling units	66,181	100%	69,162	100%		
1939 or earlier	64,097	97%	61,781	89%	-2,316	-4%
1940 or later	2,084	3				
1940 - 1949			3,787	11		
1950 - 1959			3,594			
Median number of persons per unit	1.7		1.4		-3	-17%

\*Estimated from a weighted average of medians.

\*\*Rental breakdowns for 1950 are contract rents, for 1960 gross rents, median rental figures are weighted averages of median contract rents for 1950 and 1960.

SOURCE: See Table 1.

## Housing Characteristics of the City of Los Angeles, 1950 and 1960

Characteristics	1950		1960		Change 1960 over 1950	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total Units	689,039	100%	935,507	100%	246,468	36%
Owner occupied	305,393	44%	404,652	43%	99,259	33%
Renter occupied	361,294	51	471,358	43	110,064	30
Vacant, available for rent or sale	19,035	3	45,913	11	26,878	141
Vacant, not available	12,317	2	13,584	3	1,267	10
Condition of units	683,020	100%	935,507	100%	252,487	36%
Sound	592,939	87%	852,490	91%	259,551	44%
Deteriorating and dilapidated	90,081	13				
Deteriorated			69,655	8	-7,064	-8
Dilapidated			13,362	1		
Value of owner-occupied units	231,885	100%	361,400	100%	129,515	56%
Less than \$5,000	10,935	5	2,126	1	-8,809	-81%
\$5,000 - \$9,999	91,715	40	29,968	8	-61,747	-67
\$10,000 - \$14,999	77,828	34	96,349	27	18,521	24
\$15,000 or more	51,407	21	232,957	64	181,550	353
Median value	\$10,804		\$17,300			
Gross monthly rents <sup>#</sup>	354,856	100%	460,006	100%		
Less than \$20	14,951	4%	922	a	-14,029	-94%
\$20 - \$39	148,241	42	27,837	6%	-120,404	-81
\$40 - \$59	110,819	31	84,344	18	-26,475	-24
\$60 - \$99	66,683	19	234,747	51	168,064	252
\$100 or more	14,166	4	112,156	31	97,994	691
Median gross rents			\$78		\$ 36.47	88%
Median contract rents	\$41.53		\$72		\$ 30.47	73%
Age of dwelling units	676,020	100%	936,202	100%	260,182	39%
1939 or earlier	506,920	75%	481,797	51%	-25,123	-5%
1940 or later	169,100	25				
1940 - 1949			168,303	18	-797	-4%
1950 - 1959			286,102	31		
Median persons per occupied dwelling units	2.4		2.3		-.1	

<sup>a</sup>Less than 1 percent.

<sup>#</sup>Rents for 1960 are contract rents, for 1950 they are gross rents. However, for both periods the median contract rents were given.

Source: See Table 1

Table 5  
 Property Tax Assessments for 1950 and 1960, Rehabilitation Study Area, by Census Tracts

Census Tract	LAND				BUILDINGS			
	1950	1960	Increase over 1950	Percent Increase over 1950	1950	1960	Increase over 1950	Percent Increase over 1950
1957	\$ 2,426,770	\$ 2,683,430	\$ 256,660	11.0%	\$ 2,535,780	\$ 2,968,720	\$ 432,940	17.0%
1958	417,430	746,210	328,780	78.0	397,180	844,050	446,870	112.3
1975	320,970	324,340	3,370	1.05	298,250	352,740	54,490	20.5
1976	151,840	140,510	-11,330	-7.45	155,650	161,110	5,460	3.51
1977	1,390,690	1,187,230	-203,460	-14.6	636,680	713,160	76,480	12.0
2061	3,617,390	2,320,760	-1,296,630	-35.4	3,914,610	2,809,160	-1,105,450	-28.2
2062	4,229,480	6,238,650	2,009,170	49.5	4,976,220	6,654,950	1,678,730	33.7
2063	3,031,150	2,863,070	-168,080	-5.5	2,451,210	2,825,340	374,130	15.3
2064	4,591,270	4,757,980	166,710	3.7	5,680,120	5,928,770	248,650	4.37
2071	892,960	957,280	64,320	7.2	837,840	1,097,420	259,580	31.0
2072	311,040	293,920	-17,120	-5.5	223,280	249,540	26,260	11.8
2074	2,517,440	313,480	-2,203,960	-88	3,453,670	368,720	-3,084,950	-89.5
2079	8,988,760	7,058,030	-1,930,730	-21.5	10,537,490	11,498,400	960,910	9.37
2082	661,660	612,940	-48,720	-7.4	637,230	542,640	-94,590	-14.8
2083	914,720	1,561,810	647,090	71.6	1,559,430	2,193,030	633,600	40.8
2084	1,875,610	2,624,340	870,730	49.6	1,659,100	2,071,140	412,040	24.8
2085	875,570	970,170	+94,600	11.9	915,140	1,118,410	203,270	22.2
2086	507,950	1,000,400	492,450	97	603,170	1,036,190	433,020	71.3
2089	2,758,990	4,313,080	1,554,090	56.5	3,286,790	5,385,240	2,098,450	63.7
2091	3,405,400	2,972,370	-433,030	-12.7	3,900,560	5,057,150	1,156,590	29.6
2092	1,252,990	4,478,850	3,225,860	257	2,010,830	10,074,920	8,064,090	401.0
2093	2,719,590	3,486,030	766,440	28.2	3,758,350	5,216,140	1,457,790	38.8
2094	1,721,820	1,581,730	-140,090	-8.16	1,999,090	2,131,700	132,610	6.64
2095	1,267,070	1,616,030	348,960	27.6	1,588,110	2,229,800	641,690	40.4
2096	1,187,660	1,669,780	482,120	40.7	1,566,830	1,633,029	66,199	4.0
2097	1,158,220	774,070	-384,150	-33.2	1,160,020	1,041,911	-118,109	-10.4
2098	823,380	851,640	28,260	3.4	1,172,660	1,284,130	180,470	15.4
2111	45,470	21,210	-24,260	-51.5	106,810	24,400	-82,410	-76.7
2241	4,777,650	4,149,020	-628,630	-13.1	5,092,840	5,294,750	201,910	3.96
2242	1,713,290	1,390,590	-322,700	-18.8	2,310,170	2,097,090	-213,080	-9.22
2243	1,001,750	1,195,390	193,640	19.3	1,101,360	1,836,250	734,890	69.9
2244	720,370	1,043,950	323,580	44.8	1,108,640	1,170,720	62,080	5.6
2261	2,632,620	2,215,520	-417,100	-15.8	2,186,160	2,231,770	45,610	2.1
2262	3,291,130	2,817,210	-473,920	-12.8	3,101,770	3,234,620	132,850	4.3
2263	2,139,940	2,703,670	563,730	26.3	2,684,220	2,833,550	149,330	5.5
TOTALS	\$70,218,040	\$13,934,690	\$3,716,650	5.29%	\$79,610,260	\$96,210,660	\$16,600,000	20.9%

Source: Los Angeles County Assessment Rolls, 1950 and 1960

Table 6

EXPENDITURES  
DOWNTOWN REHABILITATION PROGRAM  
City of Los Angeles

FISCAL YEAR	Salaries	Expenses	Equipment	Total
1955 - 56	\$ 147,945	\$14,329	\$ 9,110	\$ 171,384
1956 - 57	216,969	8,814	-----	225,783
1957 - 58	230,980	9,809	206	240,995
1958 - 59	205,603	8,080	-----	213,683
1959 - 60	221,136	8,294	900	230,330
1960 - 61	238,752	8,447	-----	274,199
1961 - 62	177,826	5,078	-----	182,904
1962 - 63	178,543	7,446	1,251	187,240
1963 - 64	187,038	7,468	968	195,454
1964 - 65	198,754	7,504	165	206,423
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$2,003,546</b>	<b>\$85,269</b>	<b>\$12,580</b>	<b>\$2,128,395</b>

Source: Department of Building and Safety,  
City of Los Angeles

Table 7

## Land Uses in the Rehabilitation Study Area, 1960

Type of land use	Percent of total acreage	
	Study area	Los Angeles County*
Residential	31%	11%
Commercial	24	11
Community service	4	3
Industrial	7	2
Transportation services	3	1
Vacant usable	1	22
Vacant unusable	1	4
Streets	29	5
Other uses	<u>0</u>	<u>41</u>
Total	100%	100%

\*Data are not available for the city of Los Angeles.

SOURCE: Los Angeles Regional Transportation Study.

than \$60 per month as compared to 24 percent in the city of Los Angeles. The median contract rent was \$31.19 lower than in the city. Furthermore, the percentage increase of the median rent between 1950 and 1960 in the study area was decidedly less than in the city.

The lack of residential construction in the study area between 1950 and 1960 is reflected to some degree in the fact that in 1950, 97 percent of the standing stock consisted of homes built in 1939 or earlier and in 1960 these homes equaled 89 percent of the stock. In the city, homes in this age bracket declined from 75 percent of the standing stock in 1950 to only 51 percent in 1960.

#### Assessed Values

Assessed values in the study area increased overall by 13 percent, although land values increased by only 5.29 percent while building values increased by 20.9 percent (Table 5). In many of the census tracts assessed values of land and buildings declined. Unfortunately these totals are slightly misleading since declines in assessed values in some areas were due to the construction of freeways and the removal of private properties from tax rolls. The slight increases in assessed values in the study area were well below percentage increases in assessed values in the city of Los Angeles.<sup>2</sup> Even though the study area did not share in proportionate increases in assessed values, the code enforcement program undoubtedly halted any declines in assessed values and probably had a significant influence on the increases that did occur.

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<sup>2</sup>State Controller's Annual Report of Municipalities (1950-1962).

Tax Payers Guide, Los Angeles County (Annual editions 1950-1962).

A Tentative Evaluation of Code Enforcement

The direct costs to the city of Los Angeles for the ten-year period ending in the fiscal year 1964-65 were \$2,128,395, of which the major portion was for salaries of inspectors. Unfortunately the costs of fire, police and health inspections could not be obtained, nor could the differences be estimated in the costs of these services before and after code enforcement.

The fate of property owners in a code enforcement area can only be surmised from a review of the disposition of 355 properties in the first code enforcement area. Only four of the properties were rehabilitated; the remainder were demolished. They were being used for:

Single-family residences	78
Two-family residences	30
Three or more family apartments	71
Transient hotels and sleeping rooms	19
Combined apartments and hotel rooms	85
Commercial and residences	56
Retail stores or light manufacturing buildings	16

An examination of zoning maps would show that the area was zoned exclusively for various kinds of light and medium manufacturing.

Examination of the inspectors' reports and pictures of each of the buildings indicated that there was little doubt that the buildings were definite health and fire hazards. The low taxes paid on the properties and evidences that the properties were not maintained, even though they commanded relatively high returns per square foot, suggest that the properties were relatively good investments for some owners.

Although demolition left the owners with no income from the properties, only four of the files indicated that the owners were unable to meet mortgage payments. In many cases the properties were sold just prior to the demolition of the buildings.

The cooperation of property owners with inspectors was uniform and good. In some cases the inspectors worked closely with property owners in anticipating the need for rehabilitation so that the properties were in proper shape even though they were not included in later inspections.

The time required to secure compliance with code enforcement orders varied widely. If an owner could secure good legal counsel, present counter-proposals supported by engineer and contractor analyses, secure continuances because of lack of counsel or other apparently valid reasons, or engage in other forms of delaying activities, the time from first inspection to final demolition could be several months. The range of time varied from one to 121 months. The median period was 11 months. The time lapse for 75.2 percent of the buildings was 3 to 18 months, and for 86.2 percent less than 24 months.

#### Conclusions

Although 15 months were spent in collecting data in this report, only a small portion of the data available was collected. Block surveys should be made of current land uses to determine if the land uses in the area have been upgraded. The financial needs of property owners who had to demolish need to be examined in greater detail. The source of mortgage funds for rehabilitation and new construction in the area should be identified. Estimates should be developed of the differences between the tax revenues derived from the area and the costs of public services to the area. Most importantly, a great deal of attention should be paid to ways in which the neglected population in the area can be conserved and rehabilitated.

WATTS: ITS PROBLEMS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

By

William R. Armstead

and

Richard E. Townsend

1964

William Armstead and Richard Townsend are both students at David Starr Jordan Senior High School in Watts, organizers of the Student Committee for Improvement in Watts, and active in a number of community projects, some of which are described in this report. Their report, prepared by them especially for the ARA project, is presented almost precisely as they have written it, with only minor editing on points of form and style. It represents, in the opinion of the project supervisors, a particularly important and incisive contribution to an understanding of the problems with which the study deals.

## I. Introduction

In what is now the southeast section of the city of Los Angeles is located a small and dormant community commonly known as Watts. Due to the ever increasing population and the low-income bracket of the average Watts resident, the community is faced with many, many problems. Although the problems are numerous, this report is only concerned with those which are considered the gravest.

This report is essentially based upon the past experiences and opinions of the writers concerning the major problems of the Watts area. Various interviews were made but for the most part they were to verify our ideas. The information given is factual, although it is not given in pure statistics.

The community of Watts is potentially one of the wealthiest districts of Los Angeles. The meaning of wealth isn't necessarily concerned with money. Politically Watts could play an influential part in the city of Los Angeles, due to its size in population. The problem which arises here is getting the people out to register and vote. The community of Watts has produced many scholars, one of whom was a Rhodes Scholar. Potentially we see many more students who will follow in their footsteps.

## II. Problems

### A. Housing

The community of Watts is well saturated with all types of rentals, most of them being at a low cost level. There are four major governmental housing projects and many, many apartment houses. In addition there are a large number of rental houses, most of them being very poorly taken care of. In comparison with the tenants, there are very few home owners. These home owners, for the most part, find that many problems arise because of such a large percentage of rentals. The high percentage of net population density is another factor from which many problems arise. One of the major factors in the problems of housing is migration and mobility.

The area in which the community of Watts is located is often referred to as a "port-of-entry" for Negroes coming into Los Angeles or Southern California. Generally these Negroes will find themselves settling in one of the housing projects for a short stay. The ones who are financially able and prefer not to live in one of the housing projects will rent either in a single family house or some kind of apartment house. The average stay in the community in the dwellings mentioned is from 2 to 3 years. Many stay just long enough so that they can get situated, and then move. Thousands of people move into the community of Watts each year with the intention to stay no longer than they have to. These masses of people, mainly Negroes from the South, are attracted to Watts for a number of reasons:

- 1) Since the rental fee in the housing projects is generally pretty inexpensive, these migrants, for the most part of the low-income bracket, are apt to make their initial stop here.
- 2) Since Watts is one of the Negro ghettos of Los Angeles, the migrants are usually confident of finding at least a few familiar faces. They feel that in a city as large as Los Angeles it is better to be certain that one has friends beforehand, in order that they may become acquainted with the city quicker and without so much confusion and difficulty.
- 3) Watts' geographical situation is a relatively important factor in the attraction of the migrants mentioned. Watts is located in a rather centralized position in regard to obtaining transportation. It is also centrally located relative to downtown, or the core of Los Angeles, as compared to many other communities of Los Angeles.
- 4) There also seems to be a certain feeling that a number of people have that Watts, in a sense, is at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. Many migrants have the feeling that they are starting at the bottom and working themselves up when they move into the community.

Many kinds of housing as well as community problems are created because of this ever increasing problem of migration and mobility.

Although many problems are caused by the migrants, a number of them have their roots right here in the community. These latter problems are created chiefly because of the negligence on the part of the community residents. They do not realize the importance of a person's feeling that he is a part of a community. Possibly if the residents of the community realized this importance and acted accordingly, the mobility rate wouldn't be so high. Because of the fact that most residents have not acknowledged this point, it takes the migrants a much longer time to adjust than it should. By the time it has come to the point where they have completely adjusted to their new surroundings, they are ready to move. The migrant does not get the opportunity to really become a part of the community, which in many cases could mean the difference between moving out or remaining in the community.

The problem of mobility in many cases is caused by one of the major problems of not only our community but the whole nation. This great problem has a tremendous impact on mobility and is evident throughout the community. In fact, employment is one of the major factors in migration and mobility. The majority of people that do have jobs have the low-paying ones. These are the blue collar workers in the semi-skilled and unskilled professions and the white collar workers, working mainly in the clerical field. For many of these workers who find it so hard to remain in one home for any length of time, repossession of property is common. They usually have large families to take care of and their income is generally barely enough to adequately support a small family. In a number of

cases this results in discouragement, discontent, and misunderstandings within the family. The outcome of all this depression is cited as another major problem: broken homes. This problem of broken homes contributes to a number of community problems, a few of them being: high mobility rate, high and fast rate of depreciation of property values, and lack or loss of self and community pride.

The problems contributing to broken homes combine to play an important part in lack of community pride. Community pride, as mentioned here, engulfs three main areas: cleanliness, mental attitude and the physical condition of the community. People steadily moving in and out of the community don't get an opportunity to develop any kind of community pride. In order to really have this pride, one must realize and understand the problems of the community. Unfortunately there aren't very many people in the Watts area who have taken their responsibility of attempting to understand the problems of the community. There is an even smaller number who attempt to do anything about the problems. The main aspect in the area of mental attitude in community pride is self-respect. Having community pride is merely having respect for other members of the community and acknowledging one's civic responsibilities to the community. A person cannot very easily have respect for others if he hasn't any self-respect to begin with. This aspect of self-respect also is an important part of the area of cleanliness.

The majority of the residents of the community of Watts notice the terrible physical condition of a large portion of the area and comment on it, but that's all! There aren't enough people in the area who have shown their interest in the physical conditions of the community by doing something constructive for the betterment

of the community. The physical condition of most of the dilapidated buildings in this area is due to absentee landlords and owners.

B. Education and Employment

There are, for the most part, two junior high schools, Edwin Markham and Samuel Gompers, and one high school, David Starr Jordan, serving the community of Watts as institutions for secondary education. Unfortunately too many students do not realize how important it is to receive this secondary education. For various reasons they become uninterested in learning through school and sooner or later they become what is now known as the "high school dropout." It is true, however, that a small percentage of them incur various problems, generally pertaining to the family, and use this as an excuse, one which is accepted by most schools, to end their formal education. Too many students make up excuses just to put an end to what they might describe as a rather boring and worthless experience. The reasons for this disinterest in the student usually begin in the home. There are many possible reasons for this:

- 1) Too often parents find themselves so busy and so involved in everything else that they give only little, if any, time and attention to their children. The child usually finds himself in a lonely little world of his own, searching and reaching out for something, anything, to compensate for it! School and his studies usually are not his compensation.
- 2) Many parents pretend to be interested. These are the ones who take a passive part in their child's

education. They tend to give encouragement by mild conversation and are reluctant to do anything more, but some students need more than this. These parents take education too lightly.

- 3) Going from one extreme (statement #1) to another, there are those parents who are too harsh. By harsh we don't mean that too much emphasis is placed on education, but instead that the emphasis is in the wrong manner. If students, or anyone as far as this is concerned, are given the strong feeling that they are being forced to do something, some kind of a revolt is bound to take place. Family problems will probably result and it is likely that pretty soon the student will become discouraged and drop out of school.
- 4) In many cases broken homes or large families are factors that lead up to disinterest. There are many times when parents have so many children that they can't give the proper time to each. This is often the case when one will use the financial excuse in order to drop out of school.
- 5) The female populace of the high school dropouts usually drops out because of pregnancy. This also usually stems from uninterested parents who are too harsh. Uninterested parents usually have this attitude either because of their lack of educational attainment or because they just don't care. Others don't really realize the importance of receiving an education.

There are many other situations that cause many students to drop out of school, but these are the most evident in this community. In many cases disinterest begins in the school rather than in the home, but this is common all over.

Recently the high school dropout has become a major part of the unemployment problem of the nation. This is true and very evident in Watts, a place where the majority of the population is made up of teenagers and young adults. High school dropouts find it very difficult to get any kind of work, especially since most jobs nowadays require a high school diploma. Most of them become disappointed because of this difficulty and discontinue looking for employment. Another problem that a number of them face is that they are considered under age and not part of the labor force. All of these factors lead to juvenile delinquency and crime. Many of these delinquents will become the unwanted class of our society, namely, the criminals, habitual drunkards, hoboes, etc.

This unwanted class represents another portion of the unemployed. This is also a very evident problem of the community of Watts. Beside many of the liquor stores in Watts are often congregations of drunkards who make this their second home, that is if they have another. In sections of Watts another part of the "unwanted class," the prostitute, makes a living in a rather unrespected manner. Another member of this class is the dope-peddler. These are a few of the serious problems the people of Watts are faced with. Again, this "unwanted class" is usually the uneducated.

Many people find it rather comforting to sit at home and let

the government take care of them. Many of the families that receive government aid don't really deserve or need it, while other families who are really in need of aid for some reason are usually not reached.

Many others will use the unemployment funds as a means to stay alive without working. Although there are many people who are earnest and really try to find work, there are others who try to take advantage of the program which the employment offices provide.

The employed segment of Watts' population is also faced with many problems. The major problem the employed Watts resident is faced with is automation. A large majority of the adult population of Watts are considered educationally deprived. Most of them have received no more than an elementary education. A number of adults are attempting to re-educate or educate themselves through adult night schools, while others are either too tired after a regular day's work or just don't have the time to attend night school. There are also those who couldn't care less about an education. Many of the employed are laid off regularly because of the lessening demand for the semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

Many of the formerly employed people find it necessary to find new jobs. These new jobs often require new skills which will in turn require training in that skill. It is very difficult to be trained in many fields if one isn't adequately educated. Others find it necessary to fill out forms and applications and take tests. This also often requires a minimum of a high school education.

Although automation eliminates many jobs, it also creates new

and better ones with higher pay. The only factor which makes this a problem is that this requires training, which, as stated in the preceding paragraph, requires education.

### C. Problems in General

(Note: There are many problems which are very pertinent but aren't broad enough topics to be separate, and so they will be included in this section.)

#### 1. Health

The health problem of Watts is in many cases a severe one. There are many factors contributing to the problem of health in the community of Watts, the major factor being poverty. Since the majority of Watts' population forms part of the poor level of our society, many are unable to meet the high expenses of proper medical and dental care. Even though the community of Watts is one of the largest communities in or around Los Angeles, it has only one major clinic. There is one other clinic available to the community which is rather small. The major clinic mentioned is in a rather uncentral position. It is also far from the area where it is evidently needed the most. There is a desperate need for more clinics in more needy sections of Watts. Some of the biggest factors related to health in general are smoking and narcotics.

Smoking is a major problem which is under consideration by specialists all over the country. It is discouraged by thousands of doctors, institutions, and non-smokers. This is also a very serious teenage problem, especially in this area. Many of these young adults have the misconception that smoking is a symbol of maturity.

## 2. Delinquency

The problem of delinquency is closely related to the dropout problem. Many students, after they drop out of school, become what is known as juvenile delinquents. Some delinquents attend school although they don't attend regularly. They usually incur various problems in school and participate in gang-like activities. Although there aren't any gangs as such in Watts, incidents by individuals occur often. Such incidents are usually caused by dropouts and uninterested students with nothing to do. Many teenagers feel inferior and feel that they must be recognized one way or the other. This usually results in some act of delinquency.

There are two parks and a few recreational facilities in Watts. Their programs for the most part are for elementary school age children. Some of them have summer programs for all ages, but only those who live in the vicinity of the center or the parks ever know about them. There aren't any educational or social activities that affect any large number of students. If programs are proposed, only a very small percentage of youngsters are notified. They are only notified if they happen to pass or drop by the center or park.

## 3. Finance

Negroes spend entirely too much money for liquor and churches. It might seem peculiar for the writers to associate churches with liquor in terms of money, but the fact remains that too much is spent for church real estate by the residents of Watts. These churches are built because of a so-called preacher who decides to make it a business venture. These churches are usually used by

these so-called preachers as a steppingstone to wealth. They are misused; and something should be done, soon if not sooner. An enormous amount is also spent on liquor and automobiles. In conclusion, all of the aforementioned somewhat establishes the fact that many Negroes in the Watts area are in reality financially irresponsible.

#### 4. Social Education and Culture

In the ghetto of Watts there exists a social problem "en masse" of inferiority. This overwhelming feeling of inferiority is produced in the community by both external and internal sources, and persons living both in and out of Watts.

External sources of inferiority feeling in Watts are developed by lack of enlightenment on the financial and social problems existing, by those not living in Watts. When a person not living in Watts is not exposed to the reasons for conditions in Watts, he makes a predetermined decision that the condition exists because of sheer neglect on behalf of the community. This situation causes employers, business leaders, and often political leaders to lose interest in giving a helping hand to the community. After all, what politician wants to perform for a community that he has determined is a neglectful ghetto?

The problem here is a lack of supplementary educational programs and facilities. It is a lack of sustained educational-cultural programs. About 8 years ago the primary problem for the community was a lack of things to do for the busy hands of youth. This problem was solved by devising extensive athletic programs within the

community; this developed the athletic resources. Now there is a bigger and much more severe problem facing the community. There must be something other than athletics to occupy the time of those that do not care to delve into athletic competition and those unable to participate. This problem of idle hands ties in with another very evident problem, crime.

It has often been stated that the number one motive for juvenile crime is not necessity, but sheer lack of anything else to do. Therefore it can safely be concluded that if there was more for the idle hands to do, there would be less juvenile crime, resulting in less upset in the life of ghetto individuals.

Exterior sources are not always the creators of problems in the community of Watts. While reading of how the external situations cause problems in Watts, one must take into consideration the fact that many problems stem from internal sources.

Since a high percentage of Watts residents, as compared to the county average, are migrants from other regions of the nation, many of the people in Watts use the fact of unfamiliarity with the situation as a motive for social negligence. How many times have these writers heard migrants in Watts say, "I just got here an' I ain't got no reason to respect Watts." How many times have they heard, "It was like this when I got here an' it ain't gonna change." All of this internal strife is so indirectly caused by external sources that it will be classified as an internal source of social problems.

The culturally depressed inhabitants of Watts lack ability to understand, respect and appreciate the creations, ideas and contributions

of others. Culture is a term which lends itself to being stretched to unimaginable limits; therefore, the subjects discussed will be confined to usage in situations involving Watts.

When a thirteen year old child asks, "Why do these people like that old funny music?", either he doesn't know any better or he is suffering from cultural deprivation. Such is the case of people 9 through 90 in the community of Watts, partially excluding, of course, those who have received minute doses of formal education at local schools and institutions. In any case the people of Watts, because of cultural setback, are failing to recognize the fact that all peoples exist differently, accept different truths, learn and even enjoy different things. Being able to understand and accept this is part of a good cultural education, which people in Watts lack.

#### D. Role Played by the Problems

Cultural depression, lack of pride, resulting in mass inferiority, all together make an excellent setting for the role that the many social problems play in the lives of the people in Watts. The role is one of acute seriousness. The social problems in the community of Watts are ones that should be, can be and will be remedied with the help of people living and serving both inside and outside Watts.

Lack of pride is one of the most severe problems in Watts. Since the measure of pride in a community determines the way you act and think in the community, it is safe to say that the low degree of pride in Watts causes a low degree of action and thinking in Watts on the part of its inhabitants.

Pride includes community cleanliness and participation in community functions. When one has no pride in a community, there is certainly no reason and no desire to keep it clean or participate in its vital functions, political or otherwise. Thus the job of keeping the community clean, participating in and carrying out its vital functions, is left to rest on the shoulders of a few individuals.

Definitely not all people who take part in the functions are dishonest and out for the sole purpose of self profit; but when the number of people participating is so limited, this leaves the proceedings in Watts easy prey for a diluted form of carpetbagging.

This giving of top positions to people who couldn't care less about the situation in Watts provides nourishment for the ghetto's vicious circle, which only magnifies the situation of poor pride and social deprivation to an unbearable degree.

### III. Solutions

#### A. Housing

The problems of housing have a large number of sources which mark the commencement of these problems. Many of them will take a long time of planning in order to get anywhere near solving the many aspects and factors of the numerous involved problems, while many of the other problems can be met by simply analyzing them and setting up worthwhile and effective programs. Most of the problems begin in the community, while others have their roots externally. The problems that begin externally, even though they aren't as large in number as those stemming from the interior, are often just as serious as any others. The problems beginning within the community should receive more attention to begin with.

The first and maybe the most important problem that should be considered is that of the so-called ghettos. Because of one excuse or the other, the Negro finds himself confined to some small area in which he must live. If a certain proposition on the ballot this election passes, this fact will definitely be substantiated because it will, in effect, legalize discrimination. In order to really get to the root of the problems of housing, the ghettos will have to be dissolved. The barriers confining the Negro will have to be broken. It must be made sure that anyone can live anywhere he is financially able. Understanding is the key that will break the barriers mentioned.

One way, the most effective way, to carry out a plan for understanding is by planning programs that will involve inter-community activities. Another method by which an understanding could be developed is by setting up civic meetings in which each community could be represented by its residents. In these meetings, problems could be discussed and acquaintances could be made.

The problem of migration and mobility is also one of the severe problems of the community of Watts in regard to housing. There should be a strong attempt made to meet the problem. Mobility contributes heavily to the high rate of property depreciation, which is one factor which attracts many migrants from out of state. Programs that will bring the community closer together are one solution to the problem. Another possibility would be to develop agencies or organizations that would have the responsibility of acquainting newly arrived residents with the community and keeping them informed in regard to what's going on in the community.

If all these things are accomplished, the outcome would be a big step toward community pride, the basic problem. A prominent organization in Watts, The Student Committee for Improvement in Watts, has made definite steps toward this goal of community pride. This organization has sponsored many successful programs and projects which will be mentioned later in the report.

B. Education and Employment

This problem of employment is very serious and very important. It could possibly, and probably will, determine what the future of Watts will be. One of the major contributing factors to the employment problem, the high school dropout, should be considered as the initial problem to be solved to at least some degree. Even though sometimes this problem is started because of financial difficulties, it can still be dealt with. Staying in school should be more mandatory than it is. Additional programs could be set up so that they would actually let the student see what an education can do for him. In other words, more emphasis could be placed on visits to various places of work. The occupations which require some college education should be the ones most concerned.

More educational programs would contribute a great deal to encouragement to receive an education. Community educational programs would be more effective than additional school programs, since the latter are so common already. They would also prove to be of more interest to the student. These programs could include a number of things: cultural programs, reading programs, enrichment programs, etc.

The community could take part in developing training programs for the unemployed. New skills could be taught in the evenings and on weekends, when the employed as well as the unemployed could be taught skills which would in turn prepare them for better jobs. It would be much easier and more convenient for the residents if an agency or program were set up within the community, and would also probably be less expensive than it would be if it were located elsewhere.

#### C. Problems in General

The only health center in Watts is located in a rather uncentral position. Its facilities aren't very adequate and there aren't many, if any, programs in progress to meet the needs of the community. Additional centers should be opened and they should be located more centrally. The present center and the suggested centers should have programs that will meet the needs of the community.

#### D. Immediate Solutions

##### 1. Developing Community Pride

Encouragement from local government agencies to the community to form civic organizations concerned with improving existing conditions of neglect and irresponsibility is one of the most effective and immediate solutions to the improving of the level of pride in Watts. When conditions of community negligence are improved by a force within the community, the people of the area feel a certain feeling of accomplishment, giving them more pride in the community. This could be the case in Watts.

A perfect example of an internal functioning community organization

which is concerned with improving the physical features of the community is the Student Committee for Improvement in Watts (SCFIW), a nonprofit organization comprised entirely of junior and senior high school students living in the area.

The goal of the Student Committee for Improvement in Watts, is to improve existing conditions of dilapidation, as stated in its name. The Student Committee felt that improving the community would not only give a better appearance to the area, but would give a lift to the pride of the community. The Committee started the improvement campaign by circulating a petition in the community to see if the community were backing the students in their effort to improve conditions, and to make the public aware of the existing problems and what could be done. Since this was the first time a plan of this sort was put into action in Watts, it aroused a great deal of interest among the inhabitants. Although there were a few people who felt the program was of no value, over 90% of the residents contacted gladly accepted the petition and signed their support to the project. During the petitioning the students managed to attain 3500 signatures of some 3800 contacted. This was indeed a successful first program on behalf of the Student Committee.

The Student Committee did not stop at merely informing the community of a desire to improve, but it also made it known to the public officials and it got action. In the petitioning and the statement which accompanied the petition (a copy of the petition and the statement is appended), three buildings were mentioned that needed improvement. One of the buildings was completely renovated, another

demolished. Although there was no action taken on the third building, the students got a taste of success.

## 2. Getting the Community Involved

The SCFIW feels that the best way to get the people of Watts to think of themselves as a real part of the community is to get them involved in some activities in which they can participate. SCFIW did this by sponsoring Watts' First Annual Civic Improvement Week (August 10-15). Civic Improvement Week was designed to give residents in Watts a chance to be active as citizens.

The momentous Civic Improvement Week kicked off August 10 with an evening parade down the main street of Watts, 103rd Street. The total number of participants in the parade, which began at Jordan High School and ended at Will Rogers Park, was approximately 150 persons. Witnessing the first-time affair were some 1,000 spectators.

Community organizations and public officials highlighted the list of participating groups. Among the public officials participating were: Councilman John Gibson (grand marshal), Richard Hernandez (representative from Mayor's office), Bill Williams (the congressman's field deputy), Captain McLinn (fire department), Captain King (police department), and the Postmaster, Leslie Shaw. Representing the community in local organizations were groups like: The Senior Citizens, Women's Watts Tower Committee, Urban League, Los Lirios (children's social club), the Junior SCFIW, and the Westminster Neighborhood Association, to mention a few. The most prominent non-Watts-located organization was the Youth Opportunities Board. There was also the cast from James Baldwin's Amen Corner, along with CORE and UCRC. Again the group

experienced success as the parade was well covered by local news media, including KTLA TV, KNXT TV, KNXT radio, KGFJ radio, and United Press International.

The agenda for the week also included an actual clean-up day, in which the students asked people to call in when they felt they needed help in cleaning up their homes. The response from the community concerning clean-up day was excellent.

The finale of Civic Improvement Week, a spectacular Family Rally, was an overwhelming success. Each event must end, and SCFIW ended Civic Improvement Week in a big way - with a variety show. (The hand bill used to inform the community is appended.) The Rally served two purposes: it gave the people of Watts a chance to participate in something worthwhile, and the donations from the Rally were to be used for a fund toward a cultural enrichment program.

The Rally ended in success, with both non-resident and community talent (program of participants appended) performing superbly for a 200-person audience. There was \$115 in donations received toward the cultural enrichment program.

Concluding the ceremonies, the SCFIW was presented with a proclamation from the Mayor of Los Angeles, congratulating the group for its work and giving approval for future Civic Improvement Weeks.

The work of this Student Committee should not be taken passively. The local and national government could certainly generate the creation of more organizations of this nature by providing funds for facilities and good programming for the groups.

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR IMPROVEMENT IN WATTS  
1811 East 115th Street, Los Angeles, California 90059

FACT: The time has come for responsible property ownership in Watts. We as students and residents in this community will no longer tolerate delapidated buildings which are scars on the face of our community. Such buildings as the Villa Maria Hotel, the Largo Theatre and Frank's Market on 103rd Street are merely monuments to absentee ownership and neglect. We had hoped that the owners of the aforementioned buildings would consider the common good of Watts and, of their own accord, initiate appropriate renovation of their property. As we all can see, however, this has not happened.

PROPOSAL:

Therefore we are asking you as a citizen of Los Angeles and a resident of Watts to support our first project. We hope that you will sign your name to this petition which seeks the conversion of the VILLA MARIA HOTEL (next to the library on 103rd Street) into a CULTURAL CENTER which will serve students as well as the family needs of our immediate community. The property upon which the hotel lingers is an ideal place for such a center. It would be the logical extension of our local community buildings beginning with the library and including the Police and Fire Stations and the Watts Health Center.

We hope that you will join with us in our first of many efforts to make Watts a decent community in which to live and learn.

Thank you,

Richard Townsend, Project Chairman  
William Armstead, Director  
Robert Mason, Co-Director

Student Committee for Improvement in Watts

(labor donated)

P E T I T I O N, Circulated by the Student Committee for Improvement in Watts  
1811 East 115th Street, Los Angeles, California 90059

We the undersigned hereby petition that the VILLA MARIA HOTEL on 103rd Street be converted into a CULTURAL CENTER serving the educational needs of the students and families of the community of Watts.

Name	Address	Phone	Check one:	
			Tenant	Owner
1.				
2.				
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# CIVIC IMPROVEMENT WEEK

LET'S GET TOGETHER ....

AUGUST 10<sup>th</sup> TO AUGUST 15<sup>th</sup>

## PARADE

AUGUST 10<sup>th</sup> 6 P.M.

Route: From Jordan High to  
Will Rogers Park down 103rd Street

## CLEAN-UP

AUGUST 13<sup>th</sup> THURSDAY

Special Big Collection August 14<sup>th</sup> Friday  
NOTE: Cleanup Yards, Tie All Loose Wood & Weeds  
In Small Bundles. Place All Trash In Front Of  
House Thursday Evening.

P. S. : If You Want Help In Putting Your Trash Out  
Call SCFIW at LO 7-9848 Before Thur. noon  
August 13<sup>th</sup>.

## FAMILY RALLY

WILL ROGERS PARK 103RD & SUCCESS

AUGUST 15<sup>th</sup> SAT. 7 P.M. - 11 P.M.

*ROSKO M.C.*

Singers, Dancers, Jazz Executive, Gospel  
Singers, Rhythm & Blues Band,  
Rock n' Roll

50c Donation at Door

Sponsored By STUDENT COMM. FOR IMPROVEMENT OF WATTS

Unemployment and Public Transportation  
in Los Angeles

by

Robert Singleton  
Chief Researcher  
Area Redevelopment  
Project

October, 1964

# Unemployment and Public Transportation in Los Angeles

By Robert Singleton

## Introduction

Most models in economic theory postulate perfect mobility of the factors of production as a necessary prerequisite to full employment equilibrium. Where this postulate breaks down, employed factors tend to be underemployed, and unemployed factors tend to remain unemployed, for longer periods of time. In reality, economists are aware that the "perfect mobility of factors" postulate does not conform to the facts of the world. The usefulness of the postulate presumably lies in its ability to help us understand the directions of change in the obstructed case by comparing it with the frictionless, or unobstructed, model. Behavioral implications of this model are borne out more reliably than are those of any alternative.

Beyond considerations of behavioral specifications of the factors themselves, there remains another problem - obstructions from such external sources as inadequate urban public services. The Final Report of the ARA project documents many such inadequacies. In this addendum we will be concerned with the impact of the patterns of urban transportation services on the factor "labor." We are especially interested in the impediments to the unemployed worker implied in transportation service differentials. Where some residential areas are served better than others in the metropolis, then unemployed workers without cars, who have exhausted all interim sources of income and who live in the poorly served areas, may be at a competitive disadvantage relative to their counterparts in better served areas. This difference would be reflected in the first instance as an increased cost of the search for re-employment, in terms of money, or time, or both,

for the less adequately served worker. Ultimately, these cost differentials would be accompanied by unemployment rate differentials and associated decreased income to the worker.

The following paragraphs will attempt to isolate some of the factors involved as impediments to the unemployed worker in his search for work. To be sure, many other forces are at work, some perhaps of greater significance than the transportation pattern. But, because of its nature as a publicly owned facility, it is the latter which is most manipulatable by the policy makers to provide immediate relief to the disadvantaged worker.

#### I. Transportation and Industrial Location

Los Angeles SMSA is one of the nation's more extreme examples of the phenomenon known as "urban sprawl." Industrial areas grow up at diverse points on the face of the area as urban growth progresses. The result has been that the city and the county have surrounded many of these areas, which, like many residential areas, have seized the option to remain, or become, independent through incorporation. Job seekers in the city and the ring are expected to travel as many as 20 miles in quest of an opportunity in their field of work. Where the job seeker is Anglo, the problem is solvable once he gets employment. He may, under most circumstances, locate near his new job and transportation ceases to be a matter of concern. Nonwhites, and in some areas, Mexican-Americans, often are forced to commute under these same circumstances, due to housing restrictions. These same barriers often serve employers, too, as the "reason" they will not consider minority group members for jobs in outlying areas. Absenteeism and tardiness rates soar when a worker is forced to travel long distances to work.

The Final Report documents some evidence of trends toward more and more centrifugation by industry in the Los Angeles area, and especially by those firms which obtain no benefit from agglomeration. As this centrifugation continues, urban transportation has incentive to keep pace only to the extent that families without second cars establish dense residence patterns near the plants, and commerce moves near to accommodate. Until the concentration reaches some threshold, not even local, independent bus lines can operate at a profit. Thus commuting or job-seeking workers without cars find it difficult to get or hold a job in these outlying areas. If there is any tendency for growth industries to locate in this way, as the writer suspects, non-car-owning job seekers and workers are at a double disadvantage. Then again, the successful job seeker can arrange for a car-pool ride. The long-term unemployed job seeker, however, is totally at the mercy of the transit systems.

Charts I and II depict the available information on the current pattern of industrial location relative to the ARA study area. Time series data would be much more enlightening, but are unfortunately not available in visual form. Chart I locates the ARA study area relative to the planning areas of the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission. Only the Southwest and East Central portions were available at the time of this writing. It can be seen from the chart that the ARA study area extends slightly into other planning areas north of these two, but most of the ARA study area is contained in the East Central planning area.

Areas of industrial location contiguous to or near the ARA study area are not all indicated since many of them lie outside the available planning



area reports. Chart II approximates the major areas. The largest begins in the tract (#2061) which forms the link between the northeastern and the larger portion of the ARA study area. From here, the industrial area extends southward and then the larger mass juts off at a right angle eastward, just below the eastward extension of the study area. The southward vector continues, with a smaller mass, along Alameda Boulevard. Unconnected islands of industrial concentration are also present in South Gate, Compton, Gardena, Torrance, and Inglewood. These are not all of the industrialized areas in the county by any means. Only the Southwest and East Central planning areas are shown, and thus the entire northern area above the northernmost boundary (marked "College Avenue") has been excluded, and vast tracts to the east of the East Central Planning Area as well.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, even in the indicated planning areas, several uninteresting islands have not been outlined due to their small area or low labor-output ratio, such as the airport to the extreme west along Century Boulevard. All in all these industrial areas are quite compact and easily visualized with respect to their relationship to the study area.

Chart III relates the study area, and by comparison, the industrial concentrations, to the major public transportation service areas. Only the "central area" of the Metropolitan Transit Authority is indicated (by the large, doughnut shaped, unstriated figure), since the various other MTA "non-central" routes as a rule receive no transfers from the MTA central area routes. This makes the non-central routes, called "inter-urban" and "crosstown" lines, effectively a separate system. They are not shown here because the added complexity takes away more from the diagram than it adds. Also not shown, but of especial importance to the female unemployed,

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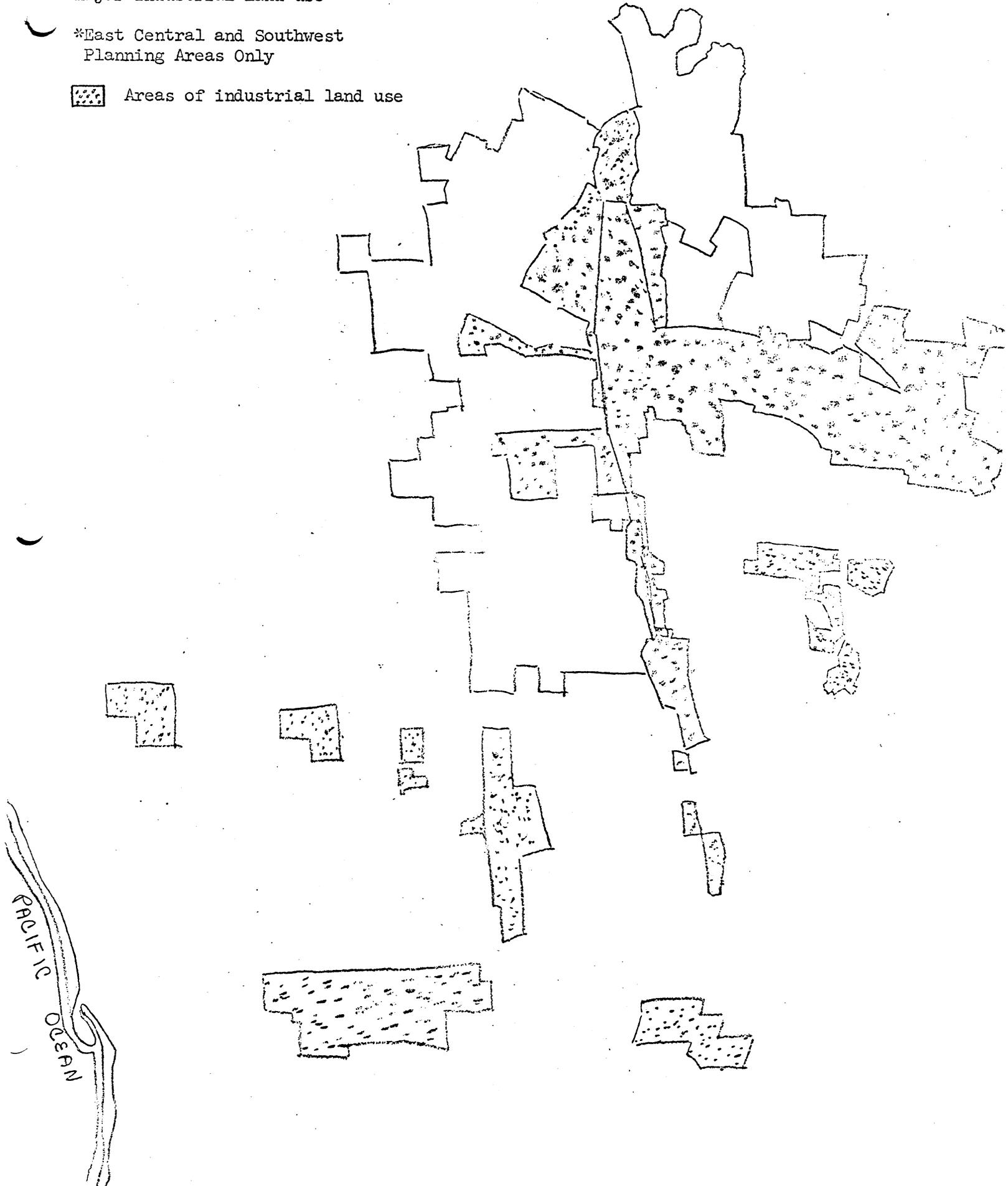
The most important of these are the areas in and near the City of Industry, these areas having been studied by the Regional Planning Commission as far back as 1956. They have been left off the present charts simply because their distance from the study area would make their reproduction a problem. The bus lines serving these areas from the study area are particularly inadequate and costly, as will be shown later.

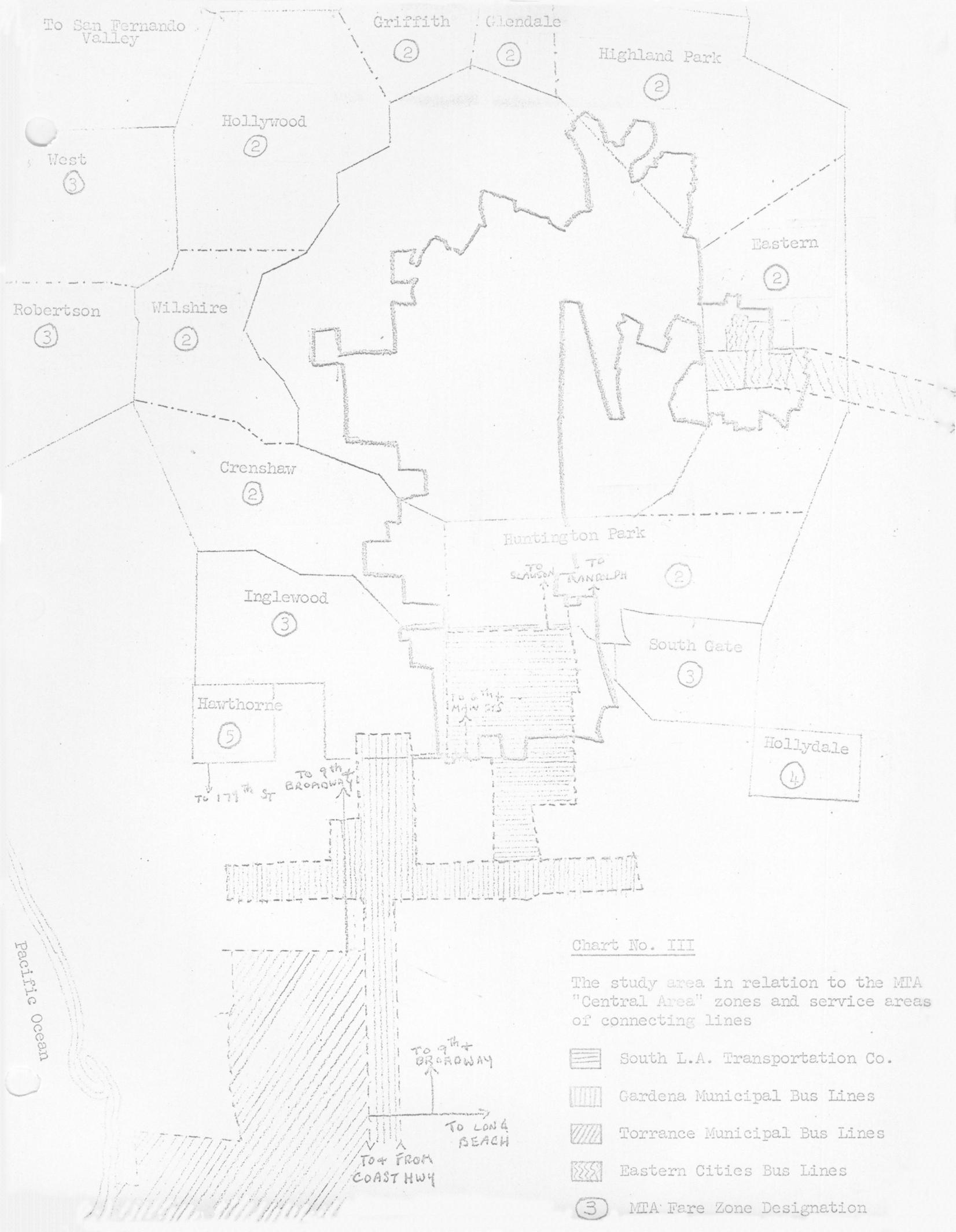
Chart No. II

The study area in relation to  
major industrial land use\*

\*East Central and Southwest  
Planning Areas Only

 Areas of industrial land use





To San Fernando Valley

Griffith Glendale

Highland Park

Hollywood

West

Eastern

Robertson

Wilshire

Crenshaw

Huntington Park

Inglewood

TO SEAWSON TO RANDOLPH

South Gate

Hawthorne

TO 9th + BROADWAY

Hollydale

TO 171th ST TO 9th + BROADWAY

Pacific Ocean

TO 9th + BROADWAY

TO LONG BEACH

TO + FROM COAST HWY

Chart No. III

The study area in relation to the MTA "Central Area" zones and service areas of connecting lines

-  South L.A. Transportation Co.
-  Gardena Municipal Bus Lines
-  Torrance Municipal Bus Lines
-  Eastern Cities Bus Lines
-  MTA Fare Zone Designation

are the San Fernando valley and "west" areas. Transfers are permitted to these lines from central area lines but the fare zones range as high as ten to the west (Pacific Palisades) and twelve to the Valley (Canoga Park, Balboa, and Sylmar). These near-prohibitive costs have given rise to the advertising of "carfare paid," in addition to rates of pay, in the employment of domestics in these areas.

MTA regular service in the Central Area varies from intense (in the hole of the doughnut, known as the "inner zone"), to thin, to none (in those pockets of non-service such as that between South Gate and Inglewood). The encircled numbers in the named segments of the doughnut are fare zone designations. Passengers are required to pay fare additions--currently 8¢ per zone--when traveling to or from the inner zone to any marked ②, and a third, fourth, or fifth addition if they continue on into areas so designated. Moreover, passengers traveling from one ② zone to another ② zone (e.g., Crenshaw to Huntington Park) are subject to the same fare addition.

Small wonder that independent lines have operated in the various pockets of non-service and relatively expensive (in terms of zone charges) routes. From these independent lines no transfer to the Metropolitan Transit Authority is permitted. Five of these are shown on Chart III. The South Los Angeles Transportation Company has filled the vacuum left by the MTA in the extreme south of the study area. Farther south, but differing from South Los Angeles in that they provide service to downtown Los Angeles, are the Gardena and Torrance Municipal Bus Lines. Whereas South Los Angeles has a single fare policy, the latter two lines have zone structures almost as elaborate as the MTA's.

East Los Angeles, too, has its independent lines serving local trip-makers. Neither of these two, the Montebello and Eastern Cities Lines, provides service into downtown Los Angeles, and like South L.A., neither charges zone increases.

#### Costs of Journey to Work

The meaning to the unemployed person of this complicated transportation pattern depends on where he lives, whether or not he owns a car, whether or not he has a source of income, etc. Some figures on the cost side were obtained through the procedure set up by the MTA to guide the confused traveler in ascertaining what routes are economical ones to take from a given point to another. These are shown in Table I, which depicts costs of traveling not to extremely distant points from the study area where workers are known to travel to work or in search thereof, but to and from that industrialized area most adjacent to the study area, which extends from Vernon to Maywood.<sup>2</sup> Centers of most intense industrial activity were chosen as destinations and residential centers in our study area were chosen as points of origin.

The higher costs shown in Table I are clearly prohibitive to the long-term unemployed. An unemployed person who has exhausted his unemployment insurance (that is, if he formerly worked in "covered" employment) can hardly maintain a car, and meet its fuel demands, in sprawling Los Angeles.

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<sup>2</sup>Examples of more distant points are the City of Industry for blue collar males and the west and valley area for domestic workers. There is only one MTA line which serves the City of Industry. It is an "interurban" line which runs only once an hour. The cost of the trip is \$1.20 each way, and the time on the average is two hours. Moreover, the bus stops only at designated points. Points of destination not conforming to these must be reached on foot (or through local lines). Fare zone multiplications to the factor "twelve," amounting to \$ .96 in addition to the 25¢ fare each way, have been discussed.

Where he can find fellow unemployed men seeking work in the same areas, a car pool arrangement can probably be worked out. But such an arrangement is nowhere near as common as are car pools among the employed.

Some of the questions raised by the above analysis were answered through a survey of unemployed men who gathered at a conference in Avalon community in Los Angeles on May 7, 1964. Five hundred questionnaires were randomly distributed to the 1500 persons, mostly Negro males, who attended. Responses relevant to this study are contained in Tables II to VIII.<sup>3</sup>

Tables II and III describe the situation with respect to the search for work of the unemployed who attended the conference. Almost 70 per cent were receiving no unemployment insurance. These persons were either never in covered employment during benefit periods or have been unemployed so long that they have exhausted those benefits for which they were eligible. Table III gives us an idea of the distribution of the employed by length of time employed. The mean is 10 months. Since the basic period of unemployment benefits is only six months (26 weeks) with a possibility of a 13-week extension in some periods, the majority of these persons are evidently without any form of income with which to finance their search for work.

Question 2 in Table II shows that 57.5 per cent of the unemployed who attended the rally own no car. Yet, according to question 1, almost 63 per cent carry on their search for work outside South Central Los Angeles (where the majority resided in the study area). These persons are evidently heavily dependent on the public transportation authorities for relative mobility.

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<sup>3</sup>This sample is probably biased, since the men who attended were obviously a select group.

Table IV shows that 85.4% of the unemployed persons who responded to the question registered blue collar work as their last mode of employment. Many reasons could be put forth concerning the conspicuous absence of white collar workers from this sample, but the relevant fact remains that job opportunities are evidently expanding least rapidly for the blue collar worker with the associated characteristics of our sample. Job sought (column 2) and job preferred (column 3) contrast in interesting ways with last job worked. Most categories register high aspirations and a desire to climb the occupational ladder.

The preponderance of workers on the bottom of the occupational distribution is partly explained by Tables V and VI, which show the state of birth and the state of prior residence, respectively, of the unemployed. The deep South is highly represented in both tables, comprising over 65% of the sample by birth and 50% by prior residence. Apparently, many of the respondents came directly to Los Angeles from the South. As out-migrants from the South, they show high selectivity, however; e.g., Table VII shows high educational attainment and Table VIII shows that in previous employment, the sample group earned a median wage of close to \$85 weekly (though only 23.7% responded that they were members of unions). The distributions are given in those tables.

Blue collar workers are presumably employed more by industry than by commerce and other city-center activities. To investigate the scattered opportunities in the former activity, the unemployed workers require a high degree of mobility. Those who are without cars and who have exhausted their interim sources of income and savings may find the high cost of metropolitan transportation, in terms of time and money, prohibitive. The

decision to remain in or leave the work force may not be completely the worker's.

Another source of data on the relative dependency of various groups in the labor force on the public transportation media, as a means of getting to work, is the Special Report of the U.S. Census Bureau on Los Angeles SMSA by Census Tract (PCH(1) - 6B). Chart IV shows very roughly the ratios of private to public transportation users as a means of travel to work, by place of residence. The pattern that these data take in the study area is interesting in that the South Central and East Los Angeles areas emerge as greater users of private automobiles as a means to work than the other sub-areas in the study area. Yet these areas are precisely those with lowest income levels. To the extent that income level is a determinant in car ownership patterns, it appears it is entirely overwhelmed by other factors.

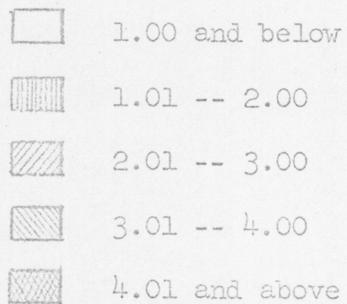
One of these factors may be the one isolated in Table IX, which was derived from another Census Publication, Special Report PC (2) - 6B, "Journey to Work." This publication gives in two tables for all SMSA's, by center city, urban ring and county, information on transportation to work by place of residence and place of work, by color and sex. Since 67.1 per cent of the Negroes in Los Angeles city live in our study area, some generalizations made on the basis of these data may be held to be two-thirds correct.

Data on means of transportation to work apply to the employed, not the unemployed segment of the labor force. But the behavior of the employed might, with qualifications, give us some insight into the behavior of the unemployed in the same area with respect to their work search.

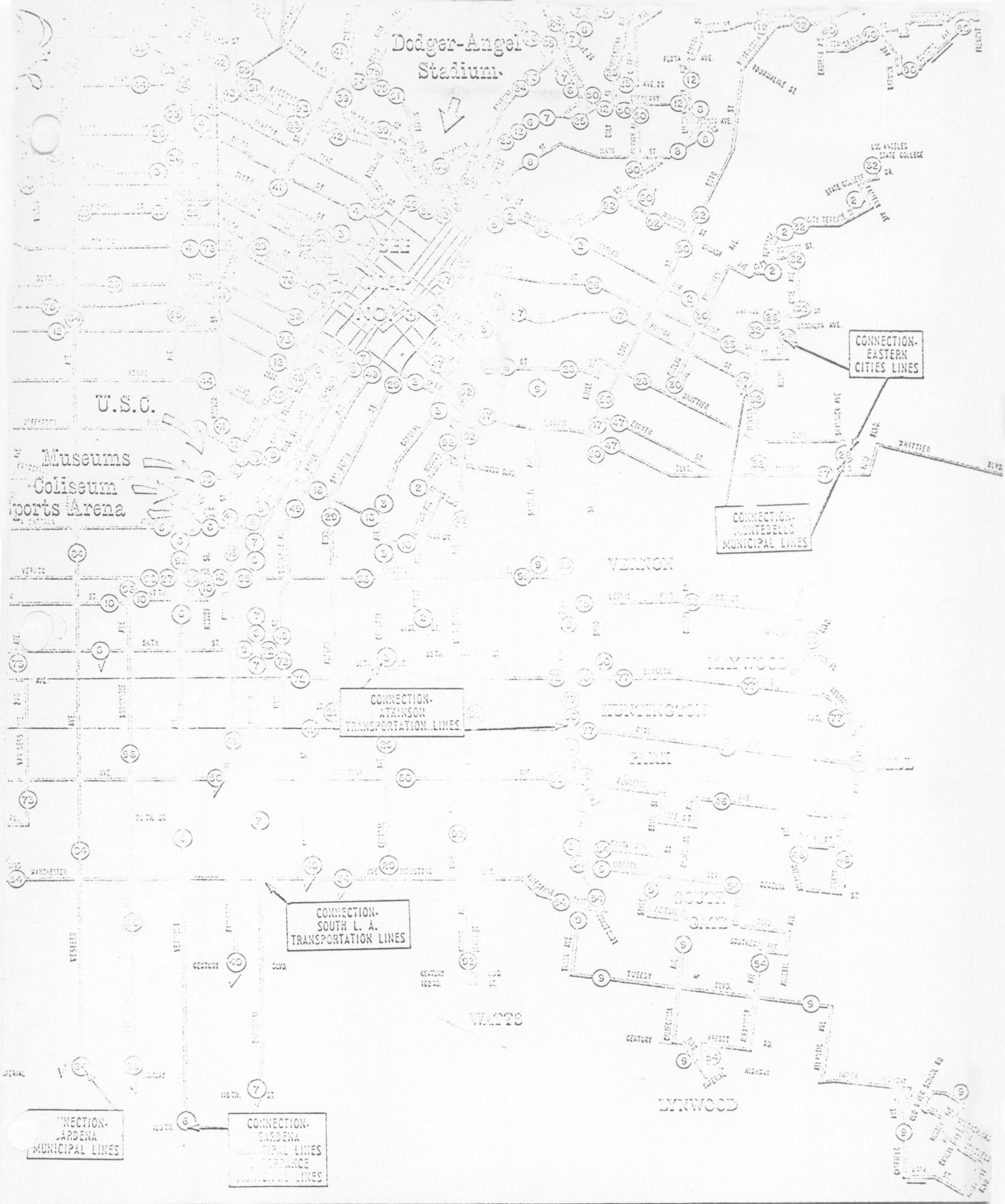
Table IX shows in column 6 the relationship between in-commuters to the city and the out-commuters from the city. White males register an excess of

Chart No. IV

The study area in relation to  
private/public means of trans-  
portation to work  
(Employed in study area)



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census,  
Census of Population, Special Report,  
Census Tract Statistics for L.A. - L.B.  
SMB: 1960



Dodger-Angel Stadium.

U.S.C.

Museums  
Coliseum  
Sports Arena

CONNECTION - EASTERN CITIES LINES

CONNECTION - MONTEBELLO MUNICIPAL LINES

CONNECTION - ATKINSON TRANSPORTATION LINES

CONNECTION - SOUTH L. A. TRANSPORTATION LINES

CONNECTION - GARDENA MUNICIPAL LINES

CONNECTION - GARDENA AIRRANCE MUNICIPAL LINES

Chart No. V  
Major Lines of MTA Service  
ARA Study Area and Adjoining Areas

the former over the latter, that is, whites tend to live outside and work inside the city. Nonwhites tend to work outside and live inside the city. Since the means of transportation outside the city limits is relatively less dense, more costly, etc., this might be an explanation for the "need" for more cars as a sole means to work for the nonwhites in the city.

The implications of this fact for the unemployed are clear. If the job opportunities for nonwhites are relatively greater outside the city, many unemployed nonwhite persons looking for work are relatively more at the mercy of the transportation system in its most inadequate areas. This might be one of the bottlenecks which cause proportionally more nonwhites to remain in the ranks of the chronically unemployed.

Table IX also provides a great deal more insight into the relative degree of dependency by color group on the public transportation facilities, by place of work and place of residence. The employed nonwhite males in the resident labor force use public transportation no more than nonwhite commuters-out, but a great deal more (25% vs 9%) than the nonwhite commuters-in. Employed nonwhite males make up 15% of the resident labor force using both public facilities and private cars as a means to work, but 25% of the resident labor force of the city using public transportation as a means. Among commuters-out of the city, nonwhites comprise 11 per cent of those using both means, but 25 per cent of those using public means. There is left no doubt that, over all the city, nonwhites are more dependent on the public transportation systems than are whites in all categories. That the reverse seems to be the case in our study area is apparently a function of the way the study area was selected on the basis of low income and unemployment (excluding many Anglo areas in the city).

Another insight is gained from Chart V which shows the important lines of service of the major system, the MTA. The areas in which service is poor or absent are also the areas of high ratio of private to public transportation means in Chart IV. This indicates that the inadequacy of service by the major line, requiring that additional fares be paid to the smaller lines serving that area locally, is a major factor in the decision to purchase cars to get to work, a decision possible for the employed, but often impossible for the long-term unemployed.

### Conclusions

It would appear that the mobility of the long-term unemployed may be especially adversely affected by the relative inadequacy of the public transportation facilities. In their search for work they are often required to travel long distances to industrialized areas. Since public transportation media are usually residence-density and commerce-density oriented, and since whites predominate in commerce and in many other city-center activities, predominantly blue collar nonwhites are particularly disadvantaged by the present arrangement of transportation media.

A study should be made of the adequacy of transportation facilities to industrial areas, in relation to those groups who seek work in these industries and who register a high index of unemployment. If the correlation of unemployment and transportation inadequacy is positive, transportation authorities should recognize the costs to the area of maintaining a high rate of unemployment, and put this into the equation when considering the possibilities for expanding service to industrialized areas such as the City of Industry.

Currently, school children and senior citizens are permitted fare reductions on the public transportation media. It would appear to be a small extension of present policy to include in this plan unemployed persons who are actively seeking work. This would reduce the costs of the search for work, give incentive to the unemployed to stay in the labor force, and, if it increases mobility of the worker, would probably reduce the costs to the state and the nation of maintaining the long-term unemployed. Such a policy should be given extensive publicity.

Future unemployment studies, especially those computing unemployment rates for the area, might do well to filter out the resident labor force of the city as a purer basis for determining the rate of unemployment for those whose incomes ultimately go to filling the tax coffers and gross domestic expenditures of the city, a more meaningful figure in this writer's opinion than one incorporating the status of the in-commuter who spends his income and pays his taxes outside the city.

Table I

COSTS OF JOURNEY TO AND FROM WORK --  
 SPECIFIED PLACES OF RESIDENCE WITHIN  
 THE STUDY AREA

<u>Place of Work</u>	<u>Soto and Leonis</u>	<u>Atlantic and Washington</u>	<u>Slauson and Garfield</u>	<u>Atlantic and Firestone</u>
Santa Barbara and Central	\$ .50	\$1.16	\$1.16	\$1.16
Florence and Central	.66	1.32	1.32	1.16
108th and Wilmington	.96	1.46	1.78	.80
Eastern and Third Street	.84	.84	1.66	1.16

Source: Metropolitan Transit Authority telephone information service

TABLE II

## Unemployment And The Search for Work

	YES	%	NO	%	N.R.	%
1. "Do you ever look for work outside South Central Los Angeles?"	223	62.8	132	37.2	0	0.0
2. "Do you own a car?" (See attachment on year and type.)	142	40.0	204	57.5	9	2.5
3. "Are you getting UI benefits at present?"	100	28.2	245	69.0	10	2.8

Source: Responses to a questionnaire distributed to unemployed men at a conference, May 7, 1964.

TABLE III

Length of Time Unemployed

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
a. Under 1 month. . . . .	11. . . . .	3.1
b. 1 month - 3 months . . . .	47. . . . .	13.2
c. 3 months - 6 months. . . .	63. . . . .	17.7
d. 6 months - 1 year. . . . .	97. . . . .	27.3
e. 1 year - 2 years . . . . .	60. . . . .	16.9
f. 2 years - 3 years. . . . .	30. . . . .	8.5
g. 3 years plus . . . . .	28. . . . .	7.9
h. N.R. or employed . . . . .	<u>19.</u> . . . . .	<u>5.4</u>
TOTAL	355	100.0

Mean: 10 months unemployed

Source: Responses to a questionnaire distributed to unemployed men at a conference, May 7, 1964.

TABLE IV

Occupation of The Unemployed

	LAST JOB		JOB LOOKING FOR		JOB CHOICE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers.....	5	2.1	8	2.3	31	8.8
Clerical and Kindred Workers.....	16	6.8	35	9.8	52	14.7
Sales Workers.....	0	0	5	1.3	5	1.3
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers.....	20	8.5	64	18.0	55	15.4
Operatives and Kindred Workers.....	24	10.3	45	12.9	59	16.6
Service Workers.....	51	21.8	106	29.9	61	17.2
Laborers.....	27	11.6	27	7.5	40	11.3
(N.R.).....	91	38.9	65	18.3	52	14.7
TOTAL.....	234	100.0	355	100.0	355	100.0

Source: Responses to a questionnaire distributed to unemployed men at a conference, May 7, 1964.

TABLE V

Place of Birth of The Unemployed

	<u>NO.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Louisiana	83	23.4
2. Texas	73	20.6
3. California	39	11.0
4. Arkansas	25	7.0
5. Mississippi	23	6.5
6. Alabama	22	6.2
7. Oklahoma	16	4.5
8. Tennessee	10	2.8
9. Illinois	6	1.7
10. Pennsylvania	6	1.7
11. Missouri	5	1.4
12. Iowa	4	1.1
13. New York	4	1.1
14. Arizona	3	.8
15. Florida	3	.8
16. Georgia	3	.8
17. Michigan	3	.8
18. North Carolina	3	.8
19. Ohio	3	.8
20. Colorado	2	.6
21. Indiana	2	.6
22. Kansas	2	.6
23. New Jersey	2	.6
24. South Carolina	2	.6
25. Alaska	1	.3
26. Idaho	1	.3
27. Maine	1	.3
28. Maryland	1	.3
29. Minnesota	1	.3
30. Utah	1	.3
31. Mexico	2	.6
32. England	1	.3
33. Panama	1	.3
No Answer	1	.3
TOTAL	355	100.0

Source: Responses to a questionnaire distributed to unemployed men at a conference, May 7, 1964.

TABLE VI

## Prior Residence of The Unemployed

	<u>NO.</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Louisiana	65	18.3
2. Texas	60	16.9
3. *California	24	6.8
4. Arkansas	20	5.6
5. Oklahoma	17	4.8
6. Mississippi	17	4.8
7. Alabama	13	3.7
8. Michigan	11	3.1
9. Illinois	10	2.8
10. Missouri	10	2.8
11. Arizona	9	2.5
12. Ohio	8	2.3
13. Tennessee	7	2.0
14. New Mexico	5	1.4
15. New York	5	1.4
16. Colorado	4	1.1
17. Florida	4	1.1
18. Indiana	4	1.1
19. Minnesota	3	.8
20. Pennsylvania	3	.8
21. Iowa	2	.6
22. Maine	2	.6
23. Maryland	2	.6
24. North Carolina	2	.6
25. Wisconsin	2	.6
26. Alaska	1	.3
27. Idaho	1	.3
28. Massachusetts	1	.3
29. Montana	1	.3
30. Nevada	1	.3
31. Bahamas	1	.3
32. England	1	.3
33. Germany	1	.3
34. Mexico	1	.3
35. Panama	1	.3
36. "Europe"	1	.3
37. Armed Services	6	1.7
*No Answer	28	7.9
TOTAL	355	100.0

(\*Those answering "California" on this question, along with "No Answer" probably did not understand the question. Chances are a large proportion of them were born in California.)

Source: Responses to a questionnaire distributed to unemployed men at a conference, May 7, 1964.

TABLE VII

## Educational Attainment of The Unemployed

<u>Grade:</u>	<u>No:</u>	<u>%</u>
No School Years Completed	16	4.5
Elementary: 1 - 4 years	18	5.0
5 - 7 years	33	9.3
8 years	32	9.0
High School: 1 - 3 years	104	29.3
4 years	112	31.6
College: 1 - 3 years	36	10.2
4 years or more	4	1.1
TOTAL:	355	100.0
Still in School	5	1.4

Median School years completed: 10.4

Source: Responses to a questionnaire distributed to unemployed men at a conference, May 7, 1964.

TABLE VIII

Prior Earnings of The Unemployed

	<u>NO:</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Under \$25/week	10	2.8
2. \$25 - \$49/week	34	9.6
3. \$50 - \$74/week	86	24.2
4. \$75 - \$99/week	107	30.1
5. \$100 - \$124/week	58	16.3
6. \$125 - \$149/week	37	10.4
7. \$150 - over	6	1.7
8. No answer	17	4.8

Median - \$84.53

TOTAL:                      355                      100.0%

Source: Responses to a questionnaire distributed to unemployed men at a conference, May 7, 1964.

Table IX

Means of Transportation to work, color, and sex	City Residents Working outside (Out-commuters) (2)		Nonresidents working in city (In-commuters) (3)	Total Residents (1 + 2)	Total City Labor Force (1 + 3)	Excess of in- over out-commuters (3 - 2)
	in city (Resident labor force) (1)	%				
Public Transportation	43,243	5,420	10,533	48,663	53,776	5,113
White Males	32,462	4,052	9,559	36,514	42,021	5,507
Nonwhite Males	10,781	1,368	974	12,149	11,755	-394
Private Auto and Carpools	406,778	155,159	261,482	561,537	668,560	106,323
White Males	351,540	138,210	248,714	489,750	600,254	110,504
Nonwhite Males	55,238	16,949	12,768	72,187	68,006	-4,181
Total, Both Means	450,021	160,579	272,015	610,600	622,036	111,436
White Males	384,002	142,262	258,273	526,264	642,275	116,011
Nonwhite Males	66,019	18,317	13,742	84,336	79,761	-4,575
Public/Both Means	9.6	3.4	3.9	8.0	8.6	4.6
White Males	8.4	2.8	3.7	6.9	6.5	4.7
Nonwhite Males	16.3	7.5	7.1	14.4	14.7	8.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Journey to Work.  
Final Report PC(2)-6B. Table 2-Metropolitan Status and Location Relationships and Place of  
Work of Workers: 1960.

MAJOR FACTORS IN INDUSTRIAL LOCATION

By Joel D. Leidner  
July, 1964

The following is the result of 125 interviews with executives in various firms which have recently changed location (see appendix VII). I conducted the interviews by telephone and correspondence after sending a letter to each of the employers, on the stationery of the Economic Development Agency of Greater Los Angeles, explaining the purpose of our project and my inquiries. As the responses of the 125 interviews were consistent with the responses of 22 employers I interviewed in person, and were much more easily categorized, the statistics in the appendices are the results only of the last 125 interviews.

That the industrially zoned property in the study area is prime industrial property is reflected in the responses given by those who have moved out of the study area and those who chose not to locate in the study area when they had previously been established outside the area. If there were no extrinsic value to that location, the value-cost of the land would be no greater per square foot than land in Lynwood, Maywood, Downey, or any other community. As indicated by a previous report (see text of final ARA report) containing the approximate cost of land per square foot in the study area, in addition to this verbal corroboration, the desirability of locating in or near the study area for certain enterprises is readily apparent. However, twenty-nine of the thirty-three businessmen who had moved out of the study area and forty-five of the sixty-five businessmen who had previously been located outside the study area and again chose to relocate outside that area stated that the price of land was a major factor in their choice to locate thusly (see Appendices I and III).

One employer noted that, for the price at which he sold his old land and building, he bought a new building three times the size of the old one in a newly developing industrial area. Others did not sell their buildings but leased them at such a high rent that it paid the mortgage on their new facility. The firm which moved into the vacated structure was usually one which had no reputation and therefore had to weigh location (proximity to downtown and consequent contact with customers) against expense.

If the cost of the land can be met, the most frequently mentioned reason for avoiding the study area is the scarcity, if not absence, of vacant land and/or facilities large enough to house an expanding industry. Thirty-two of the thirty-three who have moved out of the study area and forty-eight of the sixty-five who were located outside the study area and have chosen to relocate outside the area gave as a reason for their choice "the lack of a building or vacant lot in the study area large enough to house their operation" (see Appendices I and III). The size of the buildings into which expanding industries are moving is generally more than 10,000 square feet (see Appendix V). The three movements in the study area of 35,000 square-foot building industries are on Alameda Street, the eastern boundary of the study area. The two movements of 20,000-24,999 square-foot building industries are into two-story industrial buildings, as is the 40,000-44,999 square-foot building move. The eastern part of the study area still has some vacant land, but the price of this prime vacant land is \$2.50 per square foot and up. The industries which have moved out of the study area have paid \$.80 per sq. ft. up to \$1.25 per sq. ft. and have bought large enough tracts to build one-story 10,000 through 200,000 sq. ft. facilities. Of course, the cost of building a

one-story structure is a consideration. A one-story industrial structure, complete with sprinkler system and air conditioning, costs from five to seven dollars a sq. ft. A multi-story industrial building, which could house as heavy an industry on the fourth floor as on the first, costs from eleven to thirteen dollars a sq. ft.

Complicating the building of multi-story buildings of (for example) 20,000 sq. ft. on each of four stories is the requirement of one parking space for each 500 sq. ft. The one exception to the parking rule is on warehouse use. The requirement of one space for each 500 sq. ft. is the same to 10,000 sq. ft. of this use. It then becomes a requirement of one space for every 5000 sq. ft. Also, there is an area designated as the Downtown area, having the boundaries of Figueroa, Central, Venice, and Sunset, in which the parking requirement is one space for each 1000 sq. ft. beginning with 7,500 sq. ft. This requirement was instituted in 1950 and covers M-1-2-3 land. The present out-of-Downtown-area regulation of one space for every 500 sq. ft. was instituted in 1958.

If the upper two floors of a four-story building are to be used as an office or are completely automated, certainly the parking requirement would discourage a potential mover to the study area. If, instead of having a blanket policy of one parking space for every 500 sq. ft. (a requirement, incidentally, which is more demanding than the parking requirements for apartment houses), a more flexible parking requirement were instituted (perhaps based on use and number of employees), the reluctance of industries to enter Los Angeles proper might be partially allayed. If a building contains 35,000 sq. ft., employs only six people, and has an average of two visitors a month, enforcement of the law of one parking space for every 500 sq. ft. is a very unrealistic requirement.

If, on the other hand, this same building is also used for display and has an average of twenty-five visitors a day, the parking regulation could easily be adjusted to this use.

As can easily be seen, industries erecting new buildings could misrepresent the number of parking spaces required. Investigation of their claims as to the number of parking spaces they require could be handled by the already established apparatus of the City Planning Commission in conjunction with the Research Division of the California Department of Employment.

It is significant that there are whole streets and sections in the study area which are for lease, rent, and sale -- vacant buildings under 5000 sq. ft. One choice which is not given on the signs of any of these small buildings is "Build to suit." There are three reasons for this: (1) the cost of tearing down the existing structure is prohibitive; (2) the building usually has a loan against it which must be paid off before the building is demolished (although there are many ways to circumvent this); and, most important, (3) the size of the lot on which the building is standing is usually a maximum of 50' x 150'.

This last reason bears some examination. With a total lot space of 7500 sq. ft., there is a total usable area of 7500 sq. ft. at the most. This is figured on the basis of no setback. If the building is 7500 sq. ft., fifteen parking spaces, each 144 sq. ft. or a total of 2160 sq. ft., would be required. This could, of course, be subterranean parking, but the cost of digging for only fifteen parking spaces is prohibitive. This parking could be provided on an adjacent lot, but there are seldom any vacant adjacent lots. Ultimately the only economically feasible thing to do (and at this stage it isn't very feasible) is to build a facility of 5340 sq. ft., about the size of the existing structure.

The advantage of the existing structure is that it was probably built before the strict zoning regulations came into being. This means that such items as setbacks and parking were ignored.

The Los Angeles Municipal Code, Section 1223:a:6 provides that by June 1, 1966 all non-conforming structures must either be altered to conform with the zoning regulations promulgated in 1958, or be torn down. This provision, however, only applies to non-conforming structures and uses in R zoned areas -- not in C, CM, or M zoned areas. Lack of provision for the conformance of industry to the regulations of its zone is obviously an attempt to keep existing industry intact. In point of fact, the exclusion of M zones to keep industry is self-defeating. It is precisely those requirements of sufficiently wide streets for large, modern trucks, sufficiently strong buildings for the weight of heavy machines, sufficiently large buildings for expanding industries and sufficient control to enforce compliance with these and other regulations that make areas other than downtown Los Angeles attractive.

When the buildings are made to conform, indeed, even before, the land on which they are standing becomes more valuable. The most valuable land in the study area is the vacant land. The dollar value of the land, however, is an insignificant factor when the structure on it is outmoded for use by expanding industries. The occupants of these buildings are usually lessors as opposed to owners. The value of the land is a fixed feature. The cost of construction is somewhat variable, depending on the number of floors to be built. In brief, if five or six owners of lots of 50' x 150' got together, demolished their nearly useless structures and erected a three, four, or five story industrial building of 35,000 sq. ft. on each level, the remaining land could hold a multi-level

structure with parking on the upper levels and warehousing on the lower, and the rents they would collect by the nature of their location would bring them a very high return on their investment. There are two possible problems in carrying out such a plan: (1) the lack of cooperation among the owners of adjacent parcels; and (2) the lending policies of financial institutions on such property.

Lack of cooperation among different land owners can, of course, be overcome by forming corporations, one buying the other out, and so forth. The lending policies of financial institutions are a bit more difficult to overcome. A four-story industrial facility with 35,000 sq. ft. of floor space on each story will cost approximately \$1,420,000. Of this, financial institutions will require at least  $\frac{1}{4}$  down if they will consider lending on it at all. Such a structure would be economically competitive with a one-story industrial structure having the same square footage built on vacant land. In addition, it would have the advantage of location. In addition to the general unwillingness of financial institutions to lend such a sum on this type of structure, there is the cost of the loan itself which may be as much as four points. A federally-financed industrial building fund charging no points and small rate of interest would, in fact, not be competing with private institutions, but would be filling a gap which they do not choose to fill themselves.

Although South Central and East Los Angeles are prime industrial areas, they (primarily the former) have one drawback which was mentioned by 23 of the thirty-three employers interviewed who had moved from the study area to outside the study area, and by 38 of the sixty-five employers interviewed who had been

located outside the study area and again chose to locate outside: lack of accessibility to freeways other than the Harbor Freeway without going through the interchange. One employer who is moving to Oxnard noted that he could get to downtown Los Angeles as quickly from his future location as he could from his past location in Venice.

Speed and ease of movement from point to point are important not only in terms of ready accessibility to customers, but also in computing transportation costs. The Public Utilities Commission of California has recently revised the tariff schedules on some goods and will soon deal with Tariff No. 5, General Commodities. Of particular importance in its decision to revise tariffs was the flurry of freeway construction in the Southland. In revising point to point and mileage tariffs it will take into consideration not only the distance to be traversed, but the length of time now necessary to go from one point to another. Therefore, although it may be that the distance from Glendale to Santa Ana is five miles greater using the new Golden State freeway, the time it takes to get from Glendale to Santa Ana might be shortened by a half-hour. This would mean a downward revision in the minimum tariff.

In general, interviewees have emphasized the desirability of locating near the Santa Monica, Santa Ana, or Golden State Freeways so that they could make connections with other freeways without having to brave the congestion of Downtown Los Angeles (see Appendix IX). It is not only possible, therefore, but highly probably that one approach to the problem of stimulation of industry in the South Central and East Los Angeles portions would be the building of freeways which would connect with the Santa Ana, San Bernardino, Golden State, and other freeways without having to pass through the interchange. The Region:

Planning Commission maps of the study area project the construction of such freeways. When I spoke with Messrs. Kenneth Topping and Russell Chase, director and assistant director of the Regional Planning Commission, they said that they "really didn't know what course future freeway construction would take." On the basis of the interviews of employers I would recommend that strong consideration be given to the construction of freeways which will bypass the interchange and connect with the Santa Ana, San Bernardino, and San Diego Freeways.

It should be noted that there are railroads running through and near the study area, including spur lines to specific industrially-zoned sections of the study area. While the importance of the railroad cannot be underrated as a major factor in the former industrial development of the study area, most of the employers interviewed stated that they now relied almost entirely on highway carriers. The 1963 edition of the Statistical Abstract of California shows that while railroad revenues have increased 289.7% from 1940-1962, highway revenues have increased 964.6%. In 1962 highway revenues were more than seven times greater than railroad revenues. The Southern Pacific Railroad has tracks running along Exposition Blvd. to San Pedro Street and then along 31st Street, in addition to tracks along Alameda Street. The Santa Fe Railroad has tracks which parallel Washington Blvd. There are other smaller segments of track, but, in relation to their capacity to handle traffic, they are nearly unused. The types of industries which had formerly utilized the railroads extensively have turned to highway carriers. Those industries which still utilize the railroads (e.g., heavy steel) have tended to move out of the study area because of such factors as zoning restrictions, changeability of regulations,

inadequate size of vacant land, etc. Significantly, the newer industrial areas also have extensive track mileage, but the types of industries moving to these areas are users of railroads. Therefore, in considering stimulation of industry in the study area, additional railroad tracks are not even a factor.

With the movement of heavy industry toward the open-landed eastern periphery of Los Angeles comes, of course, a movement of the job skills required by these industries. It has been determined that the skill level of the people in the study area is very low. (The number of skilled and semi-skilled workers required by industries moving from outside the study area to outside the study area is over three and one-half times the number of unskilled workers required. On the other hand, the number of skilled and semi-skilled workers required by industries moving within the study area or into the study area is nearly one-half the number of unskilled workers.) The presence of a large unskilled labor market in the study area was undoubtedly a motivating factor for the location of some industries in the study area. The nature of the industries which have chosen to locate there (see Appendix VII) would demonstrate this rather clearly. On the other hand, no employer who has moved out of the study area has indicated that he has any fear of not being able to find an unskilled labor force near the place to which he is moving. Most, in fact, indicated that they expected to take their entire labor force with them, including unskilled labor. One cosmetics manufacturer moving to Long Beach noted that he was losing a large part of his unskilled labor force but had no fear of being shorthanded. The major source of unskilled labor remains, nevertheless, the people of the study area. Industries utilizing a large proportion of unskilled labor could easily be attracted to the study area if adequate facilities and transportation could be provided.

As a result of the foregoing, the following steps to stimulate industrial development of the study area are indicated: demolition of existing small structures; erection of large, multi-level structures; and construction of freeways connecting with the San Bernardino, Santa Ana, Golden State, and other freeways without going through the interchange.

## APPENDICES

Note: Most of the respondents gave more than one reason for their movement, so that when a businessman said, for example, that he moved because of the high price of and inadequate size of a facility in the study area, in addition to high taxes, I credited him with all three reasons. This applies to Appendices I, II, III, IV, and IX.

## APPENDIX I

Reasons given for relocating by those industries which have moved out of the study area.

1. Lack of a sufficiently large facility in the study area - 32.
2. The high cost of land and buildings in the study area - 29.
3. Lack of accessibility to freeways other than the Harbor without using the interchange - 23.
4. Lack of a large plot of vacant land - 22.
5. The study area was no longer the center of their market - 9.
6. Taxes too high in study area - 8.

Total 33 moving from the study area to outside the study area. Total interviews 33.

## APPENDIX II

Reasons for movement given by those employers moving within the study area.

1. To be readily accessible to buyers who demand seeing their wares - 9
2. To be readily accessible to customers in situations requiring fast pickup and delivery - 4.
3. Business services which must be close to the heart of the office district - 5.
4. Banks and commercial institutions which need to be located near the center of business - 3.
5. Other - 3.
6. Medical center which chose the location on the basis of being needed - 1.
7. Having an established retail trade and a name in the area - 1.

Total movements 26. Total interviews 26.

### APPENDIX III

Reasons for choice of location of those moving from outside the study area to outside the study area.

1. Large size and availability of land and/or facility - 48. See also breakdown of building sizes.
2. Cost of land and/or facility - 45.
3. Accessibility to freeways - 38. See also breakdown of freeway desirability.
4. Taxes - 8.
5. Location central to present and anticipated markets - 16.
6. Employee consideration - 13.
7. Other - e.g., franchise for an area - 8.

Total movements 86. Total interviews 65.

#### APPENDIX IV

Reasons of those moving from outside the study area to inside the study area.

1. Consolidation of two complementary operations under one roof where each operation requires a large ready supply of unskilled labor.  
Facility on a long term lease.
2. Moved from tract adjoining 2312 (S.A. tract) to large quarters while retaining proximity to buyers.

Actually only one firm which I interviewed.

APPENDIX V

Sizes of Buildings Into Which Businesses Have Moved

	Outside Study Area	Inside Study Area
Under 5000 sq. ft.	5	2
5000-5999	0	1
6000-6999	2	0
7000-7999	4	0
8000-8999	0	0
9000-9999	1	0
10,000-10,999	5	2
11,000-11,999	1	0
12,000-12,999	2	0
13,000-13,999	1	0
14,000-14,999	1	0
15,000-15,999	4	0
16,000-16,999	0	1
17,000-17,999	0	0
18,000-18,999	0	0
19,000-19,999	1	0
20,000-24,999	13	2
25,000-29,999	5	1
30,000-34,999	6	1
35,000-39,999	1	3
40,000-44,999	3	1
45,000-49,999	1	0
50,000-74,999	7	0
75,000-99,999	1	0
100,000-149,999	3	0
150,000-199,999	4	0
200,000 and over	2	0

Note: Two industries moving into a 35,000 sq. ft. structure in the study area are moving into a two-story structure at 6900 Alameda. The other large buildings in the study area are new and in East Los Angeles.

APPENDIX VI

Location of Firms.

geles (S.A. included)	53	Monterey Park	1
ra	5	La Mirada	4
Anaheim	1	Newbury Park	1
Buena Park	2	Orange	5
Burbank	1	Oxnard	1
Chatsworth	1	Pacoima	1
Commerce	8	Paramount	1
Compton	3	Pasadena	3
Culver City	1	Pico Rivera	3
Domingues	1	Santa Barbara	1
El Cajon	1	Santa Fe Springs	4
El Segundo	4	El Sereno	1
El Monte	4	Sherman Oaks	1
Fullerton	1	San Gabriel	1
Garden Grove	1	South Gate	2
Gardena	4	Santa Monica	1
Glendale	8	Study Area only	28
Huntington Park	1	Sun Valley	2
Highland Park	3	Torrance	3
Industry	5	Unknown	3
Inglewood	1	University City	1
La Habra	1	Van Nuys	4
Long Beach	2	Vernon	4
Lynwood	4	Void	2
Montebello	1	Whittier	1

Source: Total 168 movements from July 1, 1963 to April 1, 1964 as reported by Business Extension Bureau, 1335 S. Flower, Los Angeles.

## APPENDIX VII

### Movement by Industry

	OTO	ATO	ATA	OTA
Construction	5	1	0	0
Manufacturing				
Durable Goods				
Miscellaneous wood products	0	1	0	0
Furniture and fixtures	5	8	3	0
Primary iron and steel industries	1	0	0	0
Fabricated metal industries	13	4	3	0
Machinery except electrical	2	0	0	0
Electrical machinery, equipment and supplies	10	1	0	0
Aircraft and parts	4	0	0	0
Other durable goods	3	1	0	0
Nondurable goods				
Other food industries	2	1	0	0
Yarn, thread, and fabric mills	2	0	2	0
Apparel and other fabricated textile products	2	4	5	1
Paper and allied products	1	0	0	0
Printing, publishing and allied	2	0	3	0
Chemicals and allied products	2	0	0	0
Petroleum and coal products	2	2	0	0
Rubber and miscellaneous plastic products	6	0	0	0
All other nondurable goods	1	1	0	0
Wholesale and Retail Trade				
Wholesale trade	9	2	4	0
Furniture and equipment stores				
Hardware, farm implement, building material retail	2	0	0	0
All other retail trade	2	0	0	0
Finance, insurance and real estate	1	0	0	0
Banking and other finances	1	0	3	0
Business and repair services				
Miscellaneous repair services	1	0	0	0
Business services	1	2	2	0
All other personal services	1	0	0	0
Medical and other health services	0	0	2	0
Legal, engineering and miscellaneous professional services	2	0	2	0

**Key:**

OTO means those who have moved from outside the study area to outside the study area.

ATO means those who have moved from the study area to outside the study area.

ATA means those who have moved from inside the study area to inside the study area.

OTA means those who have moved from outside the study area to inside the study area.

## APPENDIX VIII

Standard Industrial Classification Numbers and type of firms locating in the study area.

2323 - neckwear  
2331 - clothing  
2395 - quilters  
2511 - furniture manufacturers  
2591 - drapery manufacturers  
2782 - bindery  
3642 - lamp manufacturers  
3987 - lamp shades  
5013 - engine bearings  
5035 - clothing manufacturers  
5063 - light manufacturers  
5082 - postal meters  
5097 - wholesale jewelry  
5099 - wholesale carpets  
6711 - financial  
7319 - direct mail advertising  
8911 - engineering

Source: Industries for which SIC numbers were available. Those industries which employ ten or more people and have moved within Los Angeles and environs from July 1, 1963 to April 1, 1964, as collected by the Business Extension Bureau, 1335 S. Flower.

APPENDIX IX

Freeways toward which employers have stated they have moved.

Santa Ana	21
Golden State	12
San Bernardino	9
San Diego	9
The Interchange	9
Long Beach	7
Harbor	5
Pasadena	3
Ventura	3
Santa Monica	3
Anaheim	1
Riverside	1

APPENDIX X

Predominant skill levels of employees of moving industries.

	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
Moving from outside study area to outside study area	25	8	3
Moving from inside study area to outside study area	9	5	6
Moving from inside study area to inside study area	6	6	6
Moving from outside study area to inside study area	0	0	1
Total	40	19	16

Note: Only seventy-five of the one hundred and twenty-five interviewed reported a dominant requirement of one skill level. The others required varying numbers of two or more skill levels.

APPENDIX XI

Dollars of freight charged per year in millions. From Statistical Abstract of the State of California, 1963.

	Railroads	Highway carriers
1940	\$ 38.25	\$ 82.56
1941	46.75	108.14
1942	57.52	128.47
1943	66.30	148.53
1944	72.53	168.47
1945	72.35	185.99
1946	67.13	224.74
1947	81.90	254.90
1948	91.94	272.41
1949	80.05	270.93
1950	90.23	312.50
1951	94.24	366.31
1952	97.61	400.73
1953	97.56	438.20
1954	96.74	450.73
1955	100.97	508.31
1956	99.17	561.39
1957	94.38	554.84
1958	89.84	577.51
1959	104.65	659.00
1960	98.22	670.85
1961	99.47	728.67
1962	110.81	796.40
	<u>289.70%</u> increase from 1940 to 1962	<u>964.63%</u> increase from 1940 to 1962

APPENDIX XIII

The sizes of buildings into which the relocating industries are moving,  
by type of industry.

	Under 5000 sq. ft.	5000- 14,999	15,000- 24,999	25,000- 34,999	35,000- 74,999	75,000 and over
Construction						
Manufacturing						
Durable goods						
Miscellaneous wood products			01			
Furniture and fixtures		01	02	01,A1	01,A3	01
Primary iron and steel industries						01
Fab'd. metal industries (incl. not spec. metal)	A1,01	A1,02		01,A1	01	03
Machinery, except electrical						
Electrical machinery, equip. & supplies	01	01	03	02	01	
Aircraft and parts		01		01	01	
Other durable goods		02				
Nondurable goods						
Other food industries			02			01
Yarn, thread, and fabric mills			01			
Apparel and other Fab'd. textile products	01,A1	A2	A1	01,A1	01	
Paper and allied products						
Printing, publishing and allied	A1		A1			
Chemicals and allied products			02			
Petroleum and coal products					01	
Rubber and misc. plastic products		01			01	01
All other nondurable goods						
Wholesale and retail trade						
Wholesale trade	01	A1,02		01,A2	A1,02	02
Retail trade						
Hardware, farm implement, bldg. material retail					01	
All other retail trade	01	01				
Finance, insurance, and real estate						
Banking and other finance						
Business and repair services						
Business services			01,A2		01	
Miscellaneous repair services		01				
Personal services						
All other personal services						
Medical and other health services			A1			
Legal, engineering and misc. pro- fessional services		01				
Testing laboratories		01				
Total	05,A3	01 <sup>1</sup> ,A4	012, A5	07, A5	011,A4	09

Note: O refers to outside the study area, A refers to inside the study area. The numeral following the A or the O refers to the number of movements.

**A SURVEY OF CHICAGO'S REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS**

By Paul Bullock

July, 1964

# A Survey of Chicago's Redevelopment Programs

By Paul Bullock

## I. Introduction

This report presents the findings and observations which emerge from approximately a dozen interviews conducted by the writer in the city of Chicago during the week of June 22, 1964. Representatives of the following agencies or organizations were interviewed at that time:

Chicago Housing Authority  
City Department of Urban Renewal  
Community Renewal Program  
Mayor's Committee for the Cultural and Economic  
Development of Chicago  
Chicago Urban League  
Institute of Metropolitan Studies  
Center for Urban Studies, University of Chicago  
Industrial Areas Foundation  
Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference  
The Woodlawn Organization

The major purpose of these interviews was to inquire into the problems of community redevelopment in Chicago and to ascertain whether solutions have been developed there which might be relevant to our own interests in Los Angeles. Of particular interest was the experience of Chicago in meeting the problems of families in low-income Negro areas which have traditionally benefitted little, if at all, from conventional programs of urban renewal. Where possible, interviewees were asked to provide written materials describing the functions of their organizations and the nature of ongoing programs.

The Chicago area offers an unusually appropriate laboratory for exploration of such questions because, unlike Los Angeles, it has undertaken extensive urban renewal projects and has experienced in intensified degree the struggles which result. If Los Angeles is to embark upon a program of area redevelopment, it is conceivable that the Chicago experience will offer some meaningful and constructive lessons.

## II. Urban Renewal in Chicago

One feature of urban redevelopment in Chicago which particularly impresses the observer from Los Angeles is the complexity and multiplicity of the administrative machinery. At least nine major agencies of city government are involved in varying degrees: Department of Urban Renewal, Chicago Housing Authority, Chicago Plan Commission, Department of Law, Department of City Planning, Chicago Dwellings Association, Neighborhood Redevelopment Commission, Department of Buildings, and Department of Fire. In addition, proposals must receive final approval from the Mayor's Office and the City Council. Private organizations have multiplied correspondingly: at least three important groups function regularly in the University of Chicago area alone.

The issue of urban renewal has become even more controversial in recent years. Despite full support from the powerful Daley administration, a \$22.5 million bond issue for slum clearance was defeated by the voters in 1962. Opposition appeared to come mainly from a weird combination of forces: whites who are convinced that public housing primarily benefits Negroes, and Negroes who are weary of the perpetual "relocation" required by renewal projects. When the writer visited the office of the Urban Renewal Commissioner for an interview, several Negroes were "sitting in" as a protest against a new commercial renewal proposal which would necessitate the demolition of some residential structures.

The importance of urban renewal in Chicago is illustrated by the fact that the Department of Urban Renewal was implementing 33 projects in March of 1964, for which a total of \$210 million was then available and committed. With scarcity of land, both private developers and the public housing authority have recently tended to emphasize high-rise construction. The new residential units

most often mentioned are the Prairie Shores and Lake Meadows apartment complexes, developed by New York Life Insurance on Chicago's South Side. These luxurious apartments were constructed on land formerly occupied by slum dwellings, and are currently well integrated (apparently to the surprise of the developer). Proportions of residency are 75 percent white and 25 percent Negro in Prairie Shores apartments, and precisely the reverse in Lake Meadows.

The community of Hyde Park-Kenwood, lying directly to the north of the University of Chicago campus, is also integrated, and available information indicates that the community has now stabilized on this basis. The Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, founded in 1949 as the outgrowth of a local Quaker conference, serves as a private organization established to maintain housing standards and preserve the interracial character of the community. With its strong emphasis on building maintenance, single-family dwellings of high quality, and removal of substandard units, it is concerned mainly with the preservation of the middle-class nature of the area. Though it is an independent organization, it cooperates with the University of Chicago (and the University's "front" organization, the South East Chicago Commission) and city authorities in urban renewal programs having the major effect of removing low-income Negro families from or preventing their entrance into the community. This organization will be discussed at greater length subsequently in this report.

The key issue in Chicago is whether urban renewal shall continue to serve as a means by which substandard housing containing the poorest families can be replaced by high-quality housing designed primarily for middle- and upper-income groups. In Chicago and elsewhere, a dichotomy in housing programs has emerged: public housing for the poor and urban renewal (which stresses private development) for the middle class. Renewal is rarely used as an instrument for

improving the conditions of the poverty-stricken; rather it is used as a way by which "blight" and "deterioration" can be barred from basically desirable neighborhoods. A high percentage of the displaced poor are relocated in public housing, and the fate of the remainder is somewhat unclear. According to a study by the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, about three-quarters of the families uprooted by the initial slum clearance project there were relocated into "standard" housing, which means that the other one-quarter either moved into "substandard" housing, left the city, or the families dissolved. Among those who relocated into "standard" housing, one-third remained in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area and approximately 12 percent moved into public housing. It cannot be determined from this report whether the housing continued to be "standard" after the families had relocated, or who classified it thusly in the first instance.

The Department of Urban Renewal in Chicago has sponsored commercial and industrial redevelopment projects, as well as residential, but these too arouse controversy. The proposal which provoked the recent sit-in focuses upon redevelopment of the second largest shopping center in Chicago, located at the intersection of 63rd and Halsted Streets in the Englewood district, which has severely declined in sales volume within recent years. The surrounding area is now predominantly Negro in population, and various problems of traffic congestion, inadequacy of off-street parking, building deterioration, and so forth have afflicted the business section. The Department of Urban Renewal proposes land clearance and total rehabilitation and commercial revitalization of the area, with attractive stores and patios, rerouting of traffic, adequate parking facilities, and elimination of non-conforming property uses and blighted structures. In the process of "renewing" the area, a number of admittedly

"standard" residential structures would be demolished. There is obviously no unanimity, even within the ranks of Negro organizations, as to whether such a project is necessary and desirable. The Housing Chairman of the Chicago Urban League told this writer that he personally favored the renewal plan, but ministers of Negro churches and other "spokesmen" for the area immediately involved are bitterly opposed.

For these and related reasons, there appears to be some tendency in Chicago to change the emphasis in urban renewal from large-scale land clearance to "spot" clearance and rehabilitation. "Spot" clearance involves only the demolition of individual structures within an area, in place of wholesale redevelopment, and greater use is being made of Section 220 of the National Housing Act as a source of financial support for building rehabilitation. The 1963 Annual Report of the Department of Urban Renewal notes proudly that "the rehabilitation of 5,880 buildings, containing about 34,000 dwelling units, is an integral part of the current urban renewal program." Rehabilitation is particularly emphasized in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area, where there are many older buildings with basically sound construction.

The writer was told by an Urban League representative that the Chicago City Missionary Society is currently sponsoring programs of building rehabilitation under Section 220 of the National Housing Act. Unfortunately, the person in charge of this program was out of town during my visit, but a number of other interviewees mentioned the growing importance of rehabilitation. Certain repair and maintenance expenditures, which are adjudged to maintain rather than to increase property values, are excluded from the tax assessment base, ~~but~~ the

Illinois State Constitution presently prohibits tax exemptions for any improvements to taxable property. When asked for his personal opinion on the desirability of exemptions for various types of improvements in designated areas, the Urban Renewal Commissioner commented that he saw no objection in principle but that property owners in undesignated areas would strongly protest against exemptions to others for which they themselves are ineligible.

Various housing developments financed under Section 221 of the Housing Act are also underway or proposed in Chicago, notably one which is proposed for an area immediately to the north of Hyde Park-Kenwood. Chief opposition to the proposal in its present form appears to come from Mr. Irving Gerick, director of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, who fears (if I interpret him correctly) that the liberal financing for "moderate-income" families may lead to neighborhood deterioration.

As indicated, the most successful (from a financial viewpoint) projects are the massive Prairie Shores and Lake Meadows complexes, which have recently been supplemented by a new development of four 28-story buildings in "Carl Sandburg Village." New York Life Insurance Company, developer of Prairie Shores and Lake Meadows, also builds recreational facilities, office buildings, shopping centers, and off-street parking facilities within its developments. Strict income qualifications restrict residency to professional and white-collar groups. Thus, the displaced families are completely ineligible for occupancy therein.

The interviews conducted in Chicago indicate three major objections to urban renewal: (1) The projects fail to benefit the slum dwellers; (2) plans are imposed upon the community without adequate or meaningful citizen participation; and (3) renewal is usually disastrous to small businessmen who have been long established in the area. Urban renewal officials answer such charges

in this way: (1) Though admittedly the previous residents in slum clearance areas seldom qualify for the new dwellings, they are relocated in other housing which, at the very least, is no worse than the slums from which they are removed and, in most instances, is superior; (2) local councils of residents, at least half of whom must be property owners in the area, must approve the plans; and (3) local businessmen displaced by projects are given priority to occupy new locations in the area. Some of these factors are discussed later in this report.

### III. Public Housing.

Public housing is also much more prominent and pervasive in Chicago than in Los Angeles. In 1963, for example, 46 housing projects were completed, and 13 more were in progress, under the aegis of the Chicago Housing Authority. These projects in total provided 32,683 dwelling units and covered almost 900 acres of land. Plans for new projects feature high-rise construction and special housing for the elderly. Officials acknowledge criticisms of high-rise planning on the grounds that it is fundamentally unsuitable for large families, but insist that scarcity and excessively high cost of land leave them no alternative.

About 140,000 persons (of whom at least 95,000 are children) in 30,000 families reside in public housing projects. Over 90 percent of all families are Negro, and one-third are broken. Officials of CHA now emphasize efforts to improve the "image" of public housing by special programs to maintain attractive gardens, encourage Boy Scout activities, and so forth. Resident Councils assertedly provide opportunities for project residents to develop leadership capacity. The Information Officer emphasized that this is the first extensive effort undertaken to establish Boy Scout troops in low-income areas. It is not clear whether active participation in Scouting activities extends to a large or to a small proportion of the eligible youngsters.

A major function of public housing in Chicago is to receive large numbers of persons who are displaced from housing demolished in the extensive urban renewal programs described previously in this report. The Urban Renewal Commissioner estimates that, currently, about 25 percent of those displaced move into public housing. In addition, CHA has constructed or planned about 4500 units for elderly people. The writer was informed that Chicago has recently experienced a movement of elderly persons back to the central city, particularly among couples whose children have matured and left the household. The Authority is now experimenting with a demonstration program which involves supplementing rent payments for such persons in privately-owned buildings. Maximum rent supplementation is \$50 a month.

#### IV. Community Organizations in Urban Renewal Areas.

The unique aspect of urban renewal in Chicago lies in the growth of various organizations which are specifically designed to influence the pattern of renewal programs. The immediate focus of these organizational activities has been the action of the University of Chicago in seeking additional land for its campus and in "rehabilitating" the Negro neighborhood in the Woodlawn community bordering the university on the south. The interest of the university in "redeveloping" surrounding neighborhoods was publicly expressed in 1952 with the formation of the South East Chicago Commission, a group controlled by the university and directed by Julian Levi. The first concern of the SECC was the disturbing incidence of crime in the university area, but it soon extended its interest to the overall planning programs. The university wanted to expand its campus southward, taking a large slice of the Woodlawn community. Plans were drawn up and announced by the university and the city administration without consultation with the

residents of Woodlawn, who were described contemptuously by Levi and by Professor Philip Hauser as a collection of illiterates whose only common bond was hostility to the university.

The SECC and the university had worked closely with the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, mentioned previously, in sponsoring various renewal and rehabilitation programs in that area. Concerned with housing deterioration, overcrowding, and resulting social conditions, the university and its "front" have dealt ruthlessly with code violators and slumlords. These techniques have appeared to work well in Hyde Park-Kenwood, where the problem has been to preserve an essentially middle-class community and prevent "blight." The university, however, has confronted an entirely different kind of community in Woodlawn. There it proposed large-scale "planning," which many Negroes regard as a euphemism for "Negro removal."

The first of the university's plans for the Woodlawn community was announced in 1960, involving the clearance of a strip of land one block wide and a mile long. While this did not require the demolition of much residential housing, it was widely regarded as the forerunner of extensive urban renewal. The university, according to one account (see Peter Rossi and Robert Dentler, The Politics of Urban Renewal), preferred to expand in this direction because no middle-class homes would have to be cleared. The implication was that the university wanted a "buffer zone" between itself and the remainder of the Woodlawn community, and that the homes there (and the occupants) were more expendable than were the counterparts in Hyde Park-Kenwood. Levi himself stated bluntly that the university's interests should have precedence over everything else because the University of Chicago would be an important part of the city long after the residents of Woodlawn had passed on.

Even before the university had announced this plan, a group of ministers in Woodlawn had initiated efforts to build a community organization. Deeply worried about the total lack of leadership in the area, in 1959 they invited Saul Alinsky, controversial director of the Industrial Areas Foundation and a self-styled "agitator," to form an organization. Alinsky had built his reputation chiefly as organizer of the Back of the Yards movement in Chicago, but had also organized many other community groups throughout the country, such as the Community Service Organization (CSO) in Los Angeles. He deplores nice-nelly "liberalism" and frankly declares that the residents of "depressed" areas should solve their own problems by the systematic seizure and use of power. The organization created by Alinsky and his associates, and now run entirely by the people of Woodlawn, is The Woodlawn Organization (TWO).

The newly formed organization clashed with the university and SECC almost immediately. Financed largely by the Catholic Church, TWO came under fire as allegedly a "pawn of the church," and also as a radical "hate" group. In 1961, Levi and two university public relations representatives visited several Chicago newspapers, distributing copies of IAF's income tax statement (how this was obtained has not been explained) and a dossier of materials attacking Alinsky. This represented a frank attack on the Catholic Church and an attempt to discredit Alinsky personally. Levi and several others have often condemned TWO's use of picketing, sit-ins, and other direct-action techniques to achieve its goals.

Despite this opposition, TWO succeeded in building a membership of approximately 20,000 in a community which had always been described as apathetic and unorganizable. Making use of existing resources such as churches, businessmen's associations, and other groups, it has fought the university's plans for urban

renewal and has won an astounding victory over a combination of powerful forces including the Daley administration. Plans for the Woodlawn area have now been revised to make specific provision for low-cost housing for residents before the bulldozers are put in motion. In addition, TWO has hired its own professional planning firm to prepare long-range plans for submission to the city, and has enlisted the services of planning expert Jane Jacobs as a consultant. Other successful TWO programs have forced repairs to dilapidated buildings and eliminated dishonest practices by local merchants.

TWO is especially controversial because it appears to reject the traditional emphasis by liberals upon governmental and social welfare programs for improvement of a deteriorating community. It takes the view that welfare dependency has served as a means by which the white power structure has undermined the Negro's self-reliance. Its program, viewed out of context, sounds almost Goldwaterish: opposition to "paternalism," governmental assistance, and social planning. Alinsky and his cohorts believe that a community should organize to determine its own destiny.

TWO bitterly opposes what it regards as the usual approach of urban renewal, under which plans are prepared by "experts" in a downtown office in collaboration with various commercial and institutional interests and then effectuated with only a ritual pretense of citizen participation. It condemns the existing local advisory committees as politically hand-picked stooges whose function primarily is to approve the plans already formulated. The community, it believes, will receive consideration only insofar as it wields an independent power and offers plans of its own.

In conversation, Mr. Squire Lance, an official of TWO, told the writer that this organization is built on a mass power base, supplanting the local ward com-

mitteeman as a source of assistance with regard to individual and community problems. Past organizations, he said, have suffered from the fatal defect of seeking to tell the residents what to do rather than to listen to their opinions and expressed desires. Such organizations have too often been used by individuals as a means of personal publicity and political or mercenary advancement; by contrast, TWO staff members follow a standing policy of never publicizing themselves as individuals. As a result, he asserts that the community trusts the organization and its white personnel can enter the roughest parts of the area without fear of personal harm. Vandalism has never touched its headquarters, though broken windows have been endemic to the neighborhood. Monthly meetings are attended by 300 to 400 persons.

The Woodlawn Organization has undoubtedly profited from a combination of circumstances which will seldom be repeated elsewhere. Its district is represented by the only independent alderman on the city council, Leon Despres, a vigorous supporter of its objectives and opponent of the Daley administration, and the residents were immediately united by common hostility to the university's plans. It is yet unclear, therefore, whether TWO will be able to sustain its momentum now that this crisis has subsided.

#### V. Conclusions.

The Chicago experience does not reflect startling new approaches to the problem of urban redevelopment, but it does throw light upon several of the important issues involved. If, for example, Chicago has found it desirable to put more emphasis upon rehabilitation and spot clearance rather than upon large-scale renewal projects, this suggests an appropriate direction for redevelopment in Los Angeles. This kind of approach, in fact, appears to be more meaningful in

Los Angeles for many reasons, since the predominance of low-rise and low-density units here has thus far prevented the emergence of slum conditions as aggravated as those existing in Chicago and other Eastern cities. An intelligent program of rehabilitation and spot clearance now could effectively forestall the rise of a "Woodlawn" or a "Harlem" in Los Angeles and thereby obviate the necessity for future renewal programs with all their attendant difficulties.

The most controversial aspect of urban renewal is focused upon the question of what groups are to be served by it. Fundamentally the issue is one of class rather than race, though racial discrimination undeniably persists as a factor. In the Hyde Park-Kenwood area of Chicago, the university and the city have joined with middle-class whites and Negroes in a common effort to maintain the traditional character of the neighborhood, which means in essence the removal of lower-class families of all races and the maintenance of financial barriers to their future entrance. This program has an obvious appeal, since no one can defend the transformation of an attractive area with good housing into a blighted area with slums. The problem is that an approach of this nature leaves the plight of low-income families (or no-income families) essentially unchanged or perhaps worse.

These issues were originally fought out in the Hyde Park-Kenwood community where the Catholic Church and Alderman Despres raised some objections to the renewal plan which, they claimed, failed to make sufficient provision for low-cost housing for those displaced. The problem then erupted in full force in the Woodlawn community, where a similar pressure from the university led to successful counterpressure from a community organization representing not the middle class characteristic of Hyde Park-Kenwood, but the lowest economic class residing in the slums of Woodlawn. This dispute reflects an underlying struggle which is not strictly "white" versus "black," or even "liberal" versus "conservative."

In this writer's judgment, it reflects an alliance of middle-class whites and middle-class Negroes, of middle-class "liberals" and middle-class "conservatives," to maintain a buffer zone between their neighborhoods and those of the poor and uneducated. Urban renewal, in its traditional sense, has been their major and most potent weapon.

An immediate focus of this struggle is the National Housing Act and its various provisions for mortgage guarantees or other assistance to construction of new or rehabilitation of existing housing. Since the better-educated middle-class communities have been more sophisticated politically and more organized than the low-income communities, and since in many cases the basic economics of housing dictates that certain financial standards be enforced, the housing financed under Section 221 has been intended primarily for middle-income groups rather than the slum dwellers. In Chicago, however, the organization of the Woodlawn community has forced some reconsideration of this traditional pattern. It may henceforth be more difficult for middle-class planners to remain heedless of the interests and demands of slum dwellers, but there is also the formidable danger that this may transform middle-class whites into bitter opponents of urban renewal and public housing in all forms.

The main lesson of the Chicago experience, perhaps, is that "planners" should always consult with those who are most immediately affected by their planning, and that the goal of "urban renewal" should not be merely the improvement of a neighborhood but also the betterment of conditions for low-income groups throughout the community. This implies a reduced emphasis on relocation and greater concentration upon housing renovation within the existing areas, and where land clearance is essential, it suggests that the plans must include exact advance provision for rehousing of the displaced families. Finally, it would appear that

racial integration in middle- and upper-income areas, particularly among professionals, can sometimes be turned into a system of class segregation under which the poorest and worst-educated groups, predominantly Negro in the larger urban centers, will remain isolated and relatively impotent. The benefits of a decent nondiscriminatory society should not be limited to families in the higher income brackets.

SURVEY OF PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK REDEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

by Robert Singleton

August, 1964

# Survey of Philadelphia and New York Redevelopment Agencies

by Robert Singleton

## I. Introduction

This report is unavoidably incomplete due to the large number of agencies which I was unable to contact. All in all, the agencies involved in redevelopment in the two cities were extremely cooperative despite the short notice afforded by my unannounced visit.

The procedure I followed in both cities was first to contact the municipal agency concerned with the planning of redevelopment, from which I secured in each case a list of all the other agencies, public and private, and their roles in the development picture. In each agency, I asked for the person most concerned with the problems of the impact of redevelopment on the people in the area, and especially the deprived, the minorities, the unemployed, etc. Once I reached this person, or some close subordinate, I began the interview with a description (and copy) of our study, covering particularly its background and structure, our mandate to study the causes and recommend cures for hard-core unemployment, the salient characteristics of the study area, and our tentative findings. The general question I put to each interviewee was, "What has been your experience in the social impact of redevelopment, and especially, what studies have you done (or are aware of) concerning the implications for the labor force?" The individual interviews conducted are summarized on the following pages.

The most general finding was that, although everyone recognized the importance of the considerations raised by our study (some even citing personal evidence of hardships among those formerly in the redeveloped area, particularly the chronically unemployed), this awareness seldom was accompanied by concrete studies or plans for relief. On the other hand, welfare agencies, which specialize in such relief, usually have very little knowledge of the intricacies of city planning and urban renewal.

A ray of hope, just now beginning to appear on the horizon, is the President's concern with poverty, the effect of which is to focus the attention of the several agencies potentially helpful in this sphere, but this has yet to produce results.

## II. Philadelphia

### A. Some Background

(Note: The following sections contain material obtained from publications picked up on the trip and through correspondence with those persons I was advised to see but could not, due to the suddenness and brevity of the trip. Included also are a few points common to all the interviews. This allowed me to reduce the section devoted to interviews while presenting a more coherent overall statement.)

#### 1. Philadelphia's problems of growth and development

Like all urban centers today, Philadelphia is undergoing changes wrought upon her by forces from national, regional and local sources. Compared with national growth rates for the civilian labor force of 11% for the period 1952-1962, Philadelphia's mere 4% reflects two main problems: the large extent to which Philadelphia's industrial composition is in manufacturing (33%), which has faced a secular decline nationally since 1957; and the failure of local industries, manufacturing and non-manufacturing, which showed some growth for the nation, to grow in Philadelphia. The regional basis for some of these problems includes the shift in the national center of population westward over time, and the accompanying shift in the market center of Megalopolis. This has reduced Philadelphia's relative access to the regional market while increasing the competitive advantage of cities farther west. There has also been a general dispersion of industry to non-Megalopolis areas. Locally, a shift of manufacturing (mainly durable) and nonmanufacturing industries to the suburbs has more than offset the centripetal forces of external economies on those industries seeking proximity (mainly nondurable manufacturing).

The area's labor force is also undergoing change, but not always in the direction of manpower requirements. Quantitatively, there has been a definite decline in the residential labor force over the last decade, primarily due to the flight to suburbia. Qualitative changes have had even more impact: although the educational attainment of many of the unemployed has been eighth grade or more, that acquired in the deep South is qualitatively less than a similar level in the northern (especially white) schools. The occupational distribution of the resident labor force is also adverse to labor market demands. Forty-three percent of the resident labor force who were employed were in the semiskilled and unskilled categories. City residents accounted for fifty-four percent of the semiskilled and unskilled persons in the metropolitan area.

White collar occupations rose from 41% of the resident labor force to 44% from 1950 to 1960. This is due to the sizable increase in clerical occupations. But among Negro males this increase is almost absent. Eighty-one percent of the Negro males in the area's labor force are blue collar.

The decline in manufacturing jobs bodes doubly ill for the less skilled in the labor force, especially since production jobs within manufacturing dropped at a still greater rate than manufacturing as a whole. Moreover, many of the nonmanufacturing industries that are growing in the city, reflecting the growing demand for services as against goods production, employ a disproportionate amount of females, placing the males in a precarious position if they are uneducated and unskilled.

Moreover, the city must solve these problems while simultaneously developing programs concerned with specific problem groups in the labor force: the older worker, the young labor force entrant, and persons living in poverty and deprivation.

## 2. The path to improvement

Philadelphia, like Los Angeles, found that despite its intense pocket of unemployed, the Area Redevelopment Administration's definition of eligibility, based on the "labor market unit", excluded its city from consideration. The entire metropolis, including the suburbs, shows a relatively low unemployment rate. But while suburbanites made up 23% of the work force in the city, residents of the City comprised only seven percent of the workers in suburbia. Moreover, while total employment registered a growth for the overall area, it registered a decline of eight percent in the City. But the decline in population in the City, mentioned above, was only 3 percent. Clearly there was a need to look at the City as a separate entity, apart from the suburbs, in order to develop realistic policy proposals for change.

While the Area Redevelopment Administration generally frowns upon such sub-area designation, Philadelphia found adequate precedent for its specific problem in a prior designation of a New Jersey city. The Area Redevelopment Administration is permitted to grant designations only on the basis of estimates derived from approved primary sources. The Department of Labor does the approving. One approved source is Department of Labor figures on covered and uncovered employment. A factor was computed from these data and applied to the "resident labor force" (which was left as a residual after the subtraction of commuters). This produced an estimate of the resident covered labor force, from which was derived a resident covered unemployment rate. This rate exceeded the national rate for the entire period observed.

Thus having established a case for designation, Philadelphia proceeded to draw up its workable plan, calling upon local public and private bodies to coordinate their efforts through the newly established office of Development Coordinator. To facilitate this cooperation, Philadelphia hit upon a useful form of semipublic body: the single-purpose, nonprofit corporation, about which more later.

### 3. The anatomy of development in Philadelphia

The Philadelphia Home Rule Charter, adopted in 1951, assigned the responsibility for drafting and periodic modification of the Comprehensive Plan to a nine-member, independent city agency, the City Planning Commission. Other functions of the Commission include preparation of the city's annual capital budget, zoning and subdivision changes and regulations, and, under state law, powers in the planning and certification of redevelopment projects. Because many elements of the community were important in carrying out this function, an office of Development Coordinator was established. Urban renewal efforts, handled primarily by another city agency, the Redevelopment Authority, and other such related activities are kept compatible with the Comprehensive Plan through the Development Coordinator.

The framework sketched in the above paragraph is one to be envied by many cities. But Philadelphia's most laudable achievements in renewal and industrial redevelopment owe their being to another imaginative move, the creation of nonprofit, single-purpose corporations.

According to the Charter, public agencies may not deal directly with private interests in matters such as land purchase and sale. The city owned some land, but it could not transfer it to business. But one of the primary problems of development in the city has been the sluggish response of the economy to the needs of rapid technological change, and especially increased land requirements. Much of the available land in the city is in parcels too small to accommodate plants housing the modern technology. The solution adopted was the creation of a body with which the city could officially deal, and in which city officials and Chamber of Commerce representatives could serve as partners in the service of the civic ideal. Thus was developed the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC). This body was authorized to receive city land, to develop it, and to make it available to prospective businessmen desiring to locate in Philadelphia. In this way, specifications could be met

more often, and the cost of relocation reduced. Reimbursement for the initial endowment of city-owned land could then be used to buy more land and keep a supply readily available for industry looking around for a place to relocate. The plan worked well, and the nonprofit corporation has become an integral factor in the Philadelphia development framework. A brief description of some of these corporations and the purposes they have been created to serve, will give an idea of the general applicability of this weapon. Included in the following outline are also several representative bodies of other kinds which are cooperating in the development effort. All in all, the Philadelphia program will be seen to be well-coordinated, far-reaching, and impressive.

1) Industrial Renewal

The Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC)

A nonprofit corporation formed as a partnership between the city and the Chamber of Commerce for reciprocal action on common problems. As an example, the need for land is emphasized in the Comprehensive Plan. The Chamber had no land in the city. The city had land but could not negotiate with private interests. PIDC intermediates in such cases, as well as assisting industry to locate or expand, advising industry in matters relating to zoning, building standards, etc. Members of the City Planning Commission sit ex officio with Chamber of Commerce delegates.

The Land Bank and the Industrial Revolving Fund

As part of the PIDC idea, Philadelphia transferred 1,000 acres of city-owned land to the Redevelopment Authority by ordinance of the City Council, to be developed for industrial use by PIDC. Reimbursement from this land, once sold, will go to purchase more unimproved land which will

be likewise used to keep industrial land available at reasonable prices for new and relocating firms. The real estate portion of this scheme is called the Land Bank; the finance part, the Industrial Revolving Fund.

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University City Science Center Corporation and the U.C.S. Institute. These sprang from the concern of a third nonprofit corporation with the rapid deterioration of the area surrounding five of the nation's foremost educational and research institutions, including the University of Pennsylvania and Drexel Institute. The Corporation is concerned with the physical development and real estate aspect of the area. The Institute will sponsor and conduct selected research projects drawing upon the reservoir of scientific resources in University City.

Southeastern Pennsylvania Development Corporation and Fund. This works like PIDC, but for the entire 5-county region around Philadelphia. The Fund is not nonprofit. It is financed through the sale of stock to utilities and business and the creation of lines of credit from banks, insurance companies, etc. It is designed to make equity-type loans to applicants in the 5-county area when such are not available through conventional sources. It seeks a \$10 million loan capability.

Two private industries which operate area development programs in the Philadelphia area are the Philadelphia Electric Company and the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroads. They maintain listings, act as region-wide industrial brokers, and conduct industrial studies for prospective locators.

## 2) Commercial and Cultural Development

Agencies and programs involved in this part of the effort include both local nonprofit corporations, and federal agencies designed to assist in this function.

The Old Philadelphia Development Corporation implements a comprehensive program for the development of the center city, including the preservation of historic buildings, and a strengthening of all the service functions. It serves where requested as consultant, coordinator, intermediary, liaison, and marketing agent.

The Small Business Opportunities Corporation is another example of the usefulness of the nonprofit corporation idea. The city, Drexel Institute, and the Fellowship Commission jointly function under a technical assistance grant from the ARA. It has three major functions: operation of a management guidance center, development of franchise opportunities for qualified persons through high level contacts, and assistance to new and existing business through SBA, the banks, or a loan guarantee fund. It also recruits for SBA. It has a research contract with Drexel Institute to discover the best kinds of business opportunities, the locational factors to consider for various types of business, the factors pertinent to success or failure in different kinds of activities, criteria for screening applicants, etc.

### 3) Manpower Programs

In addition to MDTA, with an enrollment of about 150 persons, Philadelphia runs its own training program in conjunction with the State Employment Security offices. In the latter, as of December, 1963, 525 completed training, and 561 were dropouts. Sixty-five percent of the completers were placed. 252 of the dropouts appeared to need special services in addition to that provided through the program as it stands. Several special projects have been initiated to attempt to discover what special services are required that are not now provided for certain groups in the labor force.

Project 2017 of the State Employment Service provides prevocational and

occupational training for 500 youths over a one-year period. Youths are referred by the Employment Service to the Board of Education, which, at the end of a year's concurrent exposure to remedial education and work experience, evaluates each youth and works out a specific occupational training program with him. There is great difficulty in holding the youth.

The Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement (PCCA) and the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service (JEVS) are conducting a program for dropouts of over 6 months. It provides in-depth counseling, evaluation and personal work adjustment (working for wages in a sheltered workshop). Emphasis is on punctuality, taking instructions, getting along with fellow workers, self-organization, and similar habits. Remedial education is given OJT to hold the high school dropout. At the end of 12 weeks, the youth is referred back to ES for the remainder of the program.

JEVS is also conducting an in-depth training session for hard-to-place youth who will, after arriving at an occupational objective, be referred back to the ES for placement or training.

Project 2018 is identical with 2017 except that it deals with adults who have an 8th grade education or less. It too has a high dropout rate (66% dropouts for combined programs).

The Manpower Utilization Commission conducts research under Title I of MDTA which will seek to determine the success of providing special services; family social casework or personal work adjustment counseling or both, in motivating the long-term unemployed male 19 years old or more. It will also determine what proportion of this population needs such services.

The Chamber of Commerce Full Employment Program, using MDTA funds, provides training in selected occupations. Training is done in collaboration with the Board of Education or the Employment Service.

Opportunities Industrialization, Inc. is a private, nonprofit center run by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a leader of several efforts by the Negro community at self-improvement. Funds come from a number of foundations and business men. It is open to all races, but is in the Negro community.

The Conservation Corps of the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare is a directed work program aimed at improving the attitudes of high school juniors and seniors judged as social adjustment problems but not delinquent. It is an afternoon program during the school year for 100 boys, and during the summer months for 300 boys. College trained group leaders assign special tasks in the local parks, and pay the boys on the basis of the quality of the work, attitude toward fellow workers, the group leaders, etc. It is considered successful in improving the school adjustment of the boys.

Other programs mentioned in the interviews which follow, but not above, include Apprenticeship's Bureau programs, Transportation Development and many more. All of these programs will be reviewed for the purposes of coordination possibilities in the workable program drawn up to obtain ARA designation for Philadelphia.

## B. The Interviews

1. Mr. Christopher Emerson  
Redevelopment Planning Office  
City Planning Commission

Development in Philadelphia has no overt social objectives. Even

the "Community Renewal Program" is misleading as a title. That office is really a new name for an old function, that of capital budgeting. The Redevelopment Planning Office really has no decision-making or allocational functions. Its role is really only a technical one of refining and administering (and making more feasible within city powers) the decisions of those agencies designated by ordinance as the official consultative bodies in the area of development (e.g., PIDC).

There is plenty of hard-core unemployment in Philadelphia, but the city redevelopment planners have no role in alleviating it. Out-going industry has carried with it almost 100,000 jobs in the last decade. This had been considered a function of technological change. Development is not intended to affect the job loss, but rather the number of locating firms.

Mr. Emerson knows of no study done or in progress concerned with the impact of development on the hard-core unemployed in whole or in part, but does know of a study which may show related trends. Mr. A. M. Greenfield of the city's Real Estate Finance Division is doing a study to answer the question, "Where will skid row people go if the area were redeveloped?" The purposes of that project are not at all identical with that of the UCLA study, but the data should prove interesting. Some studies of the midtown sections which were cleared for industry tried to determine the level of demand in the face of delayed development. They might have something of value in them also.

CRP is currently putting together an OEDP to coordinate the various agencies and programs related to development. That information should be obtainable from the office of the City Economist.

Another project of interest would be the method for designating Philadelphia as eligible for ARA assistance and the subsequent socioeconomic characteristics published on the area so designated.

Mr. Emerson suggested that I interview the City Economist, Mr. Culp, and perhaps someone from the Community Renewal Program Office.

2. Mrs. Elizabeth Deuterman  
Community Renewal Program Office  
City Planning Commission

Mrs. Deuterman was formerly with a regional study which compiled a data bank for every conceivable important variable affecting the economy of Philadelphia. Trends were derived for all important phenomena. Currently, she is primarily assigned to the drafting of the OEDP, which will draw heavily on the earlier study, but which will contain also an analysis of the current employment situation of the Philadelphia labor market, as well as a précis of all those programs operative in the city which relate to development.

The employment situation in the city is critical, in Mrs. Deuterman's opinion, for both the hard-core unemployed and many who are not yet considered to fall in that classification. Philadelphia has lost 92,000 jobs since 1952. Seventy percent of these are explained by the outflux of manufacturing from the area. That outflux has not been a simple pattern. Up until 1958 the employment decline was mainly a function of the out-migration of plants, especially textiles and apparel. Since 1958, it appears that jobs are disappearing mainly because of productivity changes. In addition, there has been much drying up of nonmanufacturing, e.g., there has been a heavy decline in federal government employment. The Navy Yard and the Frankford Arsenal have moved out, causing a decline in blue-collar federal jobs in the area.

The main stopgap for this outflux so far has been the PIDC, which is designed to help old firms stay in business and new firms get into business. The primary emphasis of PIDC is on manufacturing, which may be a mistake if the regional forces are of such a weight that the old manufacturing belt loses its comparative advantage in that type of employment. Much of the praise for PIDC is clearly promotional. The hope is that the experts are guessing right. If they are wrong, and manufacturing is dead in the East, there will be hell to pay when Philadelphia tries to grow with a dead industrial mix.

Mr. Culp, the City Economist, has also had a great deal to do with labor and training programs, which clearly play a large role in the areas touched by my questions.

3. Mr. Kennix  
Liaison with many nonprofit corporations  
City Planning Commission

The nonprofit corporation has been the key to Philadelphia's development successes. Through it, city officials can act ex officio to accomplish what the Charter otherwise forbids: the direct dealings of the city with private interests. Sometimes the chain of assistance is complicated, e.g., the Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement has a grant of money from the Ford Foundation to establish projects in the North Philadelphia area, which it has done, but at the same time it supports in turn the North City Congress, a less legitimate appearing organization. The program of the North City Congress, however, is the type that will ultimately solve the sticky problems of development, those having to do with the people who need special services over and above what the city is currently offering. It strengthens the block organizations, and fills the needs of the citizenry affected

by renewal efforts which are not met by the Human Relations Commission (which is limited by its affiliation with the city).

Any honest city official will admit that the renewal effort has failed in its social aspect. Less than one-fifth of the housing erected after the renewal is completed will be for lower income groups. But almost all the areas affected are lower income areas. Especially the Negroes are adversely affected by this process. Whereas whites usually move great distances from the condemned area and thus disperse more, Negroes, it is believed, move only a couple of blocks, thus planting the seeds for deterioration in the immediate neighborhood of the renewal.

Often the housing is kept to some limit, e.g., \$12-13,000. Still this is too rich for the blood of the lower class, for whom capital is too tight to purchase one the houses erected in their former neighborhood. The median income of these displaced families is around \$3,000. Thus, while the areas removed were bad, the nearby areas tend to get even worse when renewal is implemented. The low income housing solutions contain the families even more densely, with a more stratified income class.

Another "solution" was the shift from clearance to "community conservation." The rub here was that communities eligible for "conservation" were those which could have gotten a loan from the bank in the first place. The key is that the whole redevelopment and renewal effort in housing is tied to FHA definitions. These should be relaxed for a number of related purposes.

Bodies like the North Philadelphia Development Council have an impressive mandate from the authorities to acquire land and dispose of

it. These could buy public or private land, and could be used more forcefully in many areas not now touched. Like the North City Congress, many of the agencies should be adding bargaining power to the poor and underrepresented.

4. Mr. Sho Maruyama  
Comprehensive Planning Division  
City Planning Commission

(I was referred to Mr. Maruyama with reference to a study he was doing of the supermarkets in the Planning areas. His report, "Supermarket Redevelopment in Low Income Areas," is appended, hence I will not go into it in the text, except to indicate a further stage idea which is not contained therein.)

An unwritten part of the plan Mr. Maruyama envisaged was to require supermarkets which were given certain privileges by the city, to return some of the community's profit to it in the form of a community center in the supermarket building. Since the supermarket is the area of heaviest pedestrian traffic in the neighborhood, it would be an ideal place for a meeting place at which neighborhood people could learn the basics of democracy under some program sponsored by the city. This was an exciting part of the supermarket redevelopment plan. Whether Mr. Maruyama succeeded in getting it across, I could not tell, since I left for New York during his presentation of the package to the City Planning Commission.

5. Mr. John Culp  
Office of Development Coordinator  
City Economist

By far my most rewarding interview was this one. I had been referred to Mr. Culp by practically all of the other interviewees. I was

not disappointed when I talked to him. Interestingly, he was not a trained economist, although he was well steeped in the basics of development and regional economics.

In a telephone conversation preceding one interview, Mr. Culp commented that sub-area designation was stupid. When we met, I asked him to expand on this theme, but he told me it was said half in jest. Philadelphia's own difficulties in this regard had made him see that the ARA had a case, although he disagreed with it. In Philadelphia, overemphasis on the calling back of manufacturing industry to employ the growing hard-core unemployed might not be wise. Unless we can be sure that an industry will serve to foster further growth, it should be considered undesirable, no matter how many low skilled workers it absorbs today. The low skilled can then be upgraded through training. This is far easier in an expanding economy than in a declining one. But a focus on growth industries need not neglect improvements in programs designed to provide additional employment opportunities appropriate to the skill levels of the labor force. A general need in this regard is an official function which keeps abreast of technological developments and federal research and development expenditures, and which will alert the community to all new development opportunities, prepare proposals for the acquisition of federal program funds, and follow through on implementation.

On the other hand, there is a need for a shift in philosophy at all levels of government from viewing training and retraining as a mass approach to one which recognizes that among the unemployed there are widely varying needs. The State ES has a minimum interview load

for counselors, determined in Washington, which makes counseling a joke. It is ignored that depth counseling is needed by only 15-25% of the unemployed. To treat these special cases the same as those who need little or no counseling is to condemn them to the ranks of the hard-core unemployed.

In addition, a great variety of youth programs needs to be provided or expanded. These are too numerous to go into individually, but they include aggressive reach-out techniques and expansion of those successful programs like the Youth Conservation Corps of the State Welfare Department.

The MDTA concept needs to be expanded to include more development of programs for the long-term, poorly educated unemployed, and youths with no salable skills. Perhaps a review of the WWII concept of job dilution, wherein each phase of a job is identified and the opportunity created for the hiring of lower skilled persons to perform one phase of the task, would be beneficial. On-the-job remediation in basic education and skill upgrading might also provide some solutions to the present job hassle. But considerable ingenuity will be required to affect the persons most in need of this program, especially Negro males. A pilot program might start the process.

Preliminary study reveals that much of the job information flow is conducted through referrals by employees of friends and relatives. Thus the group least in communication with job-holders, the chronic unemployed, are least informed about job opportunities. An effective information system on jobs needs to be implemented.

More services need to be provided in redevelopment areas, as soon

as possible after designation, and should continue where needed during and after relocation. Development of a comprehensive vocational education program will make Philadelphia eligible for more funds under the recent Vocational Education Act as well as meet the training requirements of business and industry. A program to make the employer aware of the many federal provisions and inducements to provide OJT should be expanded.

There is a general need for improvement of all the human services in the city, but not in the way they have been increasing, for the most part. A coordinated social and health program for those living in poverty needs to be implemented, but not financed out of rent collections.

C. Findings and Their Implications for the Los Angeles Study

The Los Angeles and Philadelphia pictures have many common features: both are complex urban centers with a major "pocket" of poverty and unemployment in the urban core. Consequently, both are desperate for finances to establish programs and services which will remove this problem. But the current ARA definition of eligibility excludes them from consideration because of their positions as part of a larger "labor market" unit, which whole is not in trouble.

Specifics beyond this overall similarity begin to differ, both on the liability and asset side, however. The City of Philadelphia has involved its Chamber of Commerce and other associations and businesses in an intimate fashion in the redevelopment process. More rapid implementation of the ultimate program is the result, but it may be biased toward business.

Both have the sub-area problem if they are to identify the real trouble spot, isolate its causes, and define cures. The Philadelphia

method for this identification is not wholly useful to our task. The sub-area selected by the planners in Philadelphia was the entire City, which, as a political unit, had been used as a base for much research and data collection prior to any program of development had been conceived.

Yet the similarity of other problems, such as declining population and job opportunities, net disinvestment in real estate, declining productivity of the labor force, lack of available industrial land at reasonable prices and in parcels large enough to house the new technology, etc., suffices as an argument to duplicate some of the methods used in Philadelphia, albeit modified.

1) Supermarket Redevelopment in the Center City

Preliminary studies imply a saving for the people of the City if supermarkets were to replace the independents. Los Angeles might view her situation with respect to this notion and perhaps propose a similar solution (ordinance by the City Council making more land and tax forgivenesses available). Something of a community steward idea was included in the program, itself worthy of much study and comment. Some preliminary steps have been taken to develop available data on the L.A. picture into a similar argument. The need appears as great, if not greater, here.

2) Sub-area Designation for Eligibility

This was done on the basis of figures for the city on commuter traffic and covered employment. Such data probably do not exist for our own study area. A variation of this idea

may be applicable, however, and has been initiated by the writer. This would involve obtaining from the State Department of Motor Vehicles and from the various City and County offices the data on traffic past given points on the borders of the study area to determine the origin and destination of the traffic at peak hours during the day. It may be possible thereby to determine the extent to which traffic into and out of certain industrial concentrations can be roughly allocated to origins external to and internal to our study area. Other data collection projects, e.g., by CRP, justify our approach since they independently hit upon an identical approach.

### 3) National and Regional Economic Influences

A framework, helpful to the analysis of our study area, may emerge from a comparison of the study area today with time series and geographical data on the nation and region. This would provide us with a picture of the regional influences, as well as the national demand and supply situation. The response of the local area to these larger developments can be determined in terms of its past and present industrial composition and access to markets. Lack of crucial data has delayed this study until an answer arrived from the Census Bureau. In any event, a smaller version is already seen to be possible and profitable.

### 4) The Failures of Development Planning

A recurrent theme in the interviews is the neglect on the part of the planning authorities of the social impact of renewal, redevelopment, etc. The cause is probably manifold. It is easier

to handle the physical aspects of development since these obey already proven laws. The human factor is perverse or, at best, unpredictable. As the interviews show, few attempts have been made to study the human aspect of development, although many agencies exist with this as one of their functions. What evidence does exist seems always to indict the planners.

The Los Angeles attempt can learn from the mistakes of its predecessors in Philadelphia by placing a strong emphasis on the human aspect. Recommendations for redevelopment should always be preceded or accompanied by the question: "For whose benefit is it--for the residents or for the developers and landholders--and to what extent do alternatives exist which will be of greater benefit for the people of the area vis-á-vis the vested interests?"

#### 5) Manpower Training Programs

Mr. Culp had many good ideas from which we might derive variations which will help the problems of Los Angeles. This is especially true of his proposals of special services for the problem groups.

### III.. New York:

#### A.. Background

##### 1. New York's problems of growth and development

Many of the changes cited for Philadelphia apply as well for New York. Disappointing growth rates and local response to national and regional developments are, in New York as in Philadelphia, a recognized problem and one for which planning officers are currently attempting to gird themselves. Changes in the labor force and manpower requirements and consequently in New York's program of industrial and civic renewal are also similar.

## 2. The path to improvement

Industries displaced by industrial renewal and relocation projects in New York are currently not assisted in relocation by any such agencies as those existing in Philadelphia (e.g. ). In a recommendation to the Mayor, the City Planning Commission stressed that a task force appointed to develop recommendations for the establishment of two industrial parks be expanded to a full-time research team which would in six months develop sound fiscal and administrative bases for a new program aimed at strengthening industry in the city. If the decline in manufacturing employment continues at its present rate, the offsetting increase in white-collar jobs will eventually cease, since many are in services to the industrial firms. A reasearch team can indicate the specific needs of each major component of New York's industry and arrange for proper accommodations at suitable locations when required.

## 3. The anatomy of development in New York

Because of an emphasis on "official agencies" (most concerned primarily with industrial renewal) in Philadelphia, I purposely biased my interviews in New York toward less official and more "community"--oriented agencies, or such was my intention. I discovered that titles are deceiving. The Community Redevelopment Program of the City Planning Commission is less "community" than "industrially" oriented. Similarly, the Housing Redevelopment Board simply operates as an arm of the City Planning Office. Once the Commission designates a building as substandard, HRB moves in and redevelops the residential part. But it has little role in the placement of, or concern with,

the people displaced by these plans. Industrial renewal agencies, similarly, are concerned chiefly with the number of new firms and industries locating in the area, with far too little concern for the job composition represented by these firms.

If the people of New York are to be considered important, this concern will have to come from agencies of another sort, it appears. My longest interview was with the new director of the celebrated Higher Horizons program of the New York school system. I was referred to other youth-oriented programs (in which New York abounds), but was able to reach only two others during my visit. Subsequently, I corresponded with others.

#### B. The Interviews

##### 1. Coffee Klatch at City Planning Commission Office

Present: Mr. Bernard Cedar, Community Redevelopment Program  
Mr. Seltzer, Housing Redevelopment Board  
Other City Planning Commission Personnel

The primary plan to reverse the exodus of manufacturers and employment from the New York area is to establish industrial parks to facilitate location and relocation of firms. Blue-collar workers, who make up a great proportion, historically, of the New York work force and who are especially adversely affected by this exodus, should be benefited greatly by this plan. Most overtly "people-oriented" programs are geared toward the youth in New York. A partial list of these programs includes:

Youth Opportunity Program  
Mobilization for Youth  
Job Orientation in Neighborhoods (JOIN)  
Higher Horizons

Some community-oriented programs, e.g., the Neighborhood Conservation

Program, have had some limited success but are faced with the problem of definitions laid down on the state or federal level, many of which eliminate the possibility of assisting those really in need of housing rehabilitation, mainly those unable to secure a loan at a bank. Those qualifying for "conservation" money could get money from the bank without help of the city, since most of the definitions are FHA concepts. The writer was referred to Mr. Harry Harris of the Neighborhood Improvement District of the HRB, involved in the upgrading of neighborhoods, but was unable to make an appointment.

2. Mrs. Mercurio  
Coordinator  
Higher Horizons Program  
New York City Schools

The Higher Horizons program grew out of a demonstration project established at a number of high schools and junior high schools in the New York City area, designed to meet the needs of children with special educational problems which the schools were not at that time treating adequately. The success of the program has permitted extension both in terms of numbers involved and at both ends to cover more grades. Currently studies are being made to determine the extent to which providing pre-kindergarten children with improved environment, advanced programs, etc., permits them to compete later with peers who have these as a matter of course due to family background.

The program is as great a learning experience for the directors as for the children. Some dilemmas include whether it is better to group the children homogeneously according to their achievements for roughly parallel advancement, or group them heterogeneously for more stimulation. It was learned that the terms bandied about at the

beginning of the program, e.g., "culturally deprived", should be avoided in order to build up the child's self-image and worth. It is important to determine the child's specific problems, e.g., language barriers, in any program to help him achieve.

The general approach of the HH program is to identify the children who have (1) ability and (2) special problems. After identification there must be services to help the child adjust. The specific type of service depends on the weakness or problem under consideration. Often the basis of the problem is in the family, which requires getting the parent into the program somehow. In other cases the real need is a strengthened self-image. The remedy is to find successful images representative of his group, invite speakers with whom he can identify, and so forth. The attempt is made to expose the child to realities of the changing times, economic and social, and to acquaint him with activities which affect him in the local area. It is admitted that this will create in the child a certain discontent and unrest, but if he is inspired to challenge the existing structure and question "middle-class values" a real contribution will have been made. This portion of the program is a political bombshell for more reasons than one. Financially, it implies allocation of educational funds according to "need." The majority will oppose it. Resource-wise, the program means increased personnel (non-teaching) to provide the services described above.

A study by Martin Deutsch, a psychologist, showed that the child from the lower classes is limited in self-expression. Thus a primary need is that of developing his communication skills. It is this which

he builds upon thereafter. Thus these children are given additional periods of the learning arts. They are divided not simply by slow-fast readers, but more considerately according to many characteristics. The teacher later works with a class half the regular size for more intensive work in reading.

The political problem arises again here. Top level students need less help than the slow learners. But to give the slow learners more attention brings wails from the mothers of the faster children. The alienation-from-background problem mentioned above is deemphasized, on the assumption that this would happen in any case. Emphasis on the "bright" and "slow" child often causes the average child to backslide. The fact that the program invariably and inadvertently singles out races is also unfortunate, but points up certain other evils which require attack.

Higher Horizons tries to motivate all children to go to college. But all too often the child achieves just below college standard. The relaxation of some of the more rigid admission rules would help the program immensely. Scholarship help is also sorely needed. Some arbitrary requirements, like the 85-point average to enter college, are prohibitive in these communities which have not been able to raise the community average that high. The total package of college entry requirements is still worse.

A further aspect of the program involves counselors and teachers working with the parents to pave the way for the development of the child from the environmental side and to acquaint the parents with the child's progress, what's in store for him under predicted conditions,

how this varies from the parents' own experiences, and other problems.

The environmental problem cannot be overemphasized. Teachers can supplement but cannot replace the child's home and community life. School efforts to introduce the child to new careers by bringing in successful people can still be overwhelmed by the more frequent reinforcement of failure in the child's "real world." Teacher's harping on the fact that post high school training is a necessity can be contradicted by the discrimination in the child's own experience. If success potential is to be equated among children, "equality" cannot be defined in the absolute sense, but as relative to the need.

Besides the work with parents, community groups have been asked to affiliate themselves with the program. The trouble is that there are far too few in the minority communities who are selfless. Thus a by-product of the Higher Horizons program is the emphasis on the necessity for more agencies in the minority communities.

The evaluation report, which will be published at the end of this year, will look at changes in behavior, aspirations, attitudes, motivation, and skills such as math and reading. The program is finally becoming old enough to make possible certain defensible statements about these changes.

### 3. Mobilization for Youth Office of Information Services

The writer was unable to make contact with officials of this agency while in New York. However, the following excerpt from a letter sent by Mr. Curtis R. Gatlin of that agency provides some background information on attitudes toward the problem of urban redevelopment:

"I am afraid I really don't know much about urban redevelopment and its effect on unemployment in New York City. It appears to me, as it does to you, that by and large urban redevelopment concerns itself so far with physical planning and is not integrated as it needs to be with long range social planning.

"There may be a few exceptions to this. I have the impression that the program Community Progress Inc. in New Haven, Connecticut is closely related to the urban renewal that is taking place in that city. . .

"Likewise, I am told that key persons involved in Newark's Urban Renewal include persons knowledgeable in the welfare field.

"I am sorry I cannot be more specific in ideas and suggestions. Your letter, however, prompts the thought that maybe both of us ought to write to Sargent Shriver to urge him, in his new assignment as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to develop close liaison both for planning and program development with other agencies concerned primarily with urban redevelopment at all levels of government."

In addition, the following comments on the Mobilization for Youth program, taken from an article by Robert Arnold in Dissent Magazine, Summer 1964, are pertinent to the general problem of combating poverty and attendant evils of urban society:

"MFY came to the East Side with a theoretical framework which stressed the social causation of delinquency... 'much delinquency can be understood as representing illegitimate ways of achieving success goals. The fighting gang seeks to achieve prestige ('rep') through

violence; the criminal gang seeks to achieve money ('scores') through theft; the 'consumption gangs' (drug and alcohol using) have retreated from the struggle and accepted defeat...' MFY proposed a 3-pronged attack in the following areas: work, education and community organization ...But MFY has largely failed...Why?...Basically, due to the failure of the government to solve the basic problems of poverty, unemployment and discrimination in this country...Finally, MFY aligned itself with the middle class organizations in the community rather than attempting to place control in the hands of the Negroes and Puerto Ricans themselves, the community's weakest members...If there is a lesson to be learned from this failure, it is that no effort at changing the pattern of slum life can hope to succeed without attempting to destroy the context of poverty and deprivation in which Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minorities are forced to live..."

4. Mr. Millard Humpstone  
Acting Director of Land Use Policy

The major challenge of urban renewal is to design modern uses of space in the center city at rentals industry can afford. The patchwork of land use which has developed cannot be allowed to continue along those lines or the central business districts will strangle and die.

There are currently many obsolete and abandoned industrial buildings in the city which could provide more jobs for displaced production workers. The trouble is that these buildings were originally in the wrong industries, and without some assistance and planning they will only serve to lure more "declining industries" into the city. This will tend to do the opposite of relieving hard-core unemployment; indeed, it will perpetuate it.

The latter point poses a further dilemma. The authorities have long been aware of the threat arising from the flight of industry from the area, but have been reluctant to look at the picture from the point of view of calling in those industries which will reemploy large numbers of those most chronically unemployed. Rather, they have been concerned with attracting the industry which has the greatest implications for long-run growth. But these industries invariably employ more and more of the labor force with little employment problems; in fact, their skills are usually in scarce supply in this and most other areas. The middle ground is difficult to find in the short run, and the long-run solution, more jobs for all, will help mainly the future population.

5. Dr. Leo Egan  
Economic Section  
City Planning Commission

The dilemma that faces the urban renewers is that mostly undesirables are dislocated, but it is largely the socially acceptable who are relocated in the area. Committee after committee has been appointed to solve these problems: How can the people who are without a basic education be trained? What and where are the kinds of job openings for which to train them? What skills are most in demand?

In a speech of January, 1963, the Mayor acknowledged that the number of task forces are multiplying fast but that the solutions are coming slowly, and declared New York City in sympathy with the "War on Poverty" approach. Mr. Egan's own impression of a workable solution is simply that "more jobs must be created for everyone." Experience during and since the depression has shown us some of the ways in which this can be accomplished.

Even now there is much in the way of government stimulation of certain industries through subsidies, etc. But whereas "protection" for my industry is "valid" under the free enterprise system, help for the other guys is "socialism."

The major problem in New York is unemployment among the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. And yet the authorities are aware that a program designed exclusively to help the minorities will bring a backlash from the majority element. Thus, we come back to the initial point made above. Without expanding employment in general, no solution for unemployment among the minority groups is attainable.

## APPENDIX

### Supermarket Redevelopment in Low Income Areas

The purpose of urban renewal is to provide standard housing for all the citizens of the city. In the past, most of the programs have been physically oriented, not people-oriented. The programs have obviously failed in their purpose. Below is outlined a program that combines both people oriented and physically oriented programs that would measurably improve the income of the residents and could begin to improve their employability status. The program can easily be separated, but the impact, the cross fertilization, the results would not be as great.

The introduction of supermarkets into the low income areas will increase income by reducing food cost. The increased income is directly proportional to the amount transferred from small, high cost stores to large, low cost supermarkets. Even with aggressive merchandising such as Food City operations, the transition to supermarket buying by a large proportion of low income families would take a long time. Consequently, the introduction of a supermarket into the neighborhood should be coupled with a vast increase in the home economist services. For the first several years, the primary goal of home economists would be to train the families to budget for food so they could profit from buying at the supermarket. At the same time, the home economist would have to get the families to utilize this extra money, previously devoted to food, for some other necessary home functions. Approximately ten home economists would be required for two years at the rate of 1 per hundred families per year, reaching a total of 50% of the families in the trade area of the supermarket in 2 years.

The supermarket will be the architectural landmark of the area. The building of a new supermarket with its signs, parking lot and other commercial buildings, will be positive evidence of the City's attempt to alleviate the residents' poor conditions. The building could be a temporary, perhaps demountable building subject to complete redevelopment of the area 10 to 15 years later.

The supermarket center could easily become the community center of the neighborhood. The supermarket will no doubt have the highest adult pedestrian traffic in the neighborhood. It will be used frequently by almost all the families, and therefore can become a focal point in the neighborhood. In most slum neighborhoods it certainly will be the only new large building. If the neighbors could somehow participate in this new and vital element of the area, it could become a really important part of their lives. The greater the importance attached to the facility by the residents, the greater the opportunity for the City to suggest to the neighbors that the City is vitally interested in their futures. The mutual interest is essential to both generate and develop effective programs to realize the potential abilities trapped and stunted in these deprived peoples. This is the subject of the second, people-oriented program.

The second aspect would be to place branch libraries next to the supermarket. One of the greatest needs of the poor people is the development of their individual potential. Books, reading, education, are ways of learning. To be successful, the library would have to merchandise their product aggressively. This means hitting the streets and attracting people to the library. The attraction is much easier when the library is conveniently located next to the food store.

Attracting fifty or more trained librarians to staff more than fifty branch libraries in the poor areas is impossible today. Trained librarians are in extremely short supply. Consequently, a somewhat different approach to branch libraries must be found. In Brooklyn, "Reading Centers", staffed by trained clerks rather than librarians, have been established. Today, because of the increased professional status of librarians, this approach is accepted, although perhaps not encouraged. The reference functions of the Reading Centers are handled by the regular branches and regional libraries.

Ways of overcoming the high capital and operating cost of fifty or more branch libraries must be found. Cataloguing costs from 75¢ to \$2.00 per book. This includes acquisition, recording, shelf-listing, cataloguing, covering, and putting the book on the shelf. Circulation costs on the average of 20¢ per check out. This includes checking out, checking in, mailing overdue notices, retrieving lost books, etc. Libraries can, however, mass purchase the paperbacks today for much less than \$1.00. A local California library system is experimenting with massive distribution of paperbacks without cataloguing. While this California library system does not give the paperbacks away, it does not make any strong effort to retrieve the books. The paperbacks are only good for 10 to 15 circulations. With the high cost of cataloguing and circulation, however, it may be cheaper to use this paperback system for Reading Centers.

A supplement to the proposed Reading Center would be a massive use of Bookmobiles with the same concept as the Reading Center. The purpose is to bring the facility to the people who need it, but who will not use it unless conveniently located. The City will indirectly benefit by this through the improved educational motivation of the whole family. The bookmobile concept could be modified in the same manner as the Branch Library and Reading Center. Instead of a \$20,000 special truck, a converted, \$3,000 Ford Econoline or Chevrolet Greenbriar would be satisfactory. If the collection included only paperbacks for lending, then expensive cataloguing could be omitted.

This concept would mean about 50 to 100 Reading Centers throughout the poor areas, with about 100 to 200 station wagon Bookmobiles.

The Home Ec staff persons must be housed in an office with preferably some meeting rooms where larger classes than one to one relationships can be established. At present we have 1 working out of each of the 9 school districts. While Home Ec is an educational function, the poor parents seldom go to the school. The Reading Center would be an excellent location for this function. It is in a heavy traffic area.

The epitome of bringing the facility to the people would be to have the teacher come to the house, just like a social worker. However, the teaching would be restricted to hand-portable materials. The next best thing would be to build special classroom trucks. The trucks would then be driven directly to the house, or preferably the block, for an hour or two hour lesson. Special sewing classroom trucks, typing classroom trucks, language arts classroom trucks with tape recorders, teaching machines, etc., could be built and driven directly to the block front where the people are. This idea has good inherent features: mother can babysit from class; mother will take the class with her neighbors; the neighbors can discuss classroom problems with each other; the teacher can visit the problem in a particular house as part of the class; the family members can

encourage each other to attend because the class is right there in the street.

Philadelphia has several examples of taking the facilities to the people where people would not or cannot avail themselves of the normal facilities. For several summers the Friends Neighborhood Guild, United Neighbors, and the YWCA have sponsored three different trucks in three different areas. The special trucks carried playground equipment with several supervisors. The Meals on Wheels program of the Lighthouse Settlement House carries hot meals to the elderly shut-ins.

Finally, I believe it would be desirable to have the State Store also located here because it brings traffic. It especially brings the male traffic, which is the most difficult to get in any slum area, especially to schools. No doubt it would be much easier to get a man to go to the Reading Center three times a week for lessons where he visits weekly anyhow, than to a school he has never been to, feels uncomfortable in, and probably hates.

Four 1-acre sites are proposed in West Philadelphia: 34th and Haverford, 40th and Girard, 44th and Lancaster, 60th and Market. These include the four supermarket trade areas with average incomes under \$5,000 in 1960. The average redevelopment cost would be \$10 per square foot (\$500,000 acquisition cost per acre less \$50,000 selling price). The total cost to the City for these four 1-acre sites would be just under two million dollars. The families will save \$1,600,000 a year in food cost when the shopping pattern stabilizes. In other words, the families would save almost enough money in that one year to pay for the write-down needed for these sites.

The intense, two-year program of 10 home economists would cost about \$100,000 per site. Each station wagon Bookmobile would cost about \$15,000 the first year when a door-to-door "reader salesman, contact man" was necessary; then it would drop to \$10,000 a year. The annual cost of a 2,000 square foot Reading Center would be about \$30,000 annually, assuming mainly paperbacks and a staff of 3 trained clerks.

During the first two years, the total annual cost of these programs would be \$160,000 per site, or \$640,000. If the home economist program is not continued with periodic job retraining programs, individual development programs, then the annual cost would be only \$60,000 a site.

What happens to the small food stores in these areas? City-wide food stores have declined by one-half over the past 25 years. In West Philadelphia, the number of food stores declined from 1,200 in 1948 to 800 in 1958. If all the possible 32 supermarkets were built in West Philadelphia, there would still be room for 400 small food stores. The introduction of four supermarkets would only hasten the demise of perhaps 100 stores. Perhaps 20 store owners would take advantage of a retraining program. At \$5,000 each, that would cost \$100,000.

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WRIGLEY FIELD: PROBLEMS AND POTENTIALS

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This study was conducted for the Institute of Industrial Relations at UCLA as part of the Coro Foundation's Internship in Public Affairs. Coro Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan public trust established to conduct research and education in the field of government and politics. The internship program is designed to give practical training to qualified candidates who anticipate careers in this field. The intern received no reimbursement for his time other than the Coro Foundation Fellowship. Costs of preparation and publication were borne by the Institute of Industrial Relations. The findings and recommendations in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the policies of the Institute of Industrial Relations.

## Introduction

On October 8, 1957, Norris Poulson, then Mayor of Los Angeles, approved Ordinance No. 110,204, "An Ordinance authorizing and approving contract between The City of Los Angeles, a municipal corporation, and the Brooklyn National League Baseball Club, Inc., a New York corporation, and authorizing the execution thereof." This was the famous "Dodger deal" and involved one of the most bitter political fights in the history of our city.

Opponents of the contract circulated a referendary petition and forced the issue to a vote of the people on June 3, 1958. The contract was approved and that phase of the controversy was ended.

Section 5 of the contract provided that the "Ball Club shall cause to be conveyed to City the land and improvements now known as Wrigley Field, including all mineral rights..." During the pre-election campaign proponents of the contract argued, "...the City will receive Wrigley Field, which has a reasonably estimated current value of \$2,275,000, after allowing for depreciation to date on the improvements. The Department of Recreation and Parks plans to use the improvements for recreation purposes. Even if they were not useful, the City would have to pay for them if it were acquiring the property by condemnation."<sup>1</sup> Dodger opponents countered, "Although two appraisers of the Department of Public Works did place a value of \$2,500,000 on Wrigley Field, two-thirds of this was for the improvements, for which the City will probably find little or no use and which it may even spend money to have removed. The not-quite ten acres there have a value much less than a million dollars." It might also be added that the Public Works appraisal of Wrigley Field viewed Wrigley Field as a site of play for the revenue-producing Los Angeles Angels, then a minor league team. The day that the Dodgers moved to Los Angeles that usage ended and the valuation accordingly shifted downward an unspecified amount.

The controversy over the Dodger contract is now only a memory. The controversy over Wrigley Field has continued and intensified. Observers both inside and outside of city government concede that the Field now constitutes a "white elephant", a facility without adequate usage. For over five years plan and counter-plan, argument and counter-argument have resulted in frustration, a frustration aided and abetted by lack of financing and inadequate leadership.

It should be made clear at the outset that this report does not place blame for this frustration on any group or individual, public or private. Wrigley Field presents a complicated dilemma involving demonstrated community needs, planning, and politics. This report seeks to present background information in an unemotional manner so that a clear course for the future may be charted. Wrigley Field has the potential to be a community resource of incalculable worth. This report seeks to contribute to the realization of that potential.

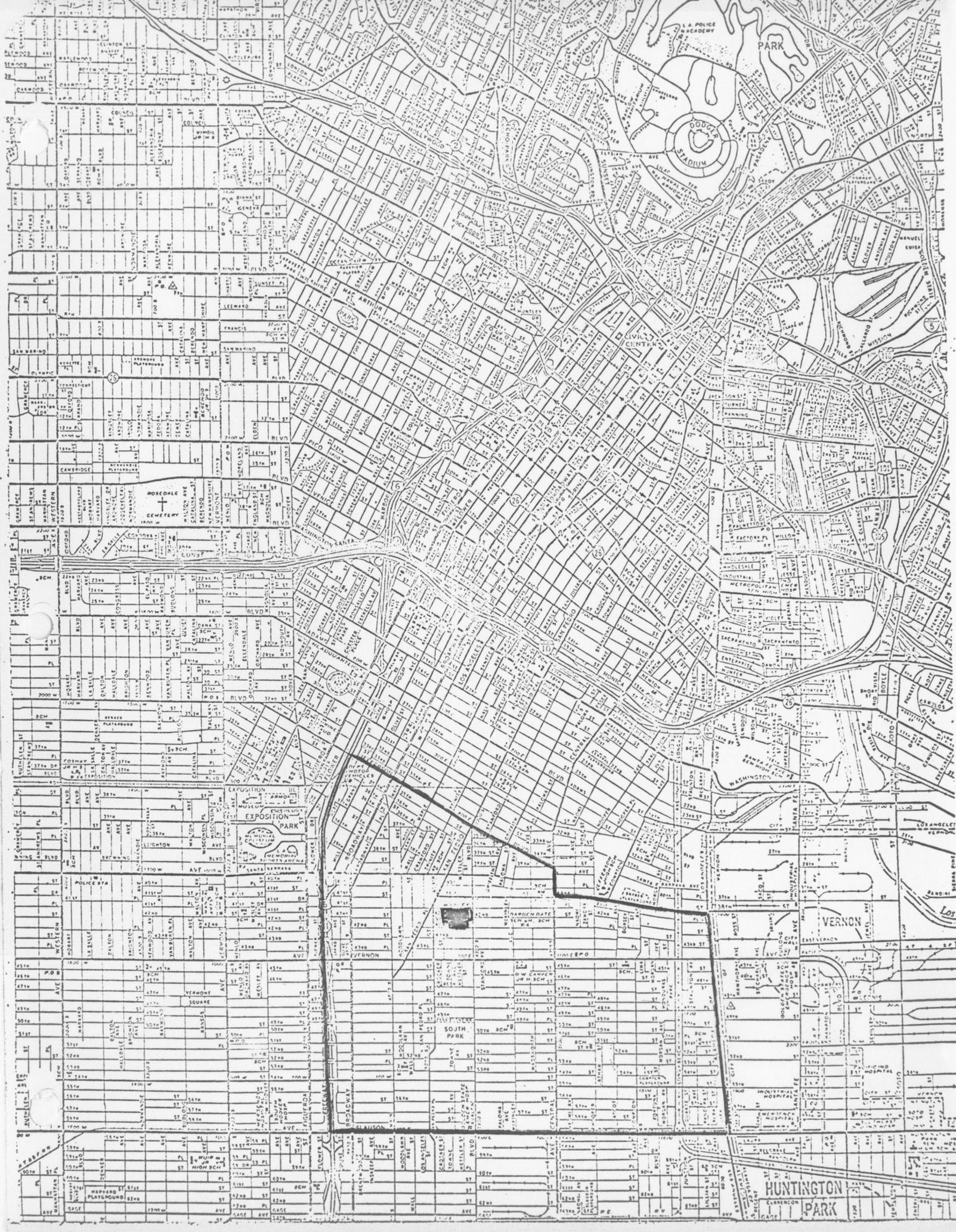
#### What and Where is Wrigley Field?

Wrigley Field is a baseball stadium of 20,000 seating capacity located at the corner of 42nd Street and Avalon Boulevard in the city of Los Angeles. The site is 10.13 acres in area and has a parking capacity of 450 cars. Because of inadequate parking, cars were parked on neighborhood lawns during its use as a baseball facility.

In 1957 a joint study of possible major league baseball sites by the planning department and the recreation and parks department of the city reported the following facts concerning Wrigley Field.<sup>2</sup>

Location: 42nd and Avalon is near the center of population of Los Angeles

The following maps indicate the location of Wrigley Field. The first map indicates the Avalon-Central community, as defined in this report, outlined in green. The Wrigley site is outlined in red.





MAPLE

39th ST.

WALL

CRAWFORD

TRINITY SCHOOL

METTLER

37th St.

38th St.

SANTA BARBARA

POSSIBLE RETAIL ALIGNMENT

40th PL.

41st ST.

41st PL.

PRIVATE PROP.

WRIGLEY

FIELD

PRIVATE

42nd PL.

PRIV

AVALON

42nd ST.

MAIN

WOODLAWN

SAN PEDRO

43rd ST.

43rd PL.

SAN PEDRO

VERNON

WALL

CROCKER

TOWNE

METTLER

STANFORD

45th

46th

1" = 400'

County and is approximately five miles south of civic center.

Traffic Facilities: Facilities for access to this site by automobile are unusually good. The Harbor Freeway, one-half mile west, provides access from the Harbor area and from all freeways converging at the cloverleaf (Figueroa Street) interchange and serving San Fernando Valley, Hollywood, Pasadena, and the eastern sections of Los Angeles County. Principal north-south streets leading into this site from the downtown area and from the southern section of the city include Figueroa Street, Broadway, Main Street, San Pedro Street and Central Avenue. Principal east-west streets between Washington Boulevard and Slauson Avenue are likewise available for traffic to and from this area.

Transit Facilities: Seven coach lines and two streetcar lines serve the area directly. With completion of the proposed Slauson and Industrial Freeways, additional shuttle-bus service between them will be possible. In up-dating this information the author has found that both the Slauson and Industrial Freeways are in the preliminary planning phases and will not be completed before 1970. The Slauson Freeway will be located close to the present alignment of Slauson Avenue while the Industrial Freeway will be routed close to Alameda Street. In addition, one of the four major backbone routes of the proposed rapid transit system will be placed between Central Avenue and Alameda Street.

Topography: The Wrigley site is generally flat.

Land Availability: Acquisition of additional land for a major league stadium was found not to present a major problem as the residential and commercial properties in the area are not new and are of comparatively low assessed valuation.

### Avalon-Central and Its People

While used as a baseball stadium Wrigley Field served as a regional sports center. That is, people from outside the immediate neighborhood, often from outside the city of Los Angeles, patronized the stadium. The Field's history as a regional center does not, however, necessarily mean that its highest and best use for the future is as a regional center. In fact, a major policy question in the future of Wrigley Field is whether it shall be developed primarily to fill the needs of the immediately surrounding community or whether it shall be developed to attract people on a city-wide or even regional basis. A major consideration is the size of Wrigley site, a relatively small 10 acres which encompasses parking for only 450 cars at present. By comparison, Exposition Park, which includes the Coliseum and Sports Arena complex, consists of 80 acres. A basic question is what the service area of the Wrigley site shall be.

For purposes of this study the Avalon-Central "community" surrounding the Wrigley site shall include those residents within the boundaries of Jefferson Boulevard on the north, Figueroa Street on the west, Alameda Street on the east and Slauson Avenue on the south. This is the area as defined by the Welfare Planning Council and approximately the same as that defined by the Los Angeles City Planning Commission (west boundary of the Commission area is Main Street). At the present time 65,000 people live within this area.

If the surrounding Avalon-Central community cannot demonstrate unmet needs that can be served by the Wrigley site and if adequate access to the site is possible from outside the community (where "access" includes parking), then emphasis should shift to a regional use.

Are there unmet needs within the Avalon-Central community? To answer this question we shall rely on two recent and reliable reports: Avalon and Its People: The Profile of a Community by Bert Renstrom and Study of Avalon-Slauson Area by Robert L. Bond.<sup>3</sup>

The Avalon-Central area was annexed as a part of the City of Los Angeles during 1900 and 1910 as the city grew. The Negro population, which was located primarily in the Central Avenue-Jefferson Boulevard district, began to increase in numbers. Its movement has been toward the west and southwest. Renstrom illustrates the present trend:

Once a quiet lower middle-class residential neighborhood, its (Avalon-Central's) recent history is characterized by changes that mark it as a community on the decline.

With these changes has come physical blight. Older, larger homes cut into small apartments, neglected structural maintenance and absentee ownership as well as deterioration of some public services, have hastened the community's physical decline in recent years.

Because it is an older settlement situated close to the Central City, Avalon has shared the fate of similar communities in metropolitan areas from coast to coast: as the more prosperous residents have moved away, they have been replaced by a less advantaged population--often transients who intend to leave as soon as they get their bearings or can afford to move. These include members of minority groups, persons of lower educational attainment, blue-collar workers, and newcomers from economically disadvantaged portions of the United States for whom moving to a large urban area represents an effort to achieve a better life.<sup>4</sup>

## Population

Table I

Population	1950 Avalon-Central	1960 Avalon-Central	1960 L.A. City	1960 County
White population	18,006	6,434	2,061,808	5,453,866
Percent white	22.5%	9.8%	83.2%	90.3%
Negro population	61,221	58,389	334,916	461,546
Percent Negro	76.5%	89.2%	13.5%	7.6%
Percent other races	1.0%	1.0%	3.3%	2.1%
Total population	80,000	65,484	2,479,015	6,038,771

Renstrom notes that virtually the entire drop in population of Avalon-Central from 80,000 to 65,000 occurred between 1950 and 1953. The construction of the Harbor Freeway during those years accounted for one-third of the loss. The other two-thirds of the decline represent a housing trend which leveled off in 1953. By 1953 the housing demands of the community's more advantaged residents had been met in other parts of Los Angeles. The City Planning Department's latest projections indicate that the Avalon-Central population will remain stable at its present level until at least 1980.

Population density, one of the highest in the city, is 28 persons per acre. The area's percentage of Negro population is 12 times that for the county as a whole.

The ratio of young people and adults in the Avalon-Central area is approximately the same as the rest of the city. However, there is a larger percentage of people over 65 years of age living in Avalon-Central than is common in most heavily Negro areas.

### Housing

Table II

Housing Characteristics--1960

	Avalon-Central Area	Los Angeles City	Los Angeles County
Percent owner occupied	26.7%	43.3%	51.2%
Percent renter occupied	67.3%	50.4%	42.7%
Percent deteriorating housing units	18.0%	7.4%	6.6%
Percent dilapidated housing units	2.8%	1.4%	1.4%

There are significantly fewer owner-occupied dwellings in Avalon-Central than in the city or county. The percent of deteriorating housing in the area is three times as high as that for the county; and the percentage of dilapidated housing units is twice as high as that of the county.

There were 366 housing units without heat in Avalon-Central according to the 1960 census. The median rent was \$58, as against \$71 in county. However, because of low incomes in this area, it remains true that a higher proportion of Avalon income is devoted to housing than in the county as a whole. The median value of a home in Avalon was \$11,200 in contrast to \$12,900 in the county.

The percentage of housing units over a quarter of a century old in Avalon-Central is 87.2% as against 40.8% for the county.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the city Building and Safety Department indicates that most of the Avalon-Central housing is close to 50 years old. It is no longer economically feasible to maintain single-family residences in this area.

### Education

Table III

Median Education

<u>Year</u>	<u>Avalon-Central Area</u>	<u>Los Angeles City</u>	<u>Los Angeles County</u>
1950	9.6 years	12.0 years	12.0 years
1960	8.9 years	12.1 years	12.1 years

It appears that the falling educational level is related to two factors in Avalon's population change over the decade, according to Renstrom.<sup>6</sup> First is the increasing proportion of persons age 40 and over who, on the whole, have had less education than the younger population. Second is the loss of persons age 20 to 39 who may have been able to benefit from the broadened educational opportunities of the fifties.

Another contributing factor is a heavy Southern influx:

Of the 8,037 persons who moved there (Avalon-Central) from other parts of the United States between 1955 and 1960 nearly 5,000, or 61.6 per cent, came from the South, compared with 19 percent of Southern newcomers to Los Angeles County. As of 1960, persons of Southern origin who moved into Avalon since 1955 represented 8.5% of the community's total population age 5 and over; this compares with 3.4 percent for Los Angeles County as a whole. Had the rate of immigration from the South been constant over the Census decade, in 1960 at least 17 percent of Avalon's population would consist of former Southerners. However, there is no way of determining whether these newcomers arrived in the estimated proportions, or if, having moved in, they remained in the community.<sup>7</sup>

### Income

Table IV

Income--Families and Unrelated Individuals

<u>Year</u>	<u>Avalon-Central Area</u>	<u>Los Angeles City</u>	<u>Los Angeles County</u>
1950	\$2,100	\$2,879	\$2,250
1960	3,121	5,324	5,823

If unrelated individuals are left out of the data, then the discrepancy is even greater, with the 1960 Avalon families having a median income of \$4,225 as against \$6,896 in the city and \$7,046 in the county. If we accept the United States Government's contention that \$5,500 income is needed by a family of four for a "minimum standard of decency", then three out of every four Avalon families are below that standard.

Employment and UnemploymentTable V

## Unemployment in Civilian Labor Force--1960

<u>Unemployed</u>	<u>Avalon-Central Area</u>	<u>Los Angeles City</u>	<u>Los Angeles County</u>
Male	13.9%	6.7%	5.7%
Female	11.1%	6.3%	5.9%

Perhaps even more disturbing than the above figures is the employment composition of the area. In 1960, in Los Angeles County, 49.5% of those employed were in white-collar jobs, 44.6% in blue-collar jobs, and 5.9% "no report." Those Avalon-Central residents employed were 16.9% white-collar, 71.2% blue-collar, and 11.9% "no report." The large proportion of blue-collar workers means that unemployment in Avalon-Central will not go down, but rather will increase. This conclusion is founded upon analysis by the Bureau of Labor Statistics:

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics has made projections of the occupational distribution of the labor force as it is expected to look in 1970...There will be some increases in relative job opportunities for skilled workers, a slight decline for semi-skilled workers, and a sharp decline for unskilled workers...The conclusion is fairly clear. There will be fewer and fewer job opportunities for the unskilled. Many workers with some skill will need to be retrained for different jobs and a higher proportion of workers will need the higher educational attainment required for employment in white-collar occupations."<sup>8</sup> (underlining added)

Social Problems in Avalon-Central<sup>9</sup>

Carver Junior High School is located within the Avalon-Central area. Carver's drop-out rate is second highest among Los Angeles City Junior High Schools. Jefferson High School, in this area, has the highest drop-out rate among the 35 Los Angeles City Senior High Schools. It has been said that the Avalon-Central area has the highest "put-out and push-out"

school rate in Los Angeles. School transiency rates are high.

The Avalon-Central area comprises 85% of the population served by the Newton Street Police Division. Between 1957 and 1961 that division reported that the number of juvenile arrests doubled and many of those crimes were of a serious nature. The Newton Street Division juvenile population represented 3.3% of the city's population, but 5.5% of the juveniles arrested in the city resided in the Newton Street Division. During the same period the number of adult crimes showed a decrease.

Almost one-half of the Southeast Health District lies within the Avalon-Central area. That health district covers only 4% of the city population, but accounted for 31% of the reported venereal disease in the city during 1961. Tuberculosis, maternal child deaths and other disease rates are higher in the Southeast Health District than in the rest of the city.

Avalon-Central, with 1% of the county's population, had 6.4% of the county's Aid to Needy Children (ANC) cases as of July, 1962.

The number of widowed and divorced people in the Avalon-Slauson area is very high, and accounts for 21.5% of the 14 years and over population in contrast to 13.3% for the entire county. The number of two-parent families as a total for all family units is a good indicator of family stability and economic self-sufficiency. The figures for the county were 86.8% in contrast to Avalon's 68.8%. There are, therefore, less parents in Avalon to give help to the children; there are more divorcees and widows with marginal incomes. In summary, the Avalon-Slauson children are at a distinct disadvantage because many of them lack two-parent families necessary for their psycho-social development, and their families have sub-standard incomes necessary for their adequate financial support.<sup>10</sup>

#### Wrigley Field, 1960-1964

On September 20, 1960, Wrigley Field became the property of the city of Los Angeles. After a transition period, under Board of Public Works administration, the city Department of Recreation and Parks acquired jurisdiction on January 4, 1961.

For over three years the Recreation and Parks department has made an apparently conscientious effort to turn Wrigley Field into an operating community asset. Their efforts have been largely unsuccessful.

Only two sustained uses of Wrigley Field have been made in recent years: Soccer League on Sunday afternoons and rental by the Los Angeles Angels from May to December, 1961.

Staff time to maintain Wrigley Field costs approximately \$2000 per month. This includes a senior gardener, 2 gardener-caretakers, and 2 custodians (16 hours per week each). In 1963 rentals of the field averaged less than \$400 per month. In spite of over \$100,000 in renovation done by the Angels, the structure, built in 1925, continues to deteriorate. According to a May, 1963, Recreation and Parks memorandum:

The structure is generally neat and clean. The paint which was put on by the last owners is beginning to age. Plaster and concrete are spalling and cracking and rust from the steel is staining the paint. Water and weather damage is apparent throughout and vandalism damage is quite obvious. Proper maintenance of this facility would be extremely expensive.

This same memorandum approximated the value of the site at \$700,000 and the value of an operating major stadium as \$2.5 million. It was also noted that there was apparently no dedication or restriction upon the deed to the property.

The possibility of Wrigley Field being utilized as a major baseball stadium by the Los Angeles Angels was the subject of a July 25, 1963, letter from William Frederickson, General Manager of Recreation and Parks, to Mayor Sam Yorty. A representative of the Angels had stated the ball club's needs including the following: 100 acres to park 10,000 cars, a new \$18,000,000 stadium to seat 40,000 - 45,000 people. The Angels were not interested in a renovation program for Wrigley Field.

Agreement was reached between the city and the Philadelphia Phillies baseball club for use of the stadium for training purposes in 1963. Due to the lateness of the agreement, however, the Phillies were not able to hold their program at Wrigley. They have not renewed their application.

During 1962 a roller derby was contemplated for the stadium but these plans were also abortive.

Continuing efforts to secure the stadium have been made by groups promoting motorcycle racing and midget automobile racing. Those groups in this category are Jess Channon Enterprises, Inc., J. C. Agajanian, California Racing Association, and Motorcycle Racers Incorporated. Of these Mr. Channon has been the most persistent. In May, 1962, Mr. Channon submitted a rather detailed proposal to the Recreation and Parks Commission seeking permission to operate a  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile track at Wrigley. He offered a guaranteed annual rental of \$6,300 (\$300 per event). Mr. Channon offered an alternative of 10% of the estimated gross to the city, a sum he estimated at close to \$40,000 per year. The Commission's policy, to this time, has been to deny this type of application because of the noise problem, lack of parking, and neighborhood opposition. Also, present C-2 and R-3 zoning would not permit racing.

In 1963 an employee of Recreation and Parks, Mr. Gene Dodd, estimated the cost of demolition of the stadium at between \$150,000 and \$200,000. This sum includes possible salvage. He also estimated renovation costs at \$78,000. The precise meaning of this estimate, in terms of actual work to be performed, is unclear. A conflicting estimate of \$200,000 for repair and renovation has also been mentioned in public statements concerning Wrigley. A minor alteration involving the northeast bleachers was estimated at slightly over \$8,000.

### The Future of Avalon-Central

The Avalon-Central area is considered to be a port of entry, especially for the people coming from the southern part of the United States. The area has many of the characteristics which typify the port of entry area. It is close to the center of the city; it has a large number of minority groups; it has a high percentage of children and able-bodied people; it is overcrowded with a high percentage of renters; industry and commerce are encroaching on the area. However, there is not in the Avalon-Central area the usual high turnover in population which we might expect...the population in the Avalon-Central area is not so transient that it is not possible to develop a sense of community among the residents living there, and to help motivate them to work together to improve their community. 11

The East Central Area guide plan of the Regional Planning Commission of Los Angeles County indicates the land-use "isolation" of the Avalon-Central area. To the east lies the Vernon industrial area; to the south lies a stable industrial warehousing strip development along Slauson Avenue; to the west lies the Harbor Freeway; to the north lies a growing industrial-warehousing belt along the Southern-Pacific Railroad just north of Jefferson Boulevard.

Just to the north of the Jefferson Boulevard Belt lies a separate isolated community of the Naomi-Stanford-Trinity neighborhoods (bounded approximately by Jefferson on the south, Main on the west, Washington on the north and Hooper on the east). In 1957-1958 the City Planning Commission recommended redevelopment of these blighted neighborhoods to provide more livable residential space and well-integrated commercial services. This suggested renewal plan apparently has not been acted upon by the Community Redevelopment Agency.

A detailed study of land use in the Avalon-Central area, based on the 1960 Los Angeles Regional Transportation Study aerial survey, reveals residential and light industrial uses mixed with strip commercial development.

Much of the area is zoned R-3 (multiple-unit dwelling) and the firm but gradual trend is from single family homes to apartments. A detailed study of zone change applications in this area for the last seven years discloses a dearth of major zone changes.

The land-use trend for the next twenty years in Avalon-Central will result in a high-density residential area, physically isolated from other residential areas. This trend is already evident and will be accelerated by rapid transit and freeway construction. It is important to note that the Wrigley Field site is the last significant piece of non-park open space in Avalon-Central.

Existing social problems will undoubtedly intensify in the years ahead. This condition is closely linked to the lack of local leadership.

#### A Consideration of Proposals for Wrigley Field

According to Mr. William Frederickson, Jr., General Manager of the Los Angeles Department of Recreation and Parks, provisions of the City Charter (Sections 170 and 171) dictate that all lands held by the Recreation and Parks Department must be used to "aid and promote public recreation." The Commission, with the approval of the City Council, may lease the property for a term not to exceed 50 years to the county or state if such a lease is to promote public recreation. If property is not presently needed for recreational purposes, it may be leased for a period not to exceed 3 years, without Council approval, and apparently without restriction on short-term use. In fact, at this time the County Assessor, a non-recreational function, is using office space in the Wrigley Field tower under an informal agreement with Recreation and Parks.

Commissioner Pierson, at the April 30, 1964, meeting, stated that a cemetery is now under commission jurisdiction, thus indicating that the term "public recreation" is subject to broad interpretation.

At the present time five different types of future utilization have been proposed for Wrigley Field:

Alternative I: Retain buildings and grounds in present condition and operate a commercial recreation center.

Alternative II: Rebuild structures and operate as a stadium with some community recreation facilities.

Alternative III: Remove 10,000-15,000 seats. Retain 5,000-10,000 seats. Operate as a combination stadium and recreation center.

Alternative IV: Demolish structure and reconstruct as a major recreation center.

Alternative V: Demolish structure and reconstruct as a multi-purpose community center.

Alternative I: Retain buildings and grounds in present condition and operate a commercial recreation center.

Evidence already cited indicates that there is no possibility that Wrigley Field will again be operated as a major baseball stadium. The only other commercial sports use now being promoted is midget auto racing and motorcycle racing. Such an operation could only begin after a change of zone. Such a zone change would be strenuously opposed by local residents. In addition, Mr. J. C. Agajanian, a nationally-recognized promotor of auto and motorcycle racing, states that the probable maximum income to the city from racing could not exceed \$25,000, which would barely pay for present maintenance efforts. Mr. Agajanian stated at the April 30, 1964, meeting of the Los Angeles Recreation and Parks Commission that he felt that racing

should not be conducted at Wrigley Field. Considerations of modern planning practice, community relations and economics do not favor racing.

Use of Wrigley Field for commercial recreation is not feasible and is not recommended. Because of the legal restrictions discussed above, commercial non-recreational use of the Wrigley Field would appear to be illegal.

Therefore, development or use of Wrigley Field for commercial (profit-making) purposes is not recommended.

Alternative II: Rebuild structures and operate as a stadium with some community recreation facilities.

The possibility of rebuilding Wrigley Field for major baseball use has already been discussed and determined not feasible. A community recreation facility clearly does not require the present 20,000 seating capacity.

Alternatives III and IV: Remove 10,000-15,000 seats. Retain 5,000-10,000 seats. Operate as a combination stadium and recreation center. Or demolish structure and reconstruct as a major recreation center.

Removal of a portion of the structure would not hinder use of the field by Little League or youth athletic organizations. Groups supporting such usage persuasively stated their needs at the April 30 commission meeting. A "Youth Stadium" has been proposed by Thomas M. Southern, Chairman, Managers and Coaches Association and Citizens Committee. Such proposals are clearly consistent with charter limitations on the use of Recreation and Park land.

The possibility of using Wrigley for a Los Angeles Tennis Center was raised in a City Council resolution of August 21, 1963, introduced by

Councilman Gilbert Lindsay. On that date the Council asked the Recreation and Parks Commission to delay all proceedings leading to demolition of Wrigley Field and to specifically consider conversion of the property to a tennis facility.

On June 20, 1963, the Recreation and Parks General Manager, Mr. Frederickson, recommended a recreational program for Wrigley Field. The initial annual budget for this program was \$75,998.<sup>12</sup> The programs suggested by the General Manager would appear well fitted to a stadium of reduced seating capacity. In fact, reduced maintenance costs on a smaller structure might well lead to smaller rental fees and intensified use for athletic play-offs and other community uses.

However, attention should also be directed to existing recreational facilities in this area:

<u>Recreation Centers</u>	<u>Relation to Wrigley Field</u>
South Park, 18.16 acres.....	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south
Exposition Park, 80 acres.....	$\frac{3}{4}$ mile northwest
Ross Snyder, 11.46 acres.....	$\frac{3}{4}$ mile northeast
Central, 1.41 acres.....	1 mile northeast
Trinity, 2.07 acres.....	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ mile north

#### School Recreation Centers

Garden Gate High School.....1 block east  
 Carver Jr. High School.....4 blocks southeast  
 Jefferson High School.....6 blocks east  
 Plus three elementary schools within  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile

The following facilities already exist within the metropolitan area, although it is conceded that not all are within easy access for the Avalon-Central Community:

L.A. County Museum	Sports Arena
Otis Art Institute	Coliseum
Barnsdall Park	Hollywood Bowl

Griffith Park  
 Philharmonic  
 Greek Theatre  
 L.A. County Arboretum  
 Pan Pacific Auditorium

Shrine Auditorium  
 Pacific Ocean Park  
 Marineland  
 California Museum of  
 Science and Industry

It must be stated again that the 10 acre Wrigley site is the last significant piece of non-park open space in the Avalon-Central community. This 10 acre site presents a precious opportunity for community development.

Undoubtedly, the advantages of the present structure need not be entirely lost. But partial removal of the structure would still leave seating for from 5,000 to 10,000 people, more than adequate for community recreational needs.

Recreational uses are recommended as part, but not the entire purpose of final site development.

Alternative V: Demolish or modify structure and construct a multi-purpose community center.

The creation of a multi-purpose community development center or "supermarket of services" has been advocated by Mrs. Opal C. Jones, Executive Director of the Avalon Community Center. The Avalon Community Center, a United Way Agency, is located within a block of Wrigley Field at 4272 Avalon Boulevard. Robert Bond reports that the Avalon Center "has for its limited staff and budget one of the best neighborhood center programs he has ever studied." <sup>13</sup> The South Central Inter-Agency Coordinating Committee, composed of staff members of agencies providing services in this area, has also supported the "supermarket" idea.

The Avalon center, now combined with the Carver center to form a new Avalon-Carver center, states its case:

Essentially we feel that public and private health, welfare, education and recreation services in the Avalon-Central Community need to be:

1. More coordinated
2. More accessible to the neighbors
3. Changed, in order to more effectively meet the needs (quality of service)
4. Increased in order to provide more needed services (quantity of service)

One exciting possibility of achieving these changes -- more services, better services, more effectively coordinated services and services which people are more easily able and willing to use -- lies in offering as many of these public and private health, welfare, education, recreation and employment services in one central location in the neighborhood which we are trying to help.

The Wrigley Field site is centrally located in this Avalon-Central Community. Wrigley Field would provide an ideal location for such an exciting experiment in teamwork. Wrigley Field affords a setting where there could be office space, facilities and other space that could be utilized by all agencies in the project.

We request that the Recreation and Parks Commission of the City of Los Angeles approve in principle, the establishment of such a Community Development Center with the coordination of services which could be located at the Wrigley Field site. This request, if granted, would offer many important advantages to the Los Angeles Recreation and Parks Commission:

1. It would be a concrete step toward putting to immediate and vital use this now unused facility of great community and city wide importance.
2. It would demonstrate the leadership and concern of the Department of Recreation and Parks in the nationally important area of coordination of services, community development and teamwork in multi-problem neighborhoods.
3. It would permit the department to initiate creative and important recreational uses for Wrigley Field as an integral part of this project.
4. It would provide an important opportunity for the Department of Recreation and Parks to extend, develop and deepen their working relationship with other public and private agencies in the Avalon-Central Community.

This proposal, originated in early 1962, is largely based on the experience of Hull House in Chicago. Mrs. Jones reports that similar centers exist in Vancouver and Cleveland.

A pilot program in this team service approach has already been demonstrated in the Pueblo Del Rio Housing Project. Participants in this coordinated effort included the County Bureau of Public Assistance, Department of Health, Avalon Community Center, City Housing Authority, Adult Education, Recreation and Parks Department.

Pueblo Del Rio is a small demonstration program in which services were brought to the residents of a small area. The "supermarket of services" envisions a fixed community development center serving a much larger population, with citizens receiving agency services both at the Wrigley center and in their homes.

In addition to the agencies involved in Pueblo Del Rio the following agencies have been mentioned for inclusion in the "supermarket": State Department of Employment, State Department of Social Welfare, State Vocational Rehabilitation Services, State Department of Mental Hygiene, Los Angeles County Probation Department, Los Angeles City Building and Safety Department, State Fair Employment Practice Commission, Urban League, programs related to senior citizens, Police Department, school authorities, County Commission on Human Relations, State Youth Authority, State Adult Authority, Welfare Planning Council and other relevant United Way agencies.

Participation in the "supermarket" would mean agency contribution to:

1. regular inter-agency meetings to familiarize all agencies with all existing programs and resources and to acquaint staff with community potentials and problems.
2. a variety of "case" conferences on particular families, blocks or neighborhoods within the area.
3. sharing joint services such as intake interviewing, community relations and education, secretarial pool and research projects.

The Avalon-Carver Community Center has proposed that inter-agency cooperation be initiated, on a pilot program basis, in the office space within the existing Wrigley Field tower. This proposal is now under study by the Department of Recreation and Parks.

The concept of a "super-market of services" is a relatively new one. It calls upon the city to assume a new function. Dr. John E. Bebout, Director of the Urban Studies Center at Rutgers University, has graphically outlined the importance of a new orientation in municipal service:

Why not consider seriously the possibility that the city's function in society has changed; and that a major service to the rest of the society at present and for the immediate future is to be a new kind of combination Ellis Island and training school for the receipt, training, and ultimate transshipment to the suburbs of underprivileged in-migrants?

It is, in fact, an enormously important function that needs to be performed--certainly as important as the analogous function performed by families when they receive, train, and transship to other systems the invaders of each new generation; or the similar function performed by schools and colleges in all areas. Being as important, it should be taken at least as seriously. Far from being the source of the city's downfall, in other words, the city's underprivileged in-migrants might be, if seen properly, the city's new lease on life.

If, of course, the city is to perform that function for the larger society, the larger society must pay the cost. That means radically greater support of the city by the State and Federal governments...Doing nothing, of course, is an alternative, but only a short-run one. It cannot go on for very long, for the simple reason that the failure of the city to give its members what they need will necessarily result in accentuation of the very difficulties the city now finds itself in--the exodus of those people who can afford to get out, and the progressive worsening of the pathologies that are making the city a combination jungle and alms-house.<sup>14</sup>

It should be emphasized that a "super-market of services" is not intended as a replacement for existing government centers, but rather a way-station designed to involve the disadvantaged and disheartened in an initial contact with the fabric of the entire city. Of paramount importance

is the direct participation of the people of Avalon-Central in the creation and maintenance of such a center. The concept of "citizen-participation" is often accepted on an abstract level, but not practiced in reality. Programs imposed solely by outside leaders who "know what is best" for the problem community will not succeed.

#### Citizen Reaction in Avalon-Central

Residents in the immediate neighborhood of Wrigley Field have made it abundantly clear that they oppose midget auto racing and motorcycle racing at Wrigley. What these same citizens will support is less clear.

The April 30, 1964, meeting of the Recreation and Parks Commission was held at South Park so that community sentiment on Wrigley Field could be expressed. Proposals for midget auto racing, little league baseball and the supermarket of services were presented to the meeting. Commission President Leonard Shane pointed out that the last two proposals were not necessarily in conflict and both operations could be accommodated on the site. A new college for the Wrigley site was also advocated. This idea is impractical because of site size. Nearby Jefferson High School has an area nearly twice as large as Wrigley. A college would require even more space than a high school.

The Citizens Committee for Wrigley Field, formed a week earlier at a public meeting of 100 residents, appeared to oppose racing and support "a multi-purpose, cultural-recreational-educational services center."

Previous house-to-house surveys conducted under the auspices of the Avalon-Carver Community Center have revealed a low level of citizen awareness as to the possibilities for Wrigley development. However, the interest of

Negro newspapers, especially the California Eagle, presages a growing community involvement. The Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, a metropolitan paper, has also begun to report developments in the Wrigley controversy.

Gilbert W. Lindsay, Councilman of the Ninth District, represents this area on the City Council. The Council will play a crucial role in planning for Wrigley Field and, traditionally, Councilmen have virtual veto power over projects within their own districts.

Councilman Lindsay has publicly stated that he is waiting for a clear indication of citizen preference before stating his own position. At the April 30 meeting, Mr. Lindsay delivered a stern warning for those "outside the Ninth District" to cease their involvement in the Wrigley Field controversy. He criticized the Avalon Community Center for allegedly failing to work closely with him and attempting to bypass him.

It would appear that Councilman Lindsay now feels that both the "supermarket" of services and community recreation, especially Little League, can be and should be included in the ultimate development of Wrigley Field. His major reservations center on the financing and jurisdiction of such a development.

#### Financing and Jurisdiction

The future of Wrigley Field is inextricably tied to government and politics at the local, state and federal levels.

On the city level, those immediately involved are Councilmen Lindsay and Bradley and the Recreation and Parks Commission. Councilman Lindsay is directly concerned as Councilman of the area; Councilman Bradley is interested as President of the Avalon-Carver Community Center. The policy of the

Recreation and Parks Commission is undetermined. Commission President Shane and Commissioner Pierson have indicated strong sympathy for a multi-purpose community center. Commissioners Morton and Fox are concerned lest Wrigley Field be lost to recreational purposes. Commissioner England was absent from the April 30 meeting.

Financing of new development at Wrigley Field by the city is extremely doubtful. The entire public works appropriation for the ninth councilmanic district totals approximately one million dollars per year. A remodeling of the stadium and construction of a new office building for a "supermarket" of services could well exhaust this entire budget, in the opinion of Councilman Lindsay. This would mean elimination of public works projects for the rest of this large district for an entire year. Rather than completely financing new development, a city contribution of \$200,000 would appear more feasible.

At the state level, Assemblyman Mervyn Dymally of the 53rd District has introduced two bills concerning Wrigley Field. Dymally has probably been the elected official most actively concerned with Wrigley Field. He has declared, "This structure Wrigley Field is a white elephant and a disgrace to the community. Nothing has been done to improve its appearance, or to make it available for the use of the people. This is a flagrant waste of taxpayers' money."<sup>15</sup> On March 5, 1963, Dymally introduced AB 1651, which would have required the California Museum of Science and Industry to accept conveyance of Wrigley Field without cost from the City of Los Angeles, and to construct a multipurpose recreational and cultural arena, pavilion or building. The bill would also have appropriated an unspecified sum from the Fair and Exposition Fund to the Museum for such a purpose on a matching

basis. It also authorized the Museum, upon completion of building, to lease the property to the City of Los Angeles for recreational and cultural purposes. No action was taken on AB 1651. Indeed, Wrigley Field lies outside the jurisdiction of the Museum of Science and Industry (6th Agricultural District Association). However, AB 1651 did establish Wrigley Field as a matter of state legislative interest.

On March 9, 1964, Dymally introduced AB 99, authorizing the State Department of Recreation and Parks to acquire Wrigley Field for a state recreational and cultural center, consisting of one or more state-owned buildings, and appropriating an unspecified amount for this purpose. A companion resolution (AR 41) by Dymally provides for interim study of Wrigley Field development. At this time it would appear that such an interim study will be authorized within the context of a broader probe into problems of unemployment and poverty.

On April 17, 1964, State Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post, in reply to a request for information from Assemblyman Dymally, reviewed state financial assistance to local governments for programs similar to those proposed in AB 1651. Post reported that:

The most relevant illustration of state assistance for a local program concerns the rehabilitation of the San Francisco Palace of Fine Arts. Chapter 2386, Statutes of 1957, which parallels AB 1651, appropriated \$2 million from the State Park Fund to the Division of Beaches and Parks to help renovate the Palace of Fine Arts. Expenditure of this money was contingent, first, upon the free conveyance of the property to the State and, second, upon the contribution of matching money from private or other non-state sources. The bill further provided that after the property had been rehabilitated, the State Park Commission could lease it to the City and County of San Francisco for "park, cultural, recreational, educational, museum, artistic, and musical purposes".<sup>16</sup>

Two stumbling blocks to similar state aid to Wrigley Field are apparent. First, the Palace of Fine Arts would be conveyed to the state under the terms set by the Legislature. The Los Angeles City Charter allows recreation and park land to be leased to the state but not conveyed. This is, however, a layman's interpretation and this matter should be examined by the City Attorney. Second, the Palace of Fine Arts is clearly an historical site. It would seem doubtful that Wrigley Field could be so classified.

Mr. Charles de Turk, Director of the State Department of Recreation and Parks, states that state financing for parks has been traditionally directed to sites of historical interest or sites large enough to fill a regional need. Wrigley Field would not seem to qualify under either criterion.

However, these considerations do not preclude some form of state contribution to the creation of a community development center incorporating both a supermarket of services and recreational uses. On the contrary, prospects of state aid through staff assistance in the fields of social welfare and mental hygiene are encouraging, according to Jerome Sampson, Executive Secretary of the State Board of Social Welfare. John Wedemeyer, Director of the Department of Social Welfare, has indicated interest in providing support for staff services in a "supermarket."

While city and state governments may be able to contribute to comprehensive development of Wrigley Field, it is doubtful that they can complete the job without federal assistance.

The possibility of federal assistance for a community development center may well be determined by Congressional action on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (the War on Poverty). This legislation is now before Congressional committees. Relevant portions of the Economic Opportunity Act (S. 2642) provide for the following:

### Title I - Youth Programs

Part A. Establishes a Job Corps within the Office of Economic Opportunity, with responsibility for administering a program of education, work experience, and vocational training for youths aged 16 through 21. Two kinds of programs are envisaged -- conservation camps providing useful work and basic education and residential training centers providing basic education and job training programs to increase employability.

### Title II - Urban and Rural Community Action Programs

Authorizes the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to encourage and support community action programs which mobilize community resources to combat poverty and which are conducted by a local governmental unit or an organization which is broadly representative of the community. Elementary or secondary school education programs which receive Federal assistance will be administered by the public school system, and such programs must be open to all children regardless of whether they are regularly enrolled in the public schools. Assistance may be provided to communities in advance of the completion of the plan. Technical assistance in preparing and administering community programs may be furnished. Financial assistance from the Federal Government under this title will be 90 percent of the costs of the programs for the first 2 years and 75 percent thereafter. The Director will establish criteria for equitable distribution of Federal funds; not more than  $12\frac{1}{2}$  percent of total funds may be used within one State in any one year. Programs will be administered by the communities and will incorporate assistance from various Federal departments and agencies.

### Title V - Family Unity Through Jobs

Authorizes the Director to transfer funds to HEW to pay costs of experimental, pilot or demonstration projects designed to stimulate the

adoption in States of programs providing constructive work experience or training for unemployed fathers and other members of needy families with children.<sup>17</sup>

In addition, funds from the U.S. Department of Labor and U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare may be available, under existing legislation, for a "supermarket of services."

The future of Wrigley Field will be vitally affected by Congressional action on S. 2642. It should be noted that a substitute measure before the House Committee on Education and Labor, sponsored by Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen (R - New Jersey), would allocate federal money to the individual states for state-wide poverty programs. This substitute would provide a much larger role for state government than S. 2642, which is supported by the President. Under the Frelinghuysen bill, \$44 million would be allocated to California.

The possible role of the Youth Opportunities Board in Wrigley Field is undetermined. The YOB, with federal financing from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, is now initiating a south-central demonstration program in an area south of Avalon-Central. The YOB is a joint powers agency involving the State of California, City of Los Angeles, the County of Los Angeles, city school system, and the county schools.

Conceivably, a community development center at Wrigley Field, financed primarily by federal funds, could be leased to the Youth Opportunities Board, could remain under city jurisdiction alone, or could be leased to a new joint powers agency.

The formation of a special district to develop Wrigley Field has been considered and is not recommended. In addition to the disadvantages of adding another layer of government, such a district would have to be based on property tax assessments. The present property tax level plus the low assessed valuation of property in Avalon-Central would be a serious hindrance to the operation of an economically sound district. In addition there is, again, the legal question as to whether the city could convey Wrigley Field to another governmental unit.

#### Site Planning Considerations

Wrigley Field presently occupies most of the land bounded by San Pedro Street, 42nd Place, Avalon Boulevard, and 41st Place. Other portions of this land are occupied by private residences, private stores and a private parking lot. The acquisition of these privately held parcels by the city would increase the size of the site to 15 acres. If community recreation facilities are to be maintained, with a seating capacity of 5,000 to 10,000 people, then means to increase the present 450 car parking capacity may well have to be found. At present, the city traffic department is considering a widening and re-aligning of portions of Santa Barbara Avenue. One of the proposed alternatives would be to re-route a widened Santa Barbara Avenue over the present route of that portion of 41st Street which lies one block north of the present northern boundaries of Wrigley. If sufficient funds were available the land bounded by 41st Street, San Pedro Street, 41st Place, and Avalon Boulevard could be acquired. This enlarged site of 25 acres would then have excellent access to the re-routed Santa Barbara Avenue. The plans for Santa Barbara Avenue are now in a preliminary stage.

### Recommendations

After consideration of community attitudes, existing and proposed governmental programs, legal restrictions, site size and access, existing recreation facilities, and demonstrated community problems, it is the recommendation of this report that future development of Wrigley Field focus on:

1. A new structure to contain a "supermarket" of community services to furnish a coordinated attack on social deprivation and crime caused by poverty and discrimination, and to promote neighborhood programs to develop community leadership;

2. Modification of the existing structure to provide recreational facilities in order to encourage youth athletics and additional recreational programs as recommended by the General Manager of the Department of Recreation and Parks.

Two legislative processes can significantly further the realization of these objectives:

1. Passage by Congress of the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964.
2. An interim study of Wrigley Field development by the California State Assembly within the context of programs attacking poverty and unemployment. Such an interim study should include within its scope the following matters:

- a. A detailed survey of federal, state and local agencies' interest in a "supermarket of services" and their financial ability to participate. This should include a study of building and capital improvement plans by such agencies to determine how these plans will affect individual agency operations in central Los Angeles.

b. Communication with federal officials on existing programs relating to the "supermarket" concept and close monitoring of the progress of the Economic Opportunity Act through Congress. The possibility of construction aid by the Community Facilities Administration should be investigated.

c. Securing competent advice on the legality of using Wrigley Field for a comprehensive community development center and clarification of possible leasing arrangements.

d. Consultation with the Community Redevelopment Agency concerning possible housing rehabilitation and conservation programs in the Avalon-Central area.

e. Consideration of the feasibility of enlarging the site through acquisition of private land.

f. Close liaison between the interim committee, headed by Assemblyman Dymally, and the Recreation and Parks Commission, Councilman Lindsay and Congressman Hawkins.

It is also recommended that the Recreation and Parks Commission declare support for a multi-purpose community development center at Wrigley Field, provided that adequate recreational use is a part of that development and adequate financing is provided by the state and federal governments.

Further, groups and individuals within the Avalon-Central community should continue their active concern over Wrigley Field. The only guarantee of a sensible future for Wrigley Field is informed and united action by the citizens themselves.

## Conclusion

Wrigley Field can no longer serve as a regional recreation center as it did during its use as a baseball stadium.

It must now serve the best interests of the Avalon-Central community, a community with special needs. The Wrigley Field site is the last significant piece of non-park open space in the area. Wrigley Field is surrounded by aging housing which is gradually being converted into multiple-unit apartments. As a low-income, almost entirely Negro area, it is the focus of the many complex and inter-related dilemmas that confront the aging residential cores of American cities.

Avalon-Central is the backwash, the stagnant pool where only the unskilled and educationally deprived Negro will gravitate. The more talented and fortunate members of the community move on as soon as financial and social conditions, especially housing discrimination, will permit. But the people who live in Avalon-Central will not go away. Their unemployment rate will not go down -- it will go up.

The facts of life demand that political solutions be applied in this area to ease the grinding twin burdens that discrimination and automation impose on the people of Avalon-Central. Wrigley Field is the only site capable of housing a multi-pronged effort at community rehabilitation and development. High priority must be placed on this property.

The 1958 Dodger deal helped to spotlight the potential of Wrigley Field, but only temporarily. Political decision-makers bypassed it in favor of Chavez Ravine. That decision is past, but now, as a curious irony, Wrigley Field reasserts itself. A combination of circumstances has preserved the Field for a use with incomparably more benefit than would have resulted from major league baseball.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Dodgers Referendum Issue, Town Hall, Los Angeles, April, 1958, p. 6.
2. City Plan Case 7581.
3. The Renstrom report is a publication of the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region (March, 1963), and the Bond report is a publication of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, New York (October, 1962). Mr. Bond termed the study area "Avalon-Slauson", which is exactly the area referred to here as "Avalon-Central".
4. Avalon and Its People, p. 1.
5. Renstrom, op. cit., p. xxiii.
6. ibid, p. 8-9.
7. ibid, p. 12.
8. Clague, Ewan and Greenberg, Leon, "Employment" in Automation and Technological Change, The American Assembly, Columbia University, 1962, p. 130.
9. The section on social problems is drawn from pp. 13-16, Study of Avalon-Slauson Area.
10. Bond, op. cit., pp. 15-16.
11. ibid, p. 16.
12. See Board Report 989.
13. Bond, op. cit., p. 25.
14. "American Cities as Political and Social Entities," Address by John E. Bebout, Annual Conference of American Institute of Planners, October 17, 1962.
15. L. A. Sentinel, March 12, 1964.
16. Letter from A. Alan Post, Legislative Analyst, to Assemblyman Mervyn M. Dymally, dated April 17, 1964.
17. Source: The War on Poverty: The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, United States Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1964.

Retail Food Trade in the ARA Study Area

By

Kay Gannon  
CORO Foundation Intern

May 13, 1964

The following report results from a five-week study undertaken by Miss Gannon while associated with the Institute of Industrial Relations as a CORO Foundation intern. The CORO Foundation is a private, non-profit organization which arranges internships with various public agencies for selected college graduates and pays their salaries during the internship period. The views expressed in this report are entirely those of Miss Gannon, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute or of the CORO Foundation. The supplement to her report was prepared by Institute staff members assigned to the ARA project.

## STUDY OF RETAIL FOOD TRADE

By Kay Gannon

### Introduction

My project was undertaken in conjunction with a contract between the Institute of Industrial Relations at UCLA and the Area Redevelopment Administration, first executed on January 22, 1964. The purpose of the research contract, in part, is to provide the Area Redevelopment Administration with sufficient information that it might be able to determine whether some kind of redevelopment program in an area designated South-Central and East Los Angeles would be economically and administratively appropriate and feasible. The study area is reputed to be one of the most economically depressed in the State of California. The boundaries of the ARA study area were determined on the basis of 1960 census figures, which identify the tracts with the lowest levels of education and family income and the highest rates of unemployment. Almost 70 percent of the population is Negro or Mexican American, and unemployment in 1960 ranged from 9 per cent to 30 per cent in various parts of the area. Preliminary studies indicate high rates of both in-migration and out-migration, resulting in lack of net growth.

I am concerned, in my assigned project, with the retail trade picture. Preliminary investigations indicate that there is a general absence of certain important retail trade enterprises, notably chain food markets, in large sections of the study area. I will be concerned with reasons for the failure of such firms to locate in the area and their apparent tendency to relocate in other parts of the metropolitan area. Also, past studies suggest that food prices and other items tend to be higher

in small independent stores than in the larger chain operations, thereby placing an additional burden upon low-income families. Therefore, the results of this study will be related to conclusions regarding cost-of-living and family budgets.

It should be noted here, however, that the results of this initial study are not conclusive. The survey was limited to the study area, no comparison being made to establish whether residents of the ARA study area are receiving service that differs to any great extent from service in other metropolitan locations. The same is true for prices: no comparisons were made outside the study area at this time to give meaning to the information we acquired in the study area, or to verify our suspicion that some of the aspects of food trade in the area related to the highly depressed socio-economic condition of that area.

Because no conclusions can be drawn at this time, the content of this report is meant to serve as a guide to the eventual conduct of a simultaneous survey of price level differences among the ARA area and at least two other selected areas in metropolitan Los Angeles.

This report also summarizes speculations about retail food trade differences as related to me by authorities with intimate background in retail trade and with knowledge of the ARA study area. This information is not confirmed by statistics in this report.

In order to determine whether food prices in the ARA study area are higher than in other areas in the County, and whether there is any prospect of saving residents a portion of their budget by encouraging a change in this picture, I originally proposed to proceed as follows:

1. Plot on a detailed map of the study area every food market and store giving partial floor space to retail food space.

2. Classify each of these stores, both chain and independent, by rating them as 1) Super, 2) Class A, 3) Class B, 4) Class C. The rating will be based on size, appearance, volume, quality, location, parking facilities--in general, a sight observation.
3. Do as complete a price-index comparison survey as possible. This would be accomplished by a direct survey among the markets. A list of basic food items in a normal household would be prepared, perhaps with some adjustment for any general eating habits of the population in the area. Prices on these common food items would be compared among stores of various classifications in the area.
4. Designate two or three economic areas of comparable size and density of population for a similar study. Then compare the computations for the ARA area with these other areas to determine any variables.
5. Interview persons with background or knowledge in food marketing to determine what conditions are relevant to the picture described by the above aggregation of facts and what the prospects are for the future. Interviewees would include owners of small, independent markets as well as those of local and national chains, bankers, wholesalers, and individuals catering to or acting as brokers in market-ownership turnover.
6. Summarize my findings after 28 days.

#### REVIEW OF THE STUDY BY PHASES

##### PHASE I.

In order to determine whether it would be valuable to conduct all of the proposed phases of the retail food trade study, it was first

necessary to verify whether the preliminary observation -- that there was a lack of adequate marketing facilities and competitive food operations in the ARA study area -- was accurate.

Phase I involved preparing an objective account of the number of markets located within the ARA study area, the exact location of each, a description of the condition of each facility, and the quality of food and service at each. A list of all the stores within the study area and the size and location of each was obtained from a publication of the Los Angeles Times-Mirror Company, "Grocery Stores - Route List, Area Maps, and Market Data," 1964 Company edition.

In this publication all retail grocery stores, both chain and independent, are listed and compared by size. Exceptions to those included are A and P, Safeway, and Volume General Stores. The location of these was obtained later, however, and they were plotted on the map. Each store is designated as Super - "S," Class A - "A," Class B - "B," or Class C - "C." This grading system has been arbitrarily established by the Times-Mirror, and is based upon the opinions of its experienced staff, who have compiled the book for over 13 years. They report the criteria for judgment as size of store, location, amount and condition of stock, etc. The criteria remain consistent from year to year. Data is obtained primarily through continuous field checks and can be considered current and valid. It is, however, based on the visual impression of a given market and the evaluation cannot be reduced to statistical data.

The stores listed by the Times-Mirror are separated into groups according to Los Angeles Times Merchandising Areas. It was, therefore, necessary to transpose the information as given by the geographical merchandising

areas to our own specific geographical area of interest. This was done by reviewing all the merchandising areas which overlapped our study area. A list was composed of the stores which fell within the boundaries of the ARA study area.

The list of stores gained in this way was then plotted on a detailed street map. The size of each was designated by color. This classification corresponded to the Times system of "A," "B," "C," "S." Red was used to represent a supermarket; purple - Class A; blue - Class B; yellow - Class C.

Within the boundaries of the study area there are about 39 supermarkets, 29 class A, 149 class B, and 574 class C markets. Markets located within shopping distance of the study area but not within the boundaries of the area are not included in this count.

A glance at the map shows what seems to be an overwhelming abundance of yellow plottings, which represent the very small Class "C" markets, and a relative lack of red marks which represent "Super" markets. No comparison was made at this time between the number and size of markets in the study area and any other area in metropolitan Los Angeles.

At this point the preliminary observation--that there was an absence of supermarket operations--is only partially confirmed. Relative to the number of Class "C" markets there seems to be a lack of competitive supermarkets, but this can be concluded only after surveying other metropolitan study areas of comparable population density to our study area and by comparing the findings there with those from the study area.

#### PHASE II:

Given an objective account of the number, location, and size of markets located in the ARA study area, it was now necessary to discover

what, if any, differences there were between the quality of food, services offered and prices charged by the various classifications of markets in the area. If differences could be identified between the classifications, some conclusions might be drawn as to how these different conditions affect the population shopping at the different classifications of facility.

Before any actual survey was executed, many suggestions were made to me by persons closely connected with retail food marketing in the study area. Some suggested that the small markets were competing at comparable or lower prices with the larger supermarket operations. This was contradicted by those who observed a characteristic greediness on the part of the small market owner to make over a 20% to 23% profit. One authority from a wholesale buying association confirmed this, stating that the association had a difficult time getting the independent grocer to charge the same prices as the competitive chains. He attributed this difficulty to the desire of the small operator to make immediate, noticeable profit.

Others suggested that smaller markets generally charge higher prices for perishable items because they cannot afford to stock them in refrigerating units for any period of time. Some stated that though higher prices were charged, the small, independent market's ability to allow customers to run up credit lists or to extend delivery service made it worthwhile for low-income groups to shop there. Several mentioned that lack of an adequate public transportation system, and the fact that not as many families earning low incomes have two cars available, make close proximity of a market its major attraction.

Many maintained that choosing to shop at a neighborhood market rather than at a large supermarket was characteristic of certain ethnic

groupings. Even though the prices at a small, neighborhood store might be higher, the personality of the manager and personnel, or some more personal identification on the part of the customer with the store, superseded concern with prices. Examples of such characteristics included ability on the part of the management to speak the language of the customer, and particularly the ability of a store to stock food items to which a particular ethnic group is accustomed. Seemingly, the small, independent store has been better able to fulfill these needs, and to remain adaptable to changing needs of the customer.

One individual who had experience pricing foods for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, remarked that many of the smaller stores she visited to price goods did not actually charge a higher price than the supermarket for a comparable item, but that the smaller store frequently does not carry the lower priced brand, thus forcing the customer to buy a better quality at the higher price.

An interesting observation mentioned to me by a person familiar with the Times-Mirror means of classifying markets by "S," "A," "B," "C," inferred there would be in our findings a breaking-off level between the class "C" and class "B" stores, and that the class "C" stores would definitely be charging higher prices than the class "B" and above stores. His reasoning was that class "C" stores could not generally operate efficiently enough, with high enough net profit, to afford membership in a non-profit wholesale buying association, such as Certified Grocers, Spartan, or Orange Empire. Since they then pay higher prices for wholesale foods, they are forced to charge higher prices.

## PHASE III:

In order to determine whether any of the suspected differences between the different classifications of stores in the study actually existed, it was decided to conduct a price level survey among a representative number of the several classifications in the study area. These findings would then be compared to determine whether prices did differ. I also hoped to include in the survey questionnaire a question which would help determine the relative importance of credit to the survival of the small store and to the livelihood of the residents of the study area.

The composing of the pricing list was not an easy matter. It was necessary to seek out and to confer with a number of authorities and to invite them to help compose the actual pricing index. Contact with such authorities assured my realization that food pricing surveys are subject to innumerable discrepancies, including misleading labeling and packaging, market fluctuations, differences in the ability of individuals to accurately record the prices and quantities, the problems of relying on the pricer to make adjustments when items, quantities, and prices found in the store do not correspond exactly to the specifications on the pricing index, etc.

The final pricing index was completed and duplicated as a summation of a series of interviews in which experts and people closely connected with the retail food industry were contacted and their advice taken into account. These experts included people in the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, the County Health Department, the State Department of Social Welfare, the Home Economics Department at Pasadena City

College, and a market owner who operates a very successful operation in the ARA study area. Also taken into account were the Revised Consumer Price Index, Food Items, of the BLS, and food price lists prepared by the Department of Public Welfare, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which were based on a "Policy Statement on Standards of Public Assistance."

Food items on these pricing lists were reviewed to determine what adjustments might be made to help us get as much useful information as possible from the survey. Because these lists are aimed at a very broadly based population, several adjustments were made in our list of items to achieve a list applicable to the residential population in the ARA study area. The population being surveyed within the study area on this occasion resided in the South Central area between Jefferson Boulevard and Imperial Highway. The people here are mostly Negroes who have migrated from the South. Their diets emphasize some items not considered in the Consumer Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and to get an accurate picture of what different prices are being paid for a normal diet, some of these items peculiar to a southern population were included. For instance, corn meal and hominy grits were added. Other items such as greens and chitterlings were not included simply because the list had to be kept to a minimum. Items common to the buying habits of the metropolitan population as a whole, but not bought frequently by the South Central resident, were excluded. Such items were fatty meats, such as lamb, ready-made cake and other mixes, and cheddar cheese.

Seemingly, the Southern Negro is more loyal to products than is the whole of the population. In general, he still cooks from basic materials, using raw products for cakes rather than mixes. Another interesting

observation related to me was that the Negro from the South is much later in switching from canned to frozen products than the average buyer in Southern California. Again, this may be loyalty or the fact that not as many freezing compartments are owned by the low-income groups. This was taken into account in the survey item list and canned products were given equal weight with frozen. Tea was excluded from the list. Cola drinks were added. I was told that many more carbonated drinks are sold in the study area than in most other areas. Sirloin and porterhouse steaks were excluded, leaving choice meats on the list, since we were interested in a list of foods depicting an adequate rather than an above average diet.

These adjustments mentioned here do not cover all adjustments that were made in the source food lists, but perhaps this is adequate description of the kinds of considerations that guided us in the formulation of a final index applicable to my survey needs.

In its final form the food price index for the comparative price level survey included 66 items. Unit quantities to be priced for each item on the list were specified. Where possible, brand names for items were also specified. By specifying brand names I hoped to reach more comparable price lists between stores. This would help avoid comparing different qualities of commodities.

Besides finding out whether some stores were charging more than others for identical food items, I was also interested in whether some stores forced customers to pay higher prices by stocking only the better quality of inventory and thus the higher priced items. Thus, I asked the individuals doing the pricing to price the specified brand if available; if not, to insert the name of the least expensive brand that was available and to quote the price for that brand.

Pricers were also asked to quote prices for the unit quantities indicated. However, if this was not possible, because a given item was not sold in the unit quantity indicated, they were to change the listed quantity to that to which the quoted price applied. If the item was simply not available, they were to insert "NA" in the price space.

The selection of the markets to be surveyed was aimed at getting a representative sample of the kind of shopping facilities available in the area. Further, I wanted to know whether an identifiable correlation existed between size and cost. On this basis I chose to survey 10 Class "C" stores and a total of 10 among the Super, Class "A" and Class "B" stores. Two chain supermarkets in the area were also priced.

In order to enhance the validity of comparing prices between Class "C" stores and those in the "S," "A," "B" classifications, I directed the survey teams to price by neighborhood. Ten neighborhoods were selected as giving a fairly scattered sample from the area between Jefferson Boulevard and Imperial Highway. In each neighborhood one sample was taken from a Class "C" market and one from among the "S," "A," or "B" classifications. In this way, comparisons could be made among the classifications without having a discrepancy as a result of neighborhood differences.

Since manpower for carrying out the actual collection of data was scarce, it was necessary to enlist the aid of a volunteer team of individuals to collect the data for the price level comparison. Mrs. Dorothy Reynolds, a home economist and a professor at Pasadena City College, offered her services and the services of a number of her students.

On two occasions I met with the group to explain my purpose to them and the means by which I hoped to collect the information.

A number of the girls volunteered to help. They were encouraged to do so by the fact that Mrs. Reynolds offered to excuse them from class sessions to take part in the project. They responded to the idea of pricing each market as a team of two rather than doing it alone.

For this purpose I compiled ten packets of material for the ten previously selected neighborhood locations to be surveyed. A packet was given to each team of two girls. Each packet included the names and addresses of the markets at which prices were to be surveyed, with alternate markets listed. Directions were given as to how to get to each team or neighborhood location by car. It was specified that each team should introduce themselves to the manager if they were not visiting a supermarket. In small stores their presence would be obvious and an introduction might negate suspicion. A sample introduction was also included in each packet.

Four food price lists were included so that each member of a team might do half of the pricing in each store visited, thereby cutting the time spent. At the top of the food price lists were directions as to how to complete the list. It was also requested that the data be collected by the pricers themselves rather than acquiring a list of prices from the manager. This was done in order to get accurate descriptions of what was actually on the shelf, and to avoid mistakes or hedging by competition-conscious managers.

Although the notice was extremely short, the group of volunteers decided they could complete the pricing project within two days --

April 29 and 30. It was emphasized that the survey must not extend over more than a week in order to avoid seasonal price fluctuations in the items to be priced. At this point I turned the organization of the pricing survey over to the students and to Mrs. Reynolds.

The actual survey was extended between April 29 and May 7, a longer period than we had hoped. Now completed, no tabulation of the data collected has yet been made. (Note: Results of this and subsequent surveys have been tabulated by Institute staff members and are summarized in a supplement to this report.)

#### PHASE V:

Concurrent to collecting information for the actual price level survey among the various classifications of stores, I interviewed individuals in management and ownership capacities in retail food operations in the ARA study area. Interviewees included representatives of large and small independent and chain stores. The focus of these interviews was on the problems of management in locating a store in the study area.

Without being offered any factual data, most of the individuals concurred that, relative to the density of the population in the study area, there was a decided lack of supermarkets serving the area. Given this observation, I then tried to gain some insight as to the priority of criteria for locating a retail food store in any location, and then to relate to those criteria the conditions that existed in the ARA study area.

The motives mentioned to me for locating a food market could be summarized in the term "profit." Special difficulties exist in the

study area which relate to this profit motive. Most of the difficulties cited relate to two factors -- the highly depressed condition of the area and the fact that its residents are a minority group.

Relative to the profit motive is the need for available land at a reasonable cost. In the study area there are very few open spaces, making the acquisition of land expensive or necessitating the even more costly clearance of occupied space. For locating a large supermarket, adequate parking space is a necessity; thus, the expense of property purchase or rental is very important.

However, an expensive piece of property can be a worthwhile purchase if sales volume counterbalances property costs. In South Central Los Angeles there are more individuals per acre than in most other metropolitan single-dwelling residential neighborhoods. However, the fact that there are very few multiple-unit dwellings means that each market must cater to a greater geographical area than is necessary in more attractive marketing areas.

Lack of adequate thoroughfares and access routes, narrow roads, and natural barriers such as railroad tracks, freeways, etc., make it more difficult in this area to cater to that greater marketing area. In addition, lack of public transportation within close proximity of supermarkets and the customer's residence is a deterrent.

The physical condition characteristic of this socially and economically depressed area is negative. The high crime rate indicates that pilferage is likely to be costly. Where incomes are low and unemployment is high, the cost of clearing personal checks is also expensive.

The cost of a produce operation includes maintaining more fresh produce due to the lack of freezers in the community. Meanwhile, the national trend is to frozen goods, and the cost of having fresh produce stocked is increasingly expensive.

Additional costs are added, when operating a market in the study area, because of the diet requirements of the population. As previously mentioned, a large percentage of the population is migrating from the South. With them they bring appetites for "greens," "chittlings," "hominy grits," etc., and a dislike for chocolate ice cream, lamb and fatty meats, etc. It costs a chain supermarket operation to make special inventory adjustments for a few stores. According to market managers operating in the South Central area, these adjustments are a necessity to a successful operation.

These differences in stock would be in five areas:

1. Increases in foods that Negroes consume in greater quantity than whites.
2. Additions of specialty foods not normally carried by stores retailing to northern whites.
3. Increases in the percentage of shelf space devoted to quality products and national brands -- with a consequent decrease in private label allocations. (According to retailers, Negroes do not always buy the less expensive brands, but rather purchase heavily advertised brands considered to be quality brands. They are more likely to cut down on the size of portions served than to buy at the least expensive price.)
4. Increases in the large economy sizes of items Negroes buy heavily.

5. Decrease in space for items Negroes consume less than whites.

("Changing Face of the Urban Markets," Food Business, July, 1962, Vol. 10, No. 7.)

In many cases customers feel discriminated against if they are served by strictly white personnel. This requires the training of Negro personnel. Many stores are still hesitant to hire among the Negro population because they claim to have experienced poor working habits or have difficulty finding applicants with adequate education and ability to work with people.

A summation of these problems led some interviewees to conclude ".....so it just isn't worth it." However, most of them did admit that the lack of supermarket competition in the area led them to keep an open mind about the possibility of locating in the area.

Furthermore, as the Negro market emerges from the framework of a "minority market," it is likely to be a greater force in marketing techniques and become an increasingly attractive market for food sales. As the Southern Negro population in Los Angeles expands, and for that matter, as the Mexican population expands, markets once catering to Anglo populations are going to find themselves serving more people with food requirements peculiar to their regional backgrounds.

And for those willing to accept a new challenge the growing minority market offers special enticements: according to a staff report in the July, 1962 issue of Food Business, Negroes spend up to 12% more at supermarkets than do whites. Negroes are acutely quality-conscious, national brand-conscious, and also offer a largely untapped market for many specialty foods. And Negroes spend heavily on convenience foods -- the generally higher-profit items.

As the white population moves to the suburbs and the Negro fills up the voids in the big cities, it is these challenges to which management of retail food trade must respond. Food marketers cannot continue to approach the big cities with sales appeals that are directed entirely at a white population. Poorly directed sales efforts may explain some of the chronic profit grief heard from food marketers.

The purchasing power of the Negro market makes the above considerations important. The Negro housewife is shopping for more people than the white housewife. Negro family size is 4.4 people; the average white size is 3.6. She is also spending from 2% to 12% more for food than the white housewife. The reasoning is that more Negro than white wives work, and social barriers prevent the Negro from spending much at restaurants, on homes, in travel, etc., where whites spend freely. ("The Changing Face of Urban Markets," Food Business, July, 1962, Vol. 10, No. 7.)

As competitive food retailers begin to realize this, it is important that public authorities, educators, etc., see to it that the members of this population are not exploited or victimized. The Negro seeks recognition in commercial affairs, and advertising and public relations have a profound effect on his buying habits. By using Negro media, Negro models, or any other element in which concern with the Negro market is exhibited, an identification factor is established for the Negro consumer. Many of the market operators I spoke to considered the Negro a prime target for the product of sufficient quality to afford an advertised image. This special demand for the quality image and the quality product seems to be a key difference between white and Negro food preferences. Ultimately the national brand, rather than private label, is the product

demanded. This is a result of the Negro's determination to enjoy the symbols of status whenever he can, whatever the price. What the Negro typically wants to buy was epitomized in the answer "it's the quality item put in the large economy size." (Food Business, July, 1962.)

The fact that the educational level of the resident in the ARA study area is very low brings in other factors that might cause him to spend more on food regardless of the quality of store at which he shops. Not as many housewives understand the economy of buying foods of nutritive value. Not as many are able to use mathematics efficiently to manage the family budget or to double check the calculations made by checkers at the food stores. Therefore, it seems extremely important that education toward good purchasing habits be made available to residents of this area.

Originally, I considered it important to include some question on credit in either the ARA questionnaire or in the pricing survey. From this question some information might be collected from which an evaluation might be made as to the impact of the cost of credit on the consumer, his need for credit as a consumer, and the correlation between the survival of the "Mom and Pop" operation and its ability to extend credit.

I have since minimized the real importance of this question as a result of a glance at the response to a question included in my pilot pricing survey in the ARA study area. Very few small stores extended credit to more than 10% of their customers, which to me indicates that they did not depend on credit for their survival.

Initially, I thought that if a considerable proportion of the residents of the ARA area, who receive more public assistance than

others in Southern California, need to use credit for food buying, then the adequacy of public relief ought to be questioned. However, according to one authority who administers public funds and who also lives in the study area, it doesn't matter how adequate the food allowance is; the inadequacy of knowledge in planning and budgeting on the part of the recipient of aid does not allow for a direct correlation between the cost of food and the need for credit.

Lastly, though it is not called credit, the procedure of buying by personal check is today a form of credit. It is mainly the supermarkets where checks are cashed in mass, and through this system, they are probably administering more credit than are the smaller stores we suspected of being credit operations.

Supplemental Report

Following completion of Miss Gannon's assignment with the Institute of Industrial Relations, members of the staff tabulated the results of the pricing survey supervised by her in the ARA study area and conducted similar surveys in other parts of the county. The basic pricing schedule developed by Miss Gannon was used uniformly, though several of the items have been eliminated from the final tabulations because of questions about the validity of the comparisons. The Institute does not claim complete scientific accuracy for these surveys; indeed, the staff is well aware of weaknesses and defects of any survey of this nature, many of which are described subsequently in this report. Nevertheless, price comparisons derived from three entirely distinct sources showed certain consistent patterns which appear to be significant. The results are also corroborated by visual observations and the findings of surveys elsewhere in the country.

The analysis of price differences has been subdivided into several distinct phases:

(1) The prices of merchandise sold in various types and sizes of grocery stores -- supermarket (largest), class "A," class "B," and class "C" (smallest)-- were compared for a representative sampling of stores within the ARA study area, all of which were visited by survey teams in the period between April 29 and May 7. These data were evaluated to determine whether there were significant differentials for reasonably comparable "baskets" of groceries among types of stores in a homogeneous and contiguous area.

(2) Similar surveys were subsequently conducted in nine stores located in various parts of Los Angeles County and ranging in size from "supermarket" to "very small." Since these surveys took place approximately three weeks after the initial survey in the study area, and the sampling of stores is relatively small, no effort has been made to compare prices directly with those charged in study area stores.

(3) Staff members reviewed a grocery trade publication -- Key Price Book, published by Marketing Services Corporation -- which provides current selling prices for all items sold in "non-competitive" stores, "independents" (goods priced to meet competition on competitive items), and "super-chains" (goods priced to meet chain store competition). Again, as in other instances, the definitions employed in categorizing markets tend to be obscure. Questions posed to the Times-Mirror marketing service and the Marketing Services Corporation, each of which publishes statistical breakdowns of grocery stores by type and size, elicit the general response that markets or commodities are assigned to categories on the basis of subjective evaluations by persons experienced in the trade. Though this is hardly an objective criterion, it represents the only one available and is undoubtedly reasonably accurate for our purposes.

Upon completion of the field surveys, it was necessary to edit the schedules to eliminate items which were obviously noncomparable or prices which were suspiciously out of line. Where there were doubts as to whether the quantities or qualities of given items were comparable, such items were removed from the tabulations. When the editing process had been completed, staff members calculated the total costs of uniform "baskets" of goods when purchased respectively in supermarkets, "A,"

"B," or "C" stores according to the Times-Mirror definitions, or in "non-competitive," "independent," or "super-chain" stores according to Marketing Services Corporation definitions.

Unfortunately, some important items, such as potatoes, had to be dropped because of the various problems mentioned above. Insurmountable difficulties were also encountered in efforts to obtain inter-area comparisons of prices for items such as corn meal and hominy grits. Despite these difficulties, however, a broad sampling of items was obtained, reflecting the following general categories: green, yellow vegetables; fruits; processed vegetables; processed fruits; milk and dairy products; fats and oils; sugar and sweets; nonalcoholic beverages; partially prepared foods; cereals and grain products; bakery products; beef and veal; pork; processed meats; poultry; fish; and hot sauce.

With the adjustments noted previously, prices per item for "A," "B," "C," and "supermarket" stores in ten neighborhoods of the ARA study area were averaged by size of store. The averages for all items were then added to obtain the total cost of a food basket for sizes of stores ranging from the very largest ("supermarket") to the very smallest (class "C"). The results show a consistent pattern; average prices vary inversely with the size of the store. The costs of food baskets by size of store are as follows:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Supermarket	\$18.69
Class A	18.72
Class B	18.84
Class C	20.13

It should be noted that the results of this survey fully confirm the observation of the expert, alluded to in Miss Gannon's report, that the prices charged by class C stores would probably be markedly higher than those charged by larger stores because the former could not afford membership in the major wholesale grocery enterprises. It should also be emphasized that more than 72 percent of all grocery stores in the study area fell in the "C" category as of mid-1964, according to Miss Gannon's analysis. Corresponding percentages for a sampling of other areas of greater Los Angeles are as follows:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Percentage of "C" Stores to Total</u>
San Fernando Valley	32.7%
Beverly Hills-Westwood	23.1
Glendale area	45.7
Pomona-Foothill area	41.9
Alhambra area	31.9
Hollywood area	36.1
Whittier-Norwalk area	33.1
Orange County	39.2

As a check on the above results, Institute staff members then analyzed the suggested prices for food items contained in the Key Price Book, published weekly by the Marketing Services Corporation as a service to retail grocers. These prices reflect the best judgment of Marketing Services staff, on the basis of price patterns of the major wholesalers (Certified, Orange Empire, and Spartan) and large chains such as Ralph's, as to the prices to be charged during the coming week by grocers in three

separate situations: (1) "non-competitive," or grocers located at some distance from competitors and required to pay higher freight costs; (2) "independents," or grocers in the small ("Mom and Pop") category who traditionally charge prices somewhat higher than do the chains; and (3) "super-chains," or larger stores which must meet chain store competition. The Institute compared these suggested prices for the week of April 22, 1964. Analyzing a smaller basket of comparable items than was the case in the shelf pricing survey, our staff obtained the following results:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Super-Chain	\$13.20
Independents	13.32
Non-competitive	14.46

It is necessary to add that, except perhaps for the "supermarket" and "super-chain" categories, the classifications established by the Times-Mirror Company and by Marketing Services Corporation are not directly comparable. It would appear that few "non-competitive" firms exist within the city of Los Angeles, and that the "independent" category could include the equivalent of "A," "B" and "C" firms as defined in the Times-Mirror materials. The pattern of the Price Book results, however, seems consistent with that already established in our survey of stores classified according to the Times-Mirror categories. The largest stores charge the lowest prices, though the difference in basket cost between the "super-chain" and "independent" categories (only 12¢ for 35 items) is not particularly significant.

The results of the survey conducted by Institute staff members in other areas of the county are inconclusive, due in large part to the

time interval between it and the previous survey, but an examination of prices charged for comparable items not subject to drastic seasonal variations indicates that prices on the average tend to be somewhat higher in the study area. Final determination of differentials among geographic areas, however, must await the conduct of simultaneous surveys.

It should be noted that no attempt has been made in our studies to establish the cost of a minimum family budget for those living in the study area. Too little agreement exists as to the composition of this budget, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor has not completed its projected revision of the "city worker's budget." A survey recently conducted by the County Health Department for the Bureau of Public Assistance indicated (according to Miss Gannon) that there was no more than a \$1 difference per month in budget food costs between the most expensive and least expensive areas where relief aid was extended. It is presently impossible for us to gauge the validity of this survey.

The studies conducted by Miss Gannon and by Institute staff members demonstrate two facts quite clearly:

(1) The larger stores, notably the supermarkets, normally offer a wider variety of products at somewhat lower prices than do the small stores.

(2) The ARA study area is characterized by a preponderance of class "C" stores and a scarcity of "supermarkets" relative to the population served.

This latter point is illustrated by the following approximate figures on supermarket distribution by selected areas of Los Angeles:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Est. Pop. (Oct., 1963)</u>	<u>No. of Supers</u>	<u>Pop. per Super</u>
ARA study area	540,000	39	13,846
San Fernando Valley (inc. Burbank)	950,500	141	6,741
Hollywood	135,400	32	4,231
Wilshire area	170,100	33	5,154

On the basis of our studies, we have concluded that the relative scarcity of supermarkets and comprehensive shopping centers places an additional burden upon study area residents both in terms of fewer employment opportunities and reduced competition among stores. The existing major barriers to establishments of new commercial enterprises in the area appear to be: (1) the depressed socio-economic condition of the area; (2) the absence and/or high cost of open land; and (3) lack of knowledge among businessmen as to how to serve a predominantly minority-group market effectively. A positive and extensive program of area redevelopment can produce results, but the full cooperation of city and county officials, particularly with regard to the problem of land cost and availability, is essential.

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- Mr. Law Lund, Bank of America, Central-Jefferson Branch, phone: AD 3-7131.
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Los Angeles 4, phone: DU 2-7234.

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2601 South Eastern Avenue, Los Angeles, phone: RA 3-0311.

Mr. Jerome Sampson, Executive Secretary, State Social Welfare Board,  
State of California Health and Welfare Agency, 2415 First Avenue,  
Sacramento, 95818.

Mr. Timothy Sampson, Avalon Community Center, Avalon Boulevard,  
Los Angeles, phone: 232-8113.

Mr. John Schnieders, General Manager, Spartan Grocers, 4408 Bandini,  
Phone: AN 3-7341.

Mr. and Mrs. David Sisson, P. O. Box 62, Manhattan Beach, phone: FR 4-5229.

Mr. Lloyd Street, Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles County, Los Angeles.

Mr. R. B. Swanson, Bank of America, Slauson-Avalon Branch, 5836 Avalon  
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AN INVENTORY OF AGENCY SERVICES IN EAST AND SOUTH  
CENTRAL LOS ANGELES

by Stan A. Lehman

Coro Foundation Intern in  
Public Affairs

October, 1964

This study was conducted for the Institute of Industrial Relations at UCLA as part of the Coro Foundation's Internship in Public Affairs. Coro Foundation is a non-profit, non-partisan public trust established to conduct research and education in the field of government and politics. The internship program is designed to give practical training to qualified candidates who anticipate careers in this field. The intern received no reimbursement for his time other than the Coro Foundation Fellowship. Costs of preparation and publication were borne by the Institute of Industrial Relations. The findings and recommendations in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views and policies of the Institute of Industrial Relations or of the Coro Foundation.

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## I

## INTRODUCTION

This report is based upon an extensive series of interviews with officials of both public and private agencies in the Los Angeles area, conducted by the writer in the spring of 1964. These interviews were intended to throw light upon the agency resources presently available in the depressed areas of East and South Central Los Angeles, where heavy concentrations of Mexican Americans and Negroes may be found, and to ascertain the views of agency representatives in regard to the scope and effectiveness of their own operations and the nature of problems yet to be solved. The project is part of a comprehensive study of unemployment and poverty in those areas, under a contract between the UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations and the Area Redevelopment Administration of the U. S. Department of Commerce.

The agencies contacted were selected mainly from lists provided by the Department of Community Services of the County of Los Angeles and the Welfare Planning Council of Los Angeles. Obviously those described herein represent only a sampling of the total lists, as it would be impossible within the short period of time available to interview representatives of all agencies functioning in any degree within the community. The writer sought to obtain as broad a sample as feasible within the allotted time.

One of the major questions to be explored in this project was the following: To what extent do existing agencies establish rapport and communication with the hard-core unemployed and the lowest-income groups

in the community, and also with other agencies functioning in the same general area and dealing with the same basic problems? Answers to this question, to the degree that they were obtainable, are contained in the report.

The severe problems encountered by the residents of East and South Central Los Angeles are described in the text of the report submitted by the Institute of Industrial Relations to the Area Redevelopment Administration. All available data make it clear that both the Mexican American and Negro areas of Los Angeles are characterized by excessive rates of unemployment, low educational and skill levels, social disorganization, and other results of past or present discrimination and failures in acculturation.

The situation of Mexican Americans in Los Angeles has been described thusly by Martin Ortiz, Director of the East Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council:

"Great strides have been made by the Mexican Americans in the Los Angeles area, particularly within the past ten years, in the social, economic and cultural life of the overall community. An increasing number of them have attained prominence in the fields of government and the learned professions. Pride in their cultural heritage has been met with public respect. Nonetheless, serious lags exist in the utilization of their employment potential, in the education of their young people, in the housing available to them and in the accommodation of public health and social services to their needs."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Memorandum prepared by Martin Ortiz for the Community Relations Educational Foundation, Los Angeles, November, 1963.

The problems in the predominantly Negro South Central area of Los Angeles have been similarly described by Bert Renstrom, of the research department of the Welfare Planning Council:

"The data. . . indicate that this community has a high level of unemployment, exceeding both local and national averages. . . . In general, this is a community of low educational attainment, of predominantly unskilled and semi-skilled workers, of widespread poverty, a community in need of technical assistance and area-wide aid. Moreover, this is a community with many characteristics which can lead to even more widespread economic marginality, job displacement and family disruption, the primary ingredients in dependent poverty in California. At the same time, the South Central Economic Planning Area is a community with both economic and social resources, an area capable of planning and carrying out the work necessary to revitalize itself."<sup>2</sup>/

The subsequent chapters of this report describe the functions, specific areas served, personnel and facilities, and communication efforts of the various agencies identified in the chapter headings. The final chapter presents a summary of major findings and a general evaluation by the writer.

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2. Bert Renstrom, The South Central Economic Planning Area: A Demographic and Socio-Economic Analysis. Los Angeles; Welfare Planning Council, May, 1963.

## II

## ALL NATIONS FOUNDATION

The All Nations Foundation is a privately supported organization which maintains neighborhood centers in the predominantly Mexican American areas of Los Angeles located directly east of downtown and the Los Angeles River. The name of the foundation reflects the historical ethnic patterns of the area, which has long served as a port of entry for a variety of racial, religious, and national groups. When a current reorganization of services is completed, the Foundation will operate two centers in this area: the Pico-Aliso and the Soto Street Neighborhood Centers. The activities and functions of each of these centers are discussed separately below.

A. Pico-Aliso Center1. Facilities and Area Served

Pico Gardens Center is an extension of the service of the All Nations Community House (824 East Sixth Street) and the staff working at these two locations is interchangeable. In the near future, the services at 824 East Sixth Street will be discontinued and the staff will devote full time to the activities of the Pico Gardens Center. Presently, a staff of three social workers serves the Pico Gardens Center. The Pico Center is funded by civic clubs, the United Way, and the Methodist Church.

The Center seeks to serve persons from 5 years through adulthood who live in the Aliso Village, Aliso Annex, and Pico Gardens Public Housing Projects. These are located just east

of the Los Angeles River in the so-called "Flats" area, and have a population of over 10,000 individuals living in the 57-acre area. The present membership is approximately 350 individuals,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of whom are Negro and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of whom are Mexican American. The membership fee is nominal.

The facilities consist of an apartment in the Pico-Gardens Housing Project. The Utah Street School and Aliso Social Hall facilities are used on a rent-free basis, and the facilities of the Aliso Village Methodist Church are also available.<sup>1/</sup>

The basic characteristics and problems of the area served are well described in a publication by the Planning Committee of the Foundation's Board of Trustees, in consultation with the All Nations staff.<sup>2/</sup> The following excerpts are from that study:

. . . .Population density for the housing projects is 28,180 persons per square mile as compared with 5,419 persons per square mile in the City of Los Angeles as a whole. In contrast to the median age of 27.6 years for both the male and female population of Los Angeles, the median age of the male population of Aliso Village is 10.0 years, of the female population 13.4 years. In Pico Gardens, the median age for males is 17.4 years, and for females, 27.6. This reflects both a very heavy youth and child population and reveals a relatively smaller number of adult males as compared to the number of females in the total population.

"A comparison of the labor force is equally significant. In the city as a whole 40.0% of the population is employed, whereas only 15.4% of the people in Aliso Village, and

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<sup>1/</sup> Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council, "Survey of Community Chest Agencies," 1960.

<sup>2/</sup> Suddenly Tomorrow -- A Program Projection, 1964-1969, First Edition.

21.1% of the residents of Pico Gardens are a part of the labor force. This corresponds to the large scale dependence of residents of this area on such programs as Aid of Needy Children, General Relief, and other public sources of income.

Median school years completed by residents of Los Angeles as a whole is 12.1; for Aliso Village, the median school year is 8.4 and it is 8.7 for Pico Gardens.

The crime rate in Aliso Village for the third quarter of 1963 is 13.7 per 1000 population; and for the same period it is 22.8 per 1000 population for Pico Gardens. This is higher than the average quarterly rate for Los Angeles as a whole, which is 12.3. For the Hollenbeck Division of the Los Angeles Police Department, the average quarterly rate for the year 1962 was 10.25 per 1000 population.

The major social problem identified by both the Pico Gardens staff and the Aliso Village Methodist Church is family disorganization. This is revealed in the high incidence of marital conflict and the fact that more than 50% of the families are separated or divorced. Emotional problems related to family life are serious.

...Our experience has shown us that economic dependency is a second major problem of the Pico-Aliso area. In addition to the fact that large numbers of families are on the various financial aids programs noted above, most persons have very limited job skills and have not had the opportunity for a full education. What skills they have developed are rapidly becoming obsolete in our rapidly advancing technology.

Emotional problems and mental health levels have a very important yard-stick in the lack of a sense of personal worth on the part of the residents of the housing projects. They feel they have no real status, they are apathetic toward life, and they lack the capacity to trust in others because of many painful life experiences. Another measure of the state of emotional health is the lack of self-perception on the part of large numbers of adults, and their inability to identify the causes of specific personal and social problems which they face.

Social isolation is another major problem area in the housing projects. Few, if any opportunities to become acquainted with persons of other social backgrounds are available. Thus, residents of the area are not only thrown into exclusive association with persons who suffer the same problems and frustrations, but they are denied

the kind of exposure to, and contact with, other kinds of communities which is a very normal part of growing up for most citizens of our society."

## 2. Program

Some of the specific social problems that the program attempts to deal with include: (1) lack of responsibility for self and family, (2) lack of self-esteem, (3) problems of hostility toward authority figures, (4) lack of identification with and interest from adults, and (5) lack of broadening experiences and contacts with the "outside world."<sup>3/</sup>

The Pico Gardens Center approaches these problems by helping members (1) plan their own leisure time activities, (2) get along with their group peers, (3) solve group problems through democratic methods, and (4) become exposed to the Greater Los Angeles Community through field trips.

The program is organized in the following manner by age grouping:

### Nursery School.

This is a pre-school program aimed at reaching problem children in particular and preparing them socially and emotionally for school.

### School Clubs.

These clubs of school age children are limited to 15 members per club. Under the supervision of a staff member,

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<sup>3/</sup> Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council, op. cit.

the club members plan their leisure time activities which include crafts, trips, dances, grooming, sports, etc.

Parents Groups.

These contain from 20-25 members who engage in social and community service projects such as painting the cross walks, etc.

Senior Citizens Groups.

These groups, like the school and parents groups, plan their own leisure time activities.

At the Pico Gardens Center, there is no "drop in" program, but rather participation only if one is a member and belongs to one of the groups.

The Foundation now projects a significant expansion of services in the future, with emphasis upon the following:

(1) Group services, "designed to provide socially and culturally enriching experiences to clientele who have only the usual problems in personal and social functioning;"

(2) Social group work services, "including both preventive and rehabilitative programs," directed to parents with a stress on family problems, to pre-school children through a Play Center, and to other groups;

(3) Cooperative nursery, under a program in which the Foundation would absorb and extend the services of a cooperative nursery already located in the area;

(4) Information, referral, and contractual services;

(5) Supplementary services, including game rooms, supervised study rooms, and family social activities;

(6) Community organization services, "handled largely through parent groups in which the clientele are urged to participate in the handling of community problems."

B. Soto Street Branch

1. Facilities and Area Served

The area served by the Soto Street Branch, also in the process of reorganization, lies to the east of the Pico-Aliso area, and encompasses a population of more than 22,000 persons, with a density of 20,593.3 per square mile. Mainly the housing is old, and at least 25 percent of the residential property is either deteriorating or dilapidated. The social and economic problems faced are generally similar to those confronted in the Pico-Aliso area: low incomes, lack of skills, excessive numbers both of children and of older people, low levels of education, family disorganization, school dropouts, and lack of involvement in the community.<sup>4/</sup>

An important aspect of the social and cultural deprivation of the neighborhood is to be found in the lack of social resources. Relatively few of the volunteer organizations and associations normally found in suburban communities are available in this area. The California curriculum is geared to the "middle-class" Anglo-Saxon individuals; and there are only a few of the health and welfare services

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<sup>4/</sup> Suddenly Tomorrow -- A Program Projection, op. cit.

of the city actually located in the area. International Institute, two homes for the aged, and a boys' club are nearby, but there is no other neighborhood center immediately within reach of this population of over 22,000. <sup>5/</sup>

The population served is 70% Mexican-American with the balance consisting of Negro, Jewish, Japanese, White Russian, Cuban, and Hungarian. There are presently approximately 560 individuals registered in the programs at the Eastside Center (to be renamed "All Nations Neighborhood Center: Soto Street Branch").

The population resides in a gang-oriented community where there are 60 identifiable gangs in the Hollenbeck area alone. With the ease of mobility, gang territorial boundaries are not as pronounced as they once were. Formerly, only the youth who lived in one specific geographic area could belong to the gang in that area. However, as gang members tend to move from one area to another, the ties to the old gang are not easily broken. For example, if Dad was a member of the Flats gang in his youth and later moved to La Puente as an adult, his son may have the right to join the Flats gang although his son has never lived within the Flats territory. Traditionally, if one gang would invade the territory of another gang, this could be grounds for a "rumble." However, since some gang members may now live outside a gang's traditional territory, territorial boundaries

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5/ Loc. Cit.

based on the location of the residence of the gang members has been blurred. The net result of a partial territorial breakdown due to increased mobility is a lessening of tensions between gangs over territorial rights.

On the other hand, increased mobility also gives the gang the ability to strike anywhere in the greater Los Angeles area. Formerly, limited mobility limited the area in which a gang would engage in criminal activity.

Because the gang members were known to many residents of their territory, the residents could more easily identify members and mount pressure through the police and parents to curtail their activities. But now, with the increased availability of automobiles, a gang can move into a distant community, commit a criminal act and disappear without a trace.

The analysis above is the thinking of one All Nations staff member. This writer does not have sufficient evidence to properly evaluate the above thesis on mobility and gang activity. However, in the opinion of one former East Los Angeles gang leader, increased mobility has not broken down gang territorial boundaries although it has enabled gangs to engage in criminal activities throughout the Greater Los Angeles area.

## 2. Program

The program is based on the philosophy of the neighborhood center concept. A study published by the Program Division of the Welfare Federation of the Los Angeles area characterizes the neighborhood center in a way which further illuminates the

purpose expressed by All Nations:

(1) The primary purpose of a settlement and center is the development of neighborhood leadership and the stimulation of community action for the improvement of the neighborhood outside the settlement. Focus is on the family unit and its integration into the neighborhood. (2) The settlement house provides group work, recreational and educational activities, for the neighborhood children, their parents, and other adults, through small groups, interest groups, and special activities and events; family life is strengthened through home visits and counseling. (3) Traditionally, settlements and centers are located in disadvantaged areas where there is a need for intensive service to families and youth, urban area with high population densities coupled with poor housing, transit populations, presence of tension due to the many multi-racial, religious and nationality groups, and high incidence of delinquency and social and health problems. 6/

To implement the neighborhood concept, the Eastside Center employs five different approaches:

#### Group Work.

Presently, the Eastside Center has 35 groups or clubs for all ages active in various programs. Each group is autonomous from the others. Staff members or volunteer workers meet with these groups and help them solve their problems and evolve their own programs through the democratic process. Six of the groups formed became affiliated with the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, etc. Other clubs engage in crafts, arts, athletics, and social activities. The three adult clubs are task oriented in that they deal with specific projects such as opposing the issuance of additional liquor licenses in the Boyle Heights area. The Mothers' Club is also service oriented in approaching such tasks as aiding worthy

6/ "Neighborhood Centers, A Self-Study for Thirteen Houses in the Los Angeles Area," Program Division, Welfare Federation of the Los Angeles Area, December, 1961, p.27.

causes, cooking meals, holding rummage sales, etc. On the other hand, the Senior Adults Club (age 65-90) devotes most of its time to recreational pursuits.

#### Social Group Work.

This phase of the program deals with groups with special problems such as gang groups whose activities are asocial and criminal in nature. Here, group treatment of a problem is employed as a tool to curtail and prevent certain types of anti-social behavior. Social group work is also utilized in working with families on their social and mental health problems.

#### Community Organization.

The Center works through its adult clubs, the Coordinating Councils, P.T.A.'s, and local service clubs to improve the general community environment.

#### Home Visitations.

The Center's staff will call on parents of children who participate in the Center's programs. Thus the staff attempts to establish a personal relationship with the family in an effort to counsel the child's family as well as the child.

#### Special Events.

The Center presently works with the Los Angeles Board of Education in sponsoring English classes for Mexicans with language difficulties. The Center also sponsors family nights, forums, debates, etc.

### 3. Communications

The Center attempts to inform the community of its services by public notices, word of mouth, and by keeping in touch with teachers, policemen, and probation officers who often refer clients to the Center.

### 4. Future Program Projection

As in the case of the Pico-Aliso Center, the Foundation plans an expansion of activities at the Soto Street Branch, again emphasizing group services, preventive and rehabilitative services, supplemental services, information, referral, and contractual services, and community organization services. In youth programs, it is anticipated that the agency will work with social or delinquent groups but will seek other help for the violent gangs.

## III

## YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

1. Area Served

The area served by the Angeles Mesa Center (formerly the Woodlawn Center) located at 3420 West Slauson Avenue, the Hollywood Center at 6927 Hawthorne Avenue, and the Mid-City Center at 730 South Exford Avenue, is encompassed by Central Avenue on the east, <sup>120th</sup> Street on the south, La Brea Avenue on the west and the El Sereno community near Highland Park on the north. The relocation of the Woodlawn YWCA in 1962-63 to 3420 West Slauson Avenue (renamed the Angeles Mesa Center) is a revealing commentary on a portion of the ARA study area. The South Central Welfare Planning Council conducted the "Woodlawn Center YWCA Relocation Study" which sets forth at pages 6 and 8 the reasons for the move:

From its inception in 1919, the center has been considered as being more closely allied with Negroes than with other racial groups. This trend followed a 1912 Los Angeles YWCA decision of "...cooperating with Negro women in establishing their own branch." However, with the re-assessment of YWCA practice on terms of its interracial charter adopted in 1946, the Los Angeles YWCA has expressed a desire to follow the National Board recommendation which states:

That the implication of the YWCA purpose be recognized as involving the inclusion of Negro women and girls in the main stream of Association Life, and that such inclusion be adopted as a conscious goal.

The location of Woodlawn in a "Negro" neighborhood has been cited by volunteer and staff personnel of the center as a factor which prevents the center from achieving integration in its program, and a barrier to working for the goal expressed above.

Another reason for relocating has been stated as relating to the agency's base of membership support. As housing has become available to minority groups in the area west of Woodlawn, many who have supported and continue to support the agency by membership fees and volunteer leadership, have moved from the Woodlawn area. The staff and board have been unable to develop a firm base of support in the Woodlawn area to replace those who have moved. At the present time, the Center Committee (governing board of the center) has 27 members - 26 Negro and 1 white - most of whom live outside of the Woodlawn area.

Another reason given by the agency for moving is its inability to achieve an effective program in the Woodlawn area. Speaking to this point, the center's Program Director said:

Community response (in the Woodlawn area) to our program is low, but since we have offered a variety of activities it seems ... that the community is unable or unwilling to support us, rather than the program being uninteresting or unappealing."

The center has not had a "year-round" program for pre-teens because of a lack of staff and inadequate facilities. It was stated by agency personnel that facilities at Woodlawn are inadequate for teen activities. Teen dances and parties have necessitated rental of other facilities. Commenting further on factors related to program, the Program Director stated:

The female population in the immediate area of Woodlawn seems to be mostly employed. This has serious consequences as far as our efforts to promote daytime activities for adults. It makes it mandatory that we schedule most adult activities for weekends and evenings, which creates other problems involving use of staff time, building coverage, and need to use the building at these times for rental purposes, to raise funds to support other programs.

Program at the center has been defined in two categories: "Income" producing programs and "Service" program. The income producing program helps to finance the operation of the center; and for this reason, participants, by and large, must be able to pay for the activities in which they participate. The service program includes educational, civic and cultural activities traditional to the YWCA program. Commenting on this, the Program Director had this to say:

The income program is vital since we (and any YWCA center must support our operations. This is what we mean when we say we are a middle class agency. We try to serve all people but can do so only if the bulk of our participants are able to finance the services we render.

Traditionally, we think of the YWCA program as classes, dining facilities and housing. In Los Angeles, most of the 13 centers rely greatly on classes to produce income. Woodlawn has never been successful with classes. In previous years we have offered bridge and charm classes, but this year only

a bridge class. Many other classes were offered but did not receive a sufficient number of registrants. There are many reasons for this; such as: inadequate publicity, lack of interest by our members, inconvenience (majority of members do not live close to the center), and the people in the immediate area are not able to or willing to support us financially ...

## 2. Membership

The YWCA programs and services are available to any woman or girl, regardless of race or religion, who wishes to participate. A membership fee is required for all women and girls who participate in regularly scheduled program activities. The fee is \$1.00 for teenagers and \$3.00 per year for all members 17 years of age or over and out of school.

For health and general education classes, membership is required, and, in addition, a fee is charged which hopefully covers the cost of instruction, cost of room rental, plus 25% for overhead costs. At present the total membership participation in the activities of the Angeles Mesa and Mid-City Center number from 800-1000.

## 3. Facilities

Both the Mid-City and Angeles Mesa Centers are located in two story houses which contain the offices, club rooms, and kitchens.

Originally, the Los Angeles YWCA had a centralized program located in the Figueroa Hotel. The YW has since embarked on a decentralization of facilities movement which, of course, is a more expensive method of operation. Presently, there are twelve YW centers disbursed throughout the greater Los Angeles Area, three of which have no physical facilities at all. In the opinion of the Assistant Executive Director, the YW is not a settlement house agency and therefore buildings are not absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, the YW would like to have large buildings with adequate facilities for every

branch, but presently, there are not sufficient funds for such a building program. Currently, the YW is acquiring land on which to build facilities. However no building campaign has yet been launched. Such a campaign would be conducted through the United Way which also finances most of the YW operating expenses.

The new executive director has only been in her present position for one year and will probably not engage in a building fund drive until she has acquired more experience and familiarity with the operations of the Los Angeles YW. Secondly, with the possibility of a decline in the Los Angeles economy as a result of less defense contracts, such a drive will probably be delayed for awhile.

#### 4. Programs

##### A. Classes and Clubs

The following classes were offered by the Mid-City Center in the fall of 1963: For adults -- art appreciation, ballroom dancing, basic auto mechanics, tennis, bridge, cake decorating, charm and modeling, flower arranging, figure control, hair styling, preparation for childbirth, and swimming; For children -- ballet. The social clubs for adults at Mid-City included: International Triangle (20-35 years), Live Y'ers (Senior Citizens), YW-Wives (all ages), People to People Fellowship (all ages), Scenic Bus Tours (all ages), and Bowling. In addition, the Mid-City Center, in cooperation with the State Department of Employment, held a series of six sessions for women re-entering the labor market. Approximately 50 women participated in the program.

At the Angeles Mesa Center, the following classes for adults were offered in the fall of 1963: bridge, knitting and crochet, millinery, and preparing for parenthood. The social clubs for adults at Angeles Mesa included: YW-Wives, Business and Professional Girls' Club, Intercultural Club. Classes for teens and preteens included: ballet, millinery, piano.

B. Y-Teens

The Y-Teen program for girls 12 to 17 is generally school oriented. The Mid-City and Angeles Mesa Centers have Y-Teen clubs with the following institutions: Foshay Junior High, Mt. Vernon Junior High, Los Angeles High, Manual Arts High, three neighborhood clubs, Horace Mann Junior High, Audubon Junior High, John Muir/High, Washington High, and Dorsey High. The Y-Teen program consists of club-planned programs, parties, club suppers, dances, trips, sports, and service to others.

Several years ago the Los Angeles School Board ruled that no outside agencies could utilize school time or teaching personnel to conduct their activities. The net effect was to cut the Y-Teen membership in half. Since teachers can no longer be enlisted as club advisors, only laymen can fill this role. Therefore, one of the larger problems at present is to find enough lay advisors. Such schools as Foshay Junior High could have as many as 15 clubs if there were sufficient advisors to man them.

In addition, the YW has an extensive summer camp program for teenagers.

C. Leadership Training

Another teenage program is the YW's Echo Park/leadership training program. The Echo Park Coordinating Council recognized the lack of leadership among the youth of that area. The YW agreed to sponsor a six-weeks training session in leadership techniques for 25 girls. After the training sessions, all the girls

participated in an additional six-weeks internship program with public and private agencies; e.g., Girl Scouts, parks playgrounds.

## 5. Staff

### A. Angeles Mesa Center

Currently, there is one full-time staff person devoted to administering the adult program while one part-time staff member works with the Y-Teen programs. A YW executive stated that another part-time staff person is needed for the adult program and another full-time person is needed for the Y-Teen program.

### B. Mid-City Center

Presently, there is a full-time staff person working on the adult program and two full-time staff members working with the Y-Teen program. This Center could use another full-time staff member on the Y-Teen program.

Both centers could use paid aids. There are a number of lay women who would be willing to do volunteer work if they would be allowed \$50 per month to pay for babysitters and transportation. These women could be used to conduct a number of programs, including sponsors of Y-Teen clubs.

## 6. General Problems

### A. Adults:

The conclusion drawn by one YW staff person on adult programs in general is that the YW is unable to reach the people in the ARA study area who could benefit the most from the

program. Most of the women in the study area work in the day and tend their families in the evenings which allows them no leisure time in which to participate in YW programs. In addition, the "Y" must charge a program fee of those who are least able to afford it.

#### B. Teenagers

The problems of teenagers in the Compton-South Los Angeles area are discussed in part by the YWCA's "Report to the Youth Opportunities Board," April 15, 1963, which is quoted in part below:

The background of the community is well documented in the Special Report 61, prepared by the Welfare Planning Council. Since the YWCA concurs with all its findings, we will use it as background and only discuss the YWCA participation in the community.

1. Participation: There are over 620 girls participating in the program, with a total attendance figure of 8,708 for the year. (1961-1962 statistics).
2. Composition: (These figures cannot be absolute - either in knowledge or prediction. It is a general appraisal only.)

Economic Strata (using Compton-South Los Angeles as a separate entity)

5% upper middle  
 45% middle  
 40% lower middle  
 10% lower and lower lower

Ethnic Grouping

95% Negro  
 3% Mexican-American  
 2% Anglo-Caucasian

Behavior Analysis

2% with socially unacceptable behavior patterns. (Defined as under jurisdiction of the law.)

30% with potentially unacceptable patterns.  
 (Have great possibility of coming under  
 the law; drop outs; kick outs; serious  
 problems in school; problems in imme-  
 diate neighborhood and further  
 community.)  
 68% "average"

We also appeal for consideration to be given to girls. Recognizing that approximately five times as much money is spent for boys, the YWCA, with its history of working with girls and its sensitivity to their needs, urges a more proportionate amount of time, money and concern be allocated. We list these reasons:

1. The "average" girl is the leveling force in any society. It is she who will possess the social conscience in the world and will nurture the values so important in our society. She must be exposed, trained and given the opportunity to learn and assimilate the values of which we speak. She must be trained to take her place in her community and world. This cannot happen when family background and community lacks preclude the opportunity for the development of the moral, spiritual and social values that are her birth-right.
2. There is a common fallacy that because girls do not often commit overt acts of deviant behavior that the problems are not widespread or serious. We must weigh the disturbing and annoying deviant behavior that is apparent with boys and which can be worked with, against the deep and hidden, unexpressed damage occurring within the girl, which can be corrected.
3. Girls have a profound influence on boy behavior. Quoting from the Saturday Evening Post of September 15, 1962:

"So the good girl is fantastically important to the gang kid from the very second he realizes he is in love. Instinctively he knows that she represents his best chance to escape from a ruinous future that he sees all too clearly.

"If the boy and girl break up, he's in terrible shape. All love-crossed adolescents are. But these adolescents can't go home and mope. What homes? So they fight their frustration with a gang war, a stickup - or heroin."\*

It is therefore, as we present projects for all youth, we put high priority and consideration for the leadership potential of the average and able young person and ask that the needs of girls be not forgotten, lost, or become simply an adjunct to boys programming.

7. Communication (Between the agency and the public)

- A. The YW informs girls of the Y-Teen program through the schools.
- B. Physical decentralization of facilities enables the staff to be in closer contact with the people in the area which the local center serves.
- C. The local centers attempt to reach the public through various committees, including the Center's Advisory Board, Public Affairs Committee, and Teen-age Committee.

\*My Life with Juvenile Gangs," Vincent Riccio. Based on five years' experience with the New York City Youth Board.

## IV

## YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

## A. 28th Street Branch

1. Area Served

The 28th Street Branch serves but is not limited to the general area bound by Fifth Street on the north, Slauson on the south, Alameda on the east, and Main Street on the west. There are no membership restrictions as to race, religion, residence, or economic status.

2. Facilities

The 28th Street Branch is housed in a two-story building complete with gymnasium, club rooms, game rooms, dormitories, and swimming pool.

3. Membership

The membership fee is \$10.00 per year for boys 8-12, \$11.00 per year for boys 13-17, and \$15.00 per year for those over age 17. There are presently about 900 boys served by the branch.

4. Programa. Four-Square Program

This program is designed to reach youth from elementary through the high school level, in the following ways:

## (1) "Y" Indian Guide Clubs

The clubs include boys up to age eight and their fathers. Both father and son must participate to be eligible for the activities which include the

study of Indian lore, camp-outs, and parent-son banquets. Although the 28th Street "Y" has no Indian Guide Club this semester (Spring, 1964), the Branch generally has approximately 20 participants in this program.

(2) Gray "Y" Clubs

These clubs involve boys at the grammar school level. Their activities include softball, touch football, and basketball leagues, plus educational trips to automobile plants, museums, etc., and recreational trips to such places as Knotts Berry Farm, the beaches, etc.

(3) Junior Hi-Y Clubs

There are approximately 40 boys in two junior high schools that participate in this program, the activities of which are largely decided and planned by the club members. The activities may include forums, discussion groups, sports, etc.

(4) Senior Hi-Y Clubs

Presently, this Branch has one such high school club with a membership of 18. Its activities are largely determined by its members.

The 28th Street Branch is oriented toward working with youth through the school system with which it has<sup>a</sup>/close relationship. The schools, in turn, use the Branch facilities for various functions.

b. Building Program

The "Y" building program maintains facilities game rooms for pool, ping-pong, etc.

The Branch also maintains dormitory facilities consisting of 42 rooms with 52 beds with an 80% occupancy rate. Since the area served by the "Y" is a port of entry for many Negroes from the south, the dorm serves as the necessary housing for these transient tenants who are seeking footholds in the Los Angeles area before sending for their families. The Branch refers the newcomers to the Urban League and other agencies for possible employment opportunities.

c. Special Programs

(1) Swim Team

This program in which approximately 40 boys participate competes on a state-wide basis. The team trips provide members with opportunities to meet youth of differing social and economic backgrounds. The trips then serve to expose disadvantaged youth to the middle class world. A parents' club which sponsors the swim team campaigns to raise the necessary funds.

(2) Learn-to-Swim Program

The Branch provides swimming lessons for 200 youths each year during spring vacation.

(3) Summer Fun Club

This is a well-planned program that operates throughout summer vacation. Nearly 115 boys have participated in the day-long programs which cost \$20 for the summer

plus a "Y" membership. The activities include daily physical exercises, classes in swimming, gymnastics, baseball, educational trips (to museums, etc.) and recreational trips (to the beaches, Marineland, etc.)

(4) World Service Projects

This year two outstanding underprivileged boys from the 28th Street Branch will be sent to Venezuela for a YMCA work project.

(5) Conferences and Camps

The Branch sent three boys to Youth in Government in Sacramento where the youths elect officers and go through the motions of running the state government for one week.

The Branch also sponsors leadership camps in the fall and sends representatives to conferences where various religious, moral, and social issues are discussed.

The Branch also sends approximately 80 boys to eight-day camps each summer. Some boys earn their way to camp by selling sugar-coated peanuts door to door.

5. Financial Support

YMCA is no longer a member of the Community Chest. Each branch must raise its own funds within its designated geographic area. Since the 28th Street Branch is located in a depressed area, it is forced to contact donors outside its area in order to survive.

6. Staff

The staff consists of two full-time professionals and two part-time workers.

## 7. Communication

The 28th Street Branch attempts to publicize its programs to the youth of the community by sending out circulars to the schools and churches.

In the opinion of some, there is not enough coordination and exchange of information among the agencies in this area. However, there is the belief that the agencies in the area would respond favorably to the suggestion of organizing an interagency council.

### B. Southwest YMCA

#### 1. Population Served

The area served is encompassed by Adams Street on the north, El Segundo on the south, Central on the east, and Van Ness on the west. The population within this area is 50 percent Negro, 10 percent Oriental, and 40 percent Caucasian. 75 percent of the residents are homeowners, although there is a rapid growth of apartment house construction. The delinquency rate is highest in the service area around Vermont Avenue and 54th Street, where about six organized gangs operate.

#### 2. Facilities

Presently, the Southwest Branch has only office space in a small bungalow. The Branch utilizes nearby church and school facilities for its programs. In the near future, this Branch will be financially able to construct its own facilities. With the decentralization of the YMCA in more recent years, there have not been sufficient funds to construct buildings for every branch as of yet. While some YMCA officials say that less indoor program facilities are needed in California, with its mild climate which is conducive to outdoor activities, others say that the lack of facilities is due to the present lack of monetary backing necessary to

finance the facilities for a decentralized program.

### 3. Membership

There are approximately 500 boys, ages 9-17, presently participating in the current programs which focus primarily on youth rather than adults. The membership fee is \$3.00 per year. This Branch has clubs in twelve churches and seven elementary schools.

### 4. Program

The program is family centered in that the "Y" attempts to draw the parents into the activities through their sons. This Branch also has the Four Square Program, including the Indian Guide Clubs, Gray Y Clubs, Junior Hi-Y, and Senior Hi-Y, with activities nearly the same as those at the 28th Street Branch. While the 28th Street Branch is pre-school oriented, the Southwest Branch organizes more of its clubs through community churches. However, the Southwest Branch will be launching a drive to organize clubs in more local schools this fall.

The Southwest Branch also aims for leadership development through Youth in Government, Hi-Y conferences, and world service projects.

### 5. Financial Support

As in the case of the 28th Street "Y", the funds are supposed to be raised within its designated district. The Southwest Branch will be pushing a campaign to purchase property and eventually construct its own building.

### 6. Staff

The staff consists of two full-time professionals and several part-time staff members and volunteers.

7. Communication

This Branch attempts to inform the public of its program primarily through the churches and schools.

There is also a limited exchange of information among the agencies in the area. The exchange that does occur is achieved by (1) Coordinating Council meetings and (2) exchange of program bulletins by the agencies.

## V

## DEPARTMENT OF MENTAL HYGIENE

Southside Office, Bureau of Social Work

1. Population Served

This office serves only out-patients from the state hospital who live within the area south of Washington Boulevard and west of Long Beach Boulevard. The office handles a case load of approximately 700-plus patients, with one-half to three-quarters of this load falling within the ARA study area. A Department staff member stated that she was unable to determine whether there was actually more mental illness per population within the study area than in other areas.

The Department attempts to treat the patient in a state hospital for a short time and then place him back in this environment under the supervision of a psychiatric social worker on the theory that a patient will recover much faster than if kept in an institution for a long period of time. The Department policy is to visit each patient at least once every three months. The Department attempts to discharge patients within a year.

In addition to serving the mentally ill, the Department also serves the mentally retarded and geriatric patients. The "Final Report on the Long-Range Plan of the Department of Mental Hygiene," for the State Senate Committee on Governmental Administration, 1963, describes the problems with these patients:

The two groups, which include nearly 50 percent of the in-patient case load of state mental hospitals, are the mentally retarded and the geriatric patients. The basic problems identifying these two groups, mental limitation on the one hand, and physical and mental deterioration on the other, are not the kind of ailments which will be cured by psychotherapy. Their being in a mental institution, and therefore classed as mental patients,

deprives the State of California of appreciable sums from federal government which have already been budgeted and are available under the program for Medical Aid to the Aged and Aid to the Totally Disabled. It is ironic that the abnormal behavior of many of these patients is not the primary cause of their institutionalization; rather, their abnormal behavior is the result of their institutionalization.

## 2. Program

The goals of the Department are spelled out in the Final Report on the "Long-Range Plan of the Department of Mental Hygiene," prepared for the State Senate Committee on Governmental Administration, 1963:

Overall aim is decentralization of treatment and the increase of private, as well as, local public mental health services. Decentralization will result in the utilization of untapped resources, particularly living, recreational and medical services which would all have to be duplicated in non-community based facilities. According to all indications, the operation of state institutions is uneconomical in terms of results, because their very size and isolation from the community tends to aggravate the problems of mental illness.

Community-based Programs: The highly important community-based programs available today range from extra-mural services, designed for release of hospital patients as soon as they have received maximum benefit from in-patient programs, through the day treatment center operation, State Mental Hygiene clinic programs, and community service under the Short-Doyle Act which are aimed at providing treatment and precluding the necessity of state hospitalization.

The goals stated above are implemented by a program which includes home leave, family care, work placement, after care, and convalescent service in relation to the placing of selected patients in private institutions licensed by the Department.

The following specific programs merit further elaboration:

### A. Friendship Clubs

The Department sponsors, in cooperation with the city and county, these recreational clubs with the aim of integrating out-patients from the state hospitals into the community. The

clubs utilize city and county facilities and their staffs.

The activities include folk dances, trips, social gatherings, etc.

There are clubs in the Exposition Park and Green Meadows areas.

#### B. Family Care

This is a program of foster home care for persons who have been under treatment in California state hospitals for the mentally retarded. It is designed for persons who no longer need to be in the hospital but have no other suitable living plan available. By offering a warm, friendly, family atmosphere, Family Care enables some patients to move on to a more independent living situation. Some patients may need only Family Care for a short time. For some it may be a permanent plan. Patients who go to Family Care are first approved by the hospital staff. Social workers in the Department of Mental Hygiene select patients for a particular home and provide some supervision for the home.<sup>1/</sup>

#### C. After Care Facilities

"An after care patient no longer requires 24-hour hospital care, but is still in need of the medical and psychiatric care, and the social services that are provided by the staff of the individual after care facility."<sup>2/</sup>

#### D. Therapy

The Department's psychiatric social worker treats the patient in his home or at the Department office. The sessions with the

<sup>1/</sup> "Final Report on the Long-Range Plan of the Department of Mental Hygiene Report to the State Senate Committee on Governmental Administration, 1963.

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid.

patient are generally group and/or family centered. The entire family, if the patient has one, is asked to participate with the patient in these therapy sessions because the family is often the group from which the patient's problems originate. In addition to the group therapy sessions, the psychiatric social workers utilize the services of the Department of Employment for job placement, staff psychiatrists from local hospitals, the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, etc. When a patient is discharged, he is settled and has a financial plan worked out by which to support himself.

#### E. Sheltered Workshops

These workshops are for out-patients who cannot be immediately employed at conventional jobs. These patients can be employed in the workshops and receive a living wage for their labors. Some patients are given training for positions they may eventually qualify for in private industry.

### 3. Staff

This office employs seven psychiatric social workers, with the case load averaging about 100-plus cases per worker. Three additional psychiatric social workers are needed, as a case load of 50-75 would be preferable. A shortage of trained psychiatric social workers, rather than a shortage of funds, is the primary reason for this office being understaffed.

### 4. Mental Health Survey South Central Los Angeles

Below are the conclusions and recommendations of the "Mental Health Survey on the Needs and Facilities" in the South Central Area; prepared by the South Central Area Welfare Planning Council. Although

the report was made in 1958, it is the only comprehensive evaluation of the problems of mental health currently available.

From information documented in the preceding parts of this report, there are definite indications of a considerable volume of mental and emotional problems affecting all groups in our South Central Area with children, aged and delinquents being affected with considerable acuteness. Free and low cost mental health services seem most accessible to veterans first and children second. However, it is apparent that a great gap exists between the meager availability and existence of services and the tremendous community mental health needs of our 640,000 residents in the South Central Area.

Large appropriations of public funds are needed. Any appropriation short of this would be, at best, a palliative measure. However, large or small, every dollar, public or private, which can be raised for needed community mental health services is sorely needed.

Should funds become available to purchase the needed services, it would be important, first, to strengthen basic existing services in the area by expanding staff and facilities and by reviewing work methods and the patient referral process. Second, there would be also a need to create new services.

With these thoughts in mind, the following proposed recommendations are presented for your consideration with the understanding that they can be modified pending the completion of the County-wide Mental Health Survey Report and the involvement of other persons whose knowledge, experience and leadership can further assist us in the implementation of the recommendations that are finally adopted.

Therefore, with no priorities implied at this time, our proposed recommendations are presented as follows:

That agencies, jointly, on their own, or with the professional schools, provide advanced training for their staffs, especially at the worker level, to help improve their understanding of and abilities in the identification and detection of mental and emotional problems of their clients.

That agencies, jointly, or in cooperation with the Welfare Planning Council, sponsor workshops to develop improved methods and procedures for executing inter-agency referrals of clients needing psychiatric services.

That agencies make every effort to utilize staff who are trained to detect mental and emotional problems of clients in the intake process of their agencies.

That community organizations, i.e., service clubs, PTA's, veteran groups, church groups, social clubs, etc., sponsor community mental health education programs.

That State, County and City Boards of Education institute a more active program of mental health education in the curriculum.

That city and county health centers located throughout the South Central Area include mental health in their public health services.

That churches sponsor community mental health clinics.

That hospitals in the South Central Area provide beds for psychiatric patients in accordance with state standards per population.

That hospitals in the South Central Area provide a day and night program for psychiatric patients who then can be treated as they continue their work in the community.

That insurance underwriters broaden their health insurance policies to cover costs for psychiatric care without increasing premiums beyond the means of the average wage earner.

That budgetary groups and agency administrators upgrade staff salaries to curb the current upswing in our costly staff turnover due to inadequate salaries.

That all members of professional associations engaged in the field of mental health be called upon to function in the implementation of community mental health services.

That the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, develop standards and guides which can be used by local citizen groups to measure and determine for themselves the types of mental health services needed for a given community.

That the Council and its total constituency, individually urge the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors to create a Los Angeles County Mental Health Services and appoint an Advisory Board as a step toward enabling the county to take advantage of the benefits provided under the State Community Mental Health Services Act (Short-Doyle Act).

That the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, review "The Plan for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency" proposed in 1953 to determine if and how the concepts and recommendations of the report regarding the diagnostic, referral and treatment aspects could be implemented as possible community mental health services under the Short-Doyle Act.

That the Welfare Planning Council and other citizen organizations and their constituents individually contact their respective legislators to enlist their support on social legislative measures regarding mental health services.

"That the South Central Area Welfare Planning Council and the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region, create an appropriate committee or committees to assure the implementation of the various recommendations having area and regional implications, respectively.

## VI

## LOS ANGELES COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF SENIOR CITIZENS AFFAIRS

1. Background of Department, Area Served, Facilities

The Los Angeles Department of Senior Citizens Affairs is an out-growth of the Los Angeles County Committee on the Affairs of the Aging which was appointed by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors to advise the Board on the problems and programs for senior citizens. This Committee recommended that a county department be established which resulted in the formation of such an agency for senior citizens under the Department of Charities in 1960. In 1962, this agency became a separate department of county government. With so much of the governmental efforts focused on youth, the function of the Department is to provide services for the aged citizen.

In addition to the Los Angeles County Committee on Affairs of the Aging, there are local committees on aging which cooperate with the Department. Within the ARA study area, there are four local Committees on Aging (East Los Angeles, South Central, Hollywood-Wilshire, and Southwest). The East Los Angeles Committee is bilingual and serves, not only as a local committee, but also as an advisory committee on the problems of the Mexican-Americans for the entire county. The purpose of the local committees is to evolve, from the grass roots level, programs tailored to the problems of a particular locale. Coordination between the various local committees is achieved through the Affiliated Committee on Aging where each local committee is represented.

2. Population Served

The Department of Senior Citizens Affairs and the local Committees on Aging serve primarily people age 65 and older and all retired

people age 50 and over residing in Los Angeles County. It is extremely difficult for the Department to ascertain the actual number of people that it directly aids. The Department estimates that 22,000 people are reached a year by the Information Day programs alone.

The number of Senior Citizens in the ARA study area is significant. To cite a few census tract statistics compiled by the Department, 28.4 percent of the population for tract 2079 are age 65 or over, 14.1 percent of tract 2095, 24.1 percent of tract 2096, 12.4 percent of tract 2097, and 21.8 percent of tract 2098. The Department has no estimates on the number of people age 65 or over actually contacted or served by it in the study area.

### 3. Facilities

The lack of funds has made physical decentralization of the Department a present impossibility. Thus, there are no facilities outside the main office located in the old Hall of Records.

### 4. Programs

The focus of the Department programs is on activities for the retired individual and, therefore, there are few services designed for the procurement of employment. The Department program includes the following:

#### A. Senior Citizens Month

The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors has proclaimed May as Senior Citizens Month. During May, the Board of Supervisors gives special recognition to selected senior citizens (generally those in their 100's) by presenting them with a scroll at a Board meeting. The Mexican-American senior citizens are given additional recognition at a fiesta in the Los Angeles Plaza on the last Sunday in May.

B. Orientation Programs

The Department assists other agencies (e.g., U.S. Army) in sponsoring retirement orientation programs. Presently, the Department is advising the city school system's adult education division on a retirement planning course. The course is designed to examine the problems arising from a changed way of life and to provide information on services for retired senior citizens.

C. Information Day Programs

In these programs, a number of private and public agencies make presentations describing their services for seniors. The Department estimates that approximately 22,000 seniors attend these Information Day programs per year.

D. Counseling

The Department has one full-time counselor who deals with the problems of the aged on a group or individual basis. Of course, this staff person refers seniors to the counseling services of the local health and welfare agencies.

E. Recreation Programs

The Department encourages seniors to participate in such recreational activities as the bowling programs for senior citizens sponsored by local alleys. The Department has also been able to obtain reduced prices for seniors at six movie theaters and reduced fares on the MTA.

F. Consultant to Other Agencies and Companies

The Department is a consultant on problems of aging to such organizations as the 60,000-member Association of Retired County Employees and "Grandcraft" (an outlet where seniors may sell

their crafts). The Department also advises private agencies on such matters as how to set up and run a convalescence home for the aged.

5. Communication

A. Between the Agency and the Public

This agency has an extensive public information program aimed at satisfying the needs of older people who often have difficulty determining what benefits are offered by what agencies and ascertaining the complexities of qualifying for these benefits. This agency utilizes the following channels in contacting the public:

1. Local Committees on Aging
2. Agency field representatives
3. News column in the Citizen which discusses the problems of senior citizens.
4. Spot radio announcements concerning senior citizen activities.
5. Department speakers who appear at community gatherings.
6. Fifteen minute radio program over KFI every Thursday evening where the representatives of the various community agencies which offer assistance to the aged are interviewed.
7. Central Register (discussed below)--This division has just recently separated from the D.S.C.A. and is now a separate department of county government.

B. Interagency Communications

D.S.C.A. (Department of Senior Citizens Affairs) keeps in touch with the activities of other agencies through the following means:

1. Exchanging bulletins with other agencies.

2. Department's field representatives who make it their job to be familiar with the services offered to seniors by other agencies.
3. Central Register  
This newly established agency provides a referral service for older persons seeking shelter-care facilities. The agency's cross-index lists boarding and care homes for the aged, nursing homes, and sanitariums for the emotionally and mentally disturbed. The agency gives detailed information on such matters as costs, facilities, and personnel to meet specific needs; e.g., language problems.

## VII

## LOS ANGELES COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY--FAILURE TO PROVIDE DIVISION

## Metro South Office

1. Area Served

The area serviced by the Metro South Office is region seven which is encompassed by Alameda Boulevard on the east, Olympic on the north, Crenshaw on the west, and Manchester on the south.

2. Case Load

The case load of region seven, which is handled by the Metro South Office, is second in volume for Los Angeles County.

The statistics for February, 1964, an average month, show that the Metro South Office disposed of 616 cases, reopened 287 cases and received 413 new cases from the Bureau of Public Assistance, which supplies the District Attorney with most of the new cases.

The factual pattern of all cases generally flows from the situation where the father has deserted his wife and family and has failed to fulfill his legal obligation of providing for the children. A precondition to a mother's receiving financial aid from the Bureau of Public Assistance is that she sign a complaint charging her husband with failing to provide for the family. After a case has been investigated and the father has not been located, the case is placed in the inactive file where it remains until new information merits the reopening of the case. Presently, there are approximately 8,200 cases in the active file and some 17,000 in the inactive category.

The California State Legislature has passed the Burton-Miller Act, which includes a new welfare program known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, in an effort to reduce the large number of desertion cases. Under AFDC, a family would become eligible for welfare aid without the condition precedent of the desertion of the father. Thus, the father could remain in the home and the family would still be eligible for public assistance. A spokesman for the Bureau of Public Assistance noted that since the passage of the Burton-Miller Act, the public assistance case load of deserted families has not decreased. Rather, the case load of deserted families and families under AFDC have both increased.

### 3. Agency Structure

The District Attorney--Failure to Provide Division divides Los Angeles County into eight regions served by ten offices, which are identical to the eight Bureau of Public Assistance regions. The Metro South Office (region seven) has a staff of six clerical personnel and four investigators. There is a reorganization movement now under way that will result in the B.P.A. taking over the investigating duties now administered by the District Attorney's staff. The District Attorney's office will then be able to devote full time to the prosecuting of fathers who fail to provide.

### 4. Agency Activities

The overall objective of the District Attorney--Failure to Provide Division is not to prosecute a father who has deserted his family, but rather to get him to agree to pay his family a certain

amount per month for support. If a man shows a desire to cooperate in good faith, the District Attorney will not prosecute him on the philosophy that the man in the South Central Los Angeles area should be given a break because of cultural and educational deprivation.

Even so, about four or five men per month from the Metro South Office case load are given a one-year jail sentence. Generally, these men are either making money and refusing to pay, or they have been unreasonable in not attempting to find a job.

If a father is convicted and incarcerated, he receives only two dollars per day, or sixty dollars per month, during his confinement. Therefore, it is to the welfare agencies' advantage to keep him out of jail in the hope that his job can enable him to pay more than sixty dollars per month. The County's Chief Administrative Officer has requested that the District Attorney's Office focus its activities on those fathers who are financially best able to pay in an effort to reduce the expense of the welfare programs.

## VIII

## USC YOUTH STUDY CENTER

The University of Southern California's Youth Study Center, financed by the Ford Foundation, is an outgrowth of the President's Committee on Delinquency. The Center focuses its activities on research and training programs which include, but often extend beyond, mere delinquency problems.

The Center has conducted such research projects as the Santa Monica Study on Delinquency Prevention. Among the many facets explored by the study, one was a recognition of a distinct discrepancy between the areas in which there was a high delinquency rate and the location of agencies whose programs bore upon delinquency prevention. As a result of these findings, a number of agencies relocated their offices in the areas where the delinquency rate was high.

The training programs conducted by the Center are aimed at the practitioners. For example, the Center set up a training program for the staff of the Youth Opportunities Board. More recently, the Center has devised a training program for the upper management personnel of public and private agencies. Among the many topics to be considered the following are included:

A. The Changing Role of Agencies

With the coming of the War on Poverty, more federal money will be pumped into local public agencies, the result being that more programs now offered by private agencies will be offered on a larger scale by public agencies. The question then becomes: What should the role of

the private agency be? Should it be a referral center where the public seeks information concerning the services offered by the public agencies, or should the private agencies press for federal grants to pursue new programs?

B. Public Agency Problems of Physical Decentralization without Program Decentralization

The problem actually goes deeper than a failure on the part of some agencies to tailor programs to the specific needs of various areas of the metropolitan complex. The problem also involves centralized personnel policies.

For example, to transfer a director with a middle-class background from the Westwood agency office to the South Central Los Angeles office may be more of a disservice than a service to the minority groups of the depressed South Central area.

C. The Narrowness of Bureaucratic Thinking

Another area that will be explored is the success or failure of agencies to concern themselves with problems outside their fixed area of responsibility. For example, perhaps a unified approach should be pursued on the problems of unemployment. Another topic for discussion will be whether department heads place too much emphasis on being administrators (keeping the agency running smoothly), with total lack of emphasis on being innovators who create imaginative approaches to cope with the changing needs of the community served.

## IX

## SALVATION ARMY

The Tabernacle Corps

The Tabernacle Corps is moving from 4800 South Hoover Street to Hollywood during the summer of 1964. The relocation was precipitated by two factors. First, the land on which the present facilities rest has been condemned for a community park by the Department of Parks and Recreation. Secondly, with the influx of Negroes, there has been little or no involvement by the residents of the neighborhood in the programs offered by the Tabernacle Corps, which are of a religious and musical variety.

The Corps has, from time to time, conducted extensive campaigns to interest the community in its activities. For example, several years ago, the Army waged a door-to-door visitation drive where approximately 1000 people were contacted. The drive netted negligible results as no new members were brought into the Corps.

In the last several years, only one Negro family has participated in the Corps. The Negroes in the area prefer to attend the Negro churches and missions, of which there are many.

The present membership of the Tabernacle Corps consists of approximately 200 adults, plus their children. Since most of

the members have moved outside the immediate area served by the Corps, the Corp's new location in Hollywood will be closer to homes of its members.

Salvation Army Family Service Department

1. Population Served

The Salvation Army Family Service Department serves the general population in the ARA study area and also men and women incarcerated in county and city jails and nearby federal and state institutions. There are no restrictions as to age, sex, race, or religion except that the agency endeavors to follow the patterns of community service, referring appropriate clients to sectarian agencies which offer services to their particular group.<sup>1/</sup>

2. Facilities

The Family Service Department, which is now located at 916 Francisco Street, occupies a well-constructed building with ten offices, a large conference room, a reception room, and an intake reception desk which allows clients privacy while applications are being taken. It is located close to other social agencies, which permits referral of clients with little inconvenience to them.<sup>2/</sup>

3. Fees and Membership

There are no fees, charges for services, or membership requirements for clients in the agency.<sup>3/</sup>

1/ Welfare Federation of Los Angeles Area, "Survey of Community Chest Agencies," 1960.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Ibid.

#### 4. Program

##### A. Counseling

The Family Service Department offers both individual and family counseling services. The ongoing case load is approximately 100, which is handled by four case workers. There is no waiting list, as the Department can either provide immediate counseling services or refer the client to the proper agency.

##### B. Emergency Financial Assistance

The United Way allocates funds to the Army so that it may provide money to members of the Protestant faith in case of emergency. The United Way makes similar grants to the Catholic and the Jewish Welfare Agencies to care for the members of those faiths.

##### C. Services to Legal Offenders

The agency's service to legal offenders and their families continues to be an important part of the program and includes periodic visits to jails and institutions for the purpose of assisting legal offenders with whatever social problems they may present, as well as providing sponsorship and advice for both state and federal parolees. This consists of a constructive casework service, the use of financial assistance when indicated during the parolee's initial period of adjustment, and service to the family which may assure the rehabilitation of the man at the time of his release, supporting him in his return to the community and his reestablishment in the family. Prison

authorities and parole agents are eager for and sincerely appreciate this type of service.<sup>4/</sup>

D. Women's Emergency Lodge

The Women's Emergency Lodge, located at 912 West Ninth street, is operated by the Department and is a constant resource for other social agencies, as well as for mothers and children who make personal application for temporary housing in the community. It is also used by the police and sheriff's department who bring stranded families to the agency for temporary food and shelter. This program has been in effect for about ten years, but during the past year the need for the service has increased markedly. Funds were provided by a group of interested persons for some necessary interior remodeling, and it is interesting to note that the cost of operation of this facility has not been added as an additional item of expense to the Department budget.<sup>5/</sup>

E. Missing Persons Department

The Army will also search for missing persons on an international basis if the reason for the search is legitimate.

5. Communication

The Family Service Department is in constant contact with other public and private agencies. Other agencies are aware of its services and refer many people to it. The lack of personnel has restrained intensive public information

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<sup>4/</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid.

programs on the agency's services.

When the services of the Department are publicized, the Department has been swamped with requests which the already overburdened staff must attempt to meet. Such an instance arose last year when an article in Reader's Digest on its Missing Persons Bureau flooded the Los Angeles Department with requests.

### Salvation Army Red Shield Youth Center

#### 1. Population Served

Membership consists of boys and girls 6 to 18 years of age, with no restriction as to race, religion, or economic status. The area served is that bounded by Vermont on the west, Third Street on the north, Figueroa on the east, and Adams on the south. The membership fee is nominal. It covers all trips and use of all facilities. Where a boy or girl cannot fulfill the obligation, arrangements are made whereby they work out their membership.

The ethnic composition of the membership consists largely of Latin Americans with a smaller number of Negroes. In April, 1964, the members numbered 267 girls and 500 boys, with the expectation of 1000 boys participating by summer vacation.

#### 2. Facilities

The Red Shield Youth Center was started as a demonstration project by the Junior League. It has gradually been taken over by the Salvation Army. The facilities provided by the Junior League and the Salvation Army comprise the Red Shield Boy's Club, the Junior League Girls' Club, and the Harry Chandler Memorial Pool.

The Boy's Club occupies a two-story brick building near Union Avenue on Eleventh Street. Facilities include a 120 x 75 foot gymnasium, offices, workshop, game rooms, recreation rooms, craft room, club room, library, television room, canteen and kitchen, railroad room, machine shops, and incidental facilities. A large outdoor playground adjoining the facility was acquired in 1957.

The Junior League Girls' Club occupies an adjoining one-story brick building which is ideally fitted for a complete girls' club program with large, inviting rooms for domestic science, recreation and leisure time, cosmetology, study, games, classes, etc. The Girls' Club uses the gymnasium in the main building and the pool.

The Harry Chandler Memorial Pool provides an ideal indoor-outdoor swimming facility to serve both Boys' and Girls' Clubs and is located adjacent to the two club buildings, separated by a patio. The pool is 30 x 75 in dimension, from 3 to 8 feet in depth. There are three large "slide-up" doors which can be opened in the summer, making it almost like an outdoor pool. In the winter the building is heated.<sup>6/</sup>

### 3. Program

The newly appointed agency director and program director are in the process of evaluating the services provided. Hence the future program of the Center has not been formulated. However, below is the program currently being offered (Spring, 1964). The present program is characterized by a fostering of a child's

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<sup>6/</sup> Ibid.

physical, spiritual, and emotional growth, as well as aiding the child's family. Thus, in addition to specific programs for the children, the Center attempts to reach the family through such devices as Mothers' Clubs.

A. Girls' Activities

1. Classes in sewing, cooking, drama, art, and swimming. Approximately 100 girls participate in this program, which is supervised by Junior League volunteers.

2. Friendship Groups - These are social groups in which approximately 190 girls participate.

3. Free Play - This is part of the Center's openhand policy to introduce children to the Center. However, the Center is attempting to cut down on free play time since the Center's primary focus is not that of being an open playground. There is also the belief that more children can be helped in supervised group activities.

4. Special Events - This includes field trips, etc.

B. Co-ed Activities

1. Scholarship Art Club - This is part of a cultural enrichment program financed by the Junior League, with those children with artistic ability invited to join. The Club activities are supervised by a professional painter.

2. Co-ed Club - This is a social organization that convenes every Friday evening for meals and folk games.

### C. Boys' Activities

1. Leisure or Free Play - Facilities are available to play pool, chess, etc.
2. Physical Education Programs - This includes classes in weight lifting, trampoline, etc.
3. Clubs, e.g., Chess Club, Space Club.
4. Aquatics Program.

### 4. Problems and Approaches in Program Implementation

One of the problems that the Center attempts to deal with is that of cultural adjustment, as most of the youth served are Latin-Americans. For example, the Latin-American picture of authority is that of strict, rigid authority as fostered by the father. The family is generally not consulted on decisions to be made, but rather told what to do by the father. When a child from this type of upbringing finds himself in a non-authoritarian group situation at the Center, he still expects an authoritarian figure to tell the group what to do. Instead, he finds that the responsibility for decision-making rests upon him and every other member of the group, which is a democratic concept foreign to many Latin-Americans' way of thinking. While this democratic decision-making method is difficult at first, the Center's program director believes the method is an excellent way of building self-esteem and confidence--attitudes that are lacking among many of the Center's youth who feel that there is no place for them in a complex urban world.

The group and club activities, plus the individual counseling, are thus aimed at developing within a child the feeling of being wanted and being useful. There is also a sincere effort to recognize and accept the individual's differences and to view them in a positive manner.

#### 5. Staff

Presently, the staff consists of three full-time positions, plus several volunteers. The Center needs five full-time employees, plus two part-time female workers and one part-time male worker. In addition, the physical education program requires one part-time male and one part-time female employee.

#### 6. Communication

The staff has not devoted time recently to developing extensive communications channels, since they have been occupied with reworking the Center's program. Nevertheless, many referrals to the Center come through the school authorities.

Thus far, there has been little interagency communication although just recently the area Coordinating Council has been reactivated.

X

## THE AVALON-CENTRAL DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

The Avalon Community Center, financed with both public and private funds, is located in the heart of the Los Angeles Negro community. Its most important current effort is a demonstration project, best described by a staff member of the Center:

This two-year project, begun in July 1962, has the broad focus of community development. It aims at helping people to strengthen and improve themselves, their families, and neighborhoods. It seeks to translate the traditional concern of the settlement-center for the whole of neighborhood life into programs which can help toward change in the deep pattern of problems which has come to be typical of the Negro urban slum community, which Avalon-Central represents.

This project involves joint cooperation and financing between the State Department of Social Welfare, Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance and the Avalon Community Center. SDSW funds account for about 40% of the Center's \$60,000.00 budget, but the project involves 100% of the Center's resources.

The Avalon Community Center Project is an advance skirmish in the War on Poverty. Its experience has already opened up new approaches to the problems of poor people, particularly poor people who receive public assistance. Its basic demonstration

has been that poverty is a neighborhood problem and must be attacked in the neighborhood and that small private agencies and large government agencies can form an effective combat team in this War!

The Project provides for two full-time program staff and part of a third worker's time. Project Program emphases to date include:

1. Family Group Worker - The family group worker works with groups of mothers offering informal group experiences, adult education classes (sewing, home management skills, parent education), and counseling. She serves as the key contact between the family and the Center in helping involve family members in various aspects of the total Center program.
2. Neighborhood Organization - The neighborhood organization worker develops and works with small neighborhood problem-solving groups of adults concerned with their neighborhoods. Identification and training of indigenous leaders and development of organization connecting these neighborhood groups in community-wide improvement is an integral part of this work.
3. Youth Leadership, School, and Special Projects - This third emphasis relates to special and on-going Center programs aimed at development of leadership in work with children and youth from elementary school through college, cultural enrichment programs, and projects

focused on school drop-outs, absenteeism, motivation for education, and youth employment.

The project then seeks to demonstrate that services with this pattern-self-help steps, group experiences, and neighborhood problem-solving efforts can have important consequences for a community with many public welfare problems.

The parallel and related B.P.A. joint project titled 'Teamwork Between a Community Center and a Public Assistance Agency to Reduce Problems of Dependency and to Raise Social Values in a Deprived Neighborhood' is scheduled to involve 100 public assistance families in the Avalon-Central area (primarily A.N.C. families). Three B.P.A. caseworkers and a supervising caseworker will work cooperatively with the Center staff in helping these families. 35 families have been selected to date primarily on the basis of B.P.A. assessment of the possible relevance of Center participation to change for the family. The B.P.A. caseworker and family group worker discuss and plan for the involvement of family members in Center program as a part of B.P.A.'s overall treatment plan for the family.

The Welfare Planning Council Research Department is working on a plan for evaluation of the project which will include developing ways to look at and measure community growth and change, as well as specific evaluative procedures relating to particular programs and sub-projects

(for example a closer look at the dynamics of citizen participation in neighborhood problem solving).

An important phase of the demonstration project has been the establishment of the South Central Inter-Agency Committee. The philosophy behind such an inter-agency committee is set forth in a paper, "The Neighborhood Approach," by Opal Jones and Tim Sampson:

These facts of inter-relatedness of problems and necessity for individual change to be related to community change dictate that at very least specialized service agencies must increase their awareness of what each other is doing! There must be a pooling of knowledge of people, problems and community. Service attempts must be reciprocal and related, not redundant and working at cross purposes. Public assistance employment counseling and retraining programs must complement, supplement and coordinate with Employment Service efforts. Public assistance literacy programs must relate to adult education and even creatively to elementary school programs.

Actually there are formal and informal efforts to achieve this kind of relatedness, communication and coordination of services. For several reasons, however, present attempts are often inadequate and ineffective. One factor involves the level of coordination. Particularly where large public agencies are involved, coordination at the top (or even at middle administrative and supervisory levels) while helpful,

is just not effective where it counts--in the neighborhood, in relation to people. Conversely, worker-to-worker efforts in relation to particular "cases" may be frustrated by lack of an administrative framework or climate in support of such efforts.

And even when there is relatively good communication and coordination between specialized service agencies, at all levels, this coordination may not do much to make the services more effective because its focus may only be in terms again of individual change. More effective help for individuals and families, while certainly desirable and important, again fails to offer much to change the pattern of forces which contributes so crucially to the problems of people in the trap ghetto neighborhood.

One of the basic weaknesses of traditional coordination of services efforts is that it is simply an addition of several specialized services which is achieved. Each service agency has carved out a piece of the neighborhood problem, of the problems which people in the neighborhood experience as a pattern. Unfortunately, the social problems which form the neighborhood's social reality have more "pieces" than there are specialized service agencies; and the pieces which the agencies divide the neighborhood social reality into, don't fit together! Often the people's problems "fall between the agency slats." Almost always the broader, deeper neighborhood problems are not even

considered the joint concern of such agency coordination efforts. The vital questions such efforts pose are, "who speaks here for the community as a whole?" and "whose responsibility is community change?"

However, having set forth the limitations of inter-agency coordination of service efforts it should be clearly stated that such efforts are also important and encouraging in a number of ways. They provide a focal point for the gradual development of a neighborhood-centered awareness of the patterns of people's problems, an opportunity for identification of service gaps and weaknesses in traditional ways of providing services, and perhaps most important, a stimulus for the kind of down to earth creative thinking about these complex social problems which must be done if any "solutions" to basic problems of trap ghettos are to be found.

On a practical level, the monthly meetings of the South Central Inter-Agency Committee serve two primary functions: (1) an exchange of information on services offered between the participating agencies and the representatives of elected officials, and (2) provision of an informal forum where community problems can be discussed and action taken.

Either the agency heads or lower personnel, or both, have attended the meetings thus far. Unlike the local Coordinating Councils, this Committee consists only of professional staff personnel.

Thus far, the Committee meetings have proved helpful in enlisting inter-agency support and development of (1) the Wrigley Field Proposal (to make Wrigley Field into a "Services Supermarket" which would house the numerous private and public agencies now scattered throught the area), (2) orientation for new school teachers about the area, its people, and problems, and (3) the publishing of a directory of services offered in the area.

In addition to improving inter-agency communications, the demonstration project personnel have spearheaded a program to improve the communications between the general public and the public and private agencies. This program grew into the Conference of the Unemployed held on May 7, 1964. There the representatives of both private and public agencies informed over 1000 unemployed men as to the services they could offer them.

## XI

## THE SPRING OF DISCONTENT -- A COMMENTARY

The final section of this paper is devoted to an analysis of the opinions expressed or provided in written form by those interviewed for this study. This writer has collected these opinions under five interrelated headings which he believes indicate possible trends in the direction and flow of our community agencies.

I. CONSOLIDATION OF SERVICES

There is some evidence to indicate a trend among some agencies toward consolidation of varying types of services. According to some of the agency personnel interviewed, the impetus for such a movement arises from the difficulties of agencies with a limited focus attempting to deal with multi-problem individuals and their families. A single family, for example, may have physical and mental health problems, welfare problems, employment problems, etc. Four or five agencies, e.g., County Health Department, State Department of Mental Hygiene, a neighborhood center, and Department of Employment, may all be serving one family, with each agency being unaware of the activities of another although the problems and their solutions may all be interrelated.

Some neighborhood centers have as their expressed purpose "to overcome social and economic problems of the community." But one wonders where the machinery is in neighborhood centers to attack the economic problems of the community. As a rule, they do not actively solicit jobs for their clientele nor often campaign to

bring industry into the community. Even if the neighborhood center social workers solve an individual's social problems, where are the job development and placement personnel to locate an individual in a position?

The personnel are certainly not down the hall in the same agency or in the same or a nearby building. Rather, the job placement specialists are located within another impersonal bureaucratic institution across the city where a less sophisticated applicant may hesitate to go. Perhaps the individual has a job but needs remedial instruction in reading and math so that he may advance in his job. Again he must shop around for another institution often inconveniently located to meet his needs. A social worker, because of his large case load, often does not have the time to take his counselee by the hand to guide him through the bureaucratic run-around of the other specialized agencies supposedly geared to aid the counselee with his particular problem. Los Angeles, with its sprawling geographic composition and poor public transportation system, impedes frequent visits to these agencies.

If the hard-core unemployed only had one or two problems which demanded agency aid, this fragmented approach to services would be appropriate. Although this is not the conscious intent, the fragmented approach to service, in practice, appears to operate as though agency A should solve the individual's problems demanding personal counseling, afterward agency B should attend to his training deficiencies, and then agency C should deal with his employment problem, etc., etc. In fact, the individual, no doubt, needs counseling, planned recreational activities, health services, and

so on, while he is at the same time attempting to satisfy his needs in training and employment. But, for the most part, each specific problem is presently treated as a separate entity without diagnosis and treatment of other related problems.

Some believe that unemployment is a mere symptom of the deeper problems, e.g., lack of training, discrimination, depressed economic environment, cultural deprivation, etc. Only after these deeper problems are solved, can we then tackle an individual's employment problem. However, one agency's staff psychologist countered this argument by pointing out that this is not necessarily the case. According to him, if a goal can be formulated and a course of action followed, such as employment which provides at least some small measure of success, many of the individual's worries, problems, and deficiencies tend to be less important impediments and may even cease to exist. The analysis that merely getting an individual a job will solve all his problems or that all an individual's problems. In many cases, the individual is best served if the agency can provide counseling, training, health services, and job placement, at the same time, at the same location.

A prime example of the consolidation of services in the State of California is the County of San Mateo, which coordinates all its agency services to families through one office. Within the ARA study area, one sees examples of the consolidation of services in the Wrigley Field Proposal backed by the Avalon Center and citizen groups. The proposal calls for housing branch offices of public and private agencies within the Wrigley Field facilities to provide a "Supermarket of Services." The Avalon Community Center itself has, in addition to its social and group workers

for its counseling, community action, and youth services, a Department of Employment staff member who visits the Center several times a week to aid in job placement.

The Department of Employment, in addition to its job placement services, has incorporated referrals to training programs as part of its services under the Manpower Development and Training Act. The Department refers applicants to classes in typing, electronic assembly, machine operation, etc.

The Youth Opportunities Board of Greater Los Angeles, with demonstration projects in both South Central and East Los Angeles, encompasses three agencies in one--counseling by social workers and employment counselors, training by the Los Angeles County and City School Systems, and job development and placement by former business and labor personnel. Thus, the YOB by its structure and design is equipped to provide a variety of services to the multi-problem youth.

## II. COMMUNICATIONS

Given a sound agency program, the age-old difficulty arises: how do the agencies communicate their programs to those who have the greatest need for their services, e.g., the hard-core unemployed? The majority of the staff personnel interviewed, of both public and private agencies, were not particularly concerned about communication problems with the public. They pointed out that they are already overburdened with too many clients for too few staff members with too limited a budget. To advertise their services would only increase their work load and thus compound their problems. A case in point, as mentioned before, was an agency which was swamped by

inquiries and requests for service after an article appeared in Reader's Digest describing its missing persons service.

Furthermore, some agencies believe that the press is not interested in writing about an agency's service unless a scandal or some other sensational event has occurred in connection with the service, e.g., welfare chiseling. Others say that smaller, local newspapers want articles on agencies' policies and programs, but do not have the reporting staff to visit the agency for a story. The critics of poor agency communication believe that the local press would print agency releases if the agency would make them available.

All the agencies studied rely upon word of mouth and a few pamphlets in the agency office to tell their story to the public. In addition, many agencies have decentralized their operation in order to reach more people in their local neighborhood. However, many staff personnel believed that they were, in large part, ineffective in reaching the hard core who could benefit the most from their services, even though their agencies had been quite successful in involving a considerable number of the community residents.

Although agencies are cognizant of the communication problem, they offer few imaginative approaches in dealing with it. However, there are a few approaches that are noteworthy. The Conference of the Unemployed held at Wrigley Field on May 7, 1964, which was fostered by the Avalon Community Center, exposed 1000 unemployed men to large numbers of public and private agencies. Some Senior

Citizens Day programs, similar to the Conference of the Unemployed, also bring citizens and agencies together. Such programs appear to be a step in the process of bringing citizens into face-to-face contact with agencies. In addition, the Welfare Information Service, Inc., has as its primary function that of referring individuals to the proper agencies.

The Youth Opportunities Board employs a full-time community coordinator at both its East and South Central Los Angeles projects to inform the community of the agency's activities, develop cooperative programs with other agencies, and sensitize the YOB staff to the attitudes and needs of the community. One of the methods by which the Community Coordinator pursues his goals is the organizing of a Project Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives primarily from the business and labor communities, and a Community Agency Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives from other community agencies. The purpose of these committees is twofold: (1) public relations (i.e., to serve as a conduit through which information concerning YOB can be channeled to the community), and (2) policy advisement (i.e., to advise YOB on policy and programs so that the agency will reflect the needs of the community). The second function of the advisory committees appears constructive indeed, as too many bureaucratic institutions have become impervious to the changes and needs of the people they are supposed to serve. Of course, many agencies have advisory boards whose impact on the agencies is questionable. Whether the YOB advisory committees will, in fact, function as policy advisers or whether they will merely be public relations media (as the PTA generally is for the

public school system) remains to be seen.

In addition to communications between the agencies and the public, there is the dimension of interagency communication for the purposes of (1) idea exchange, (2) cooperation on mutual problems, and (3) information exchange on the services of other agencies so that proper referrals can be executed. The consensus of those interviewed was that interagency communications were below par, to say the least. The interagency communication that does exist stems from day-to-day contact with other agencies while making referrals, exchange of monthly bulletins, and Coordinating Council meetings.

Two noteworthy examples of interagency cooperation and coordination are seen in the Inter-Agency Committee of the Avalon Demonstration Project discussed earlier and the Inter-Agency Youth Service Committee sponsored by the East Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council. This latter committee consists of representatives from the Probation Department, Group Guidance, YOB, neighborhood centers, Special Services for Groups, and a number of other organizations. The committee deals with a variety of youth problems although it concentrates much of its effort in working with adolescent gangs.

In summary, while communication is not a major concern of many agencies, there are a few agencies covered in this limited study who are experimenting with new and old techniques in an effort to reach the hard core who have the greatest need for their services.

### III. TRENDS IN AGENCY PROGRAMS AND TECHNIQUES

While there are a number of new and old techniques for dealing with clientele which merit discussion, this paper will mention only a few.

One obvious continuing trend that commenced some years ago is that of decentralization of both private and public agencies throughout the exploding Greater Los Angeles area. In theory, of course, decentralization places the location of services closer to the population to be served and allows the agency to adjust its programs to the local scene. However, mere decentralization of physical facilities is not necessarily accompanied by either decentralization of program formulation or personnel standards tailored to the community.

It is difficult to generalize as to what degree decentralization has included the delegation of power to branch offices to develop programs and local personnel practices. Some private agencies that have decentralized appear to have allowed their branches "home rule" in tailoring the branch's program to fit the locale. Of course, the nature of the service makes "home rule" less feasible in some governmental agencies, especially if the agency's function is that of administering such programs as welfare, where much of the policy and procedure is predetermined by state and county law. However, even in governmental agencies where program modification is not possible, there still remains the argument for local autonomy on personnel standards. If the agency insists on maintaining uniform middle-class personnel standards for all its branches, the agency leaves itself open for the mismatching

of personnel and locale. For example, an Anglo with middle-class values who manages the Van Nuys or Hollywood office may be shifted to the South Central or East Los Angeles office without sufficient regard for the fact that his orientation may make it extremely difficult for him to work with the people of that area. However, it is again difficult to generalize from this limited study as to the degree of flexibility allowed in agency personnel practice, and thus to determine the seriousness of the problem.

Another continuing trend is the technique of group counseling. This is particularly evident in group and family therapy employed by the Department of Mental Hygiene in working with patients who have been given leaves of absence from the state mental institutions. Group counseling, in one form or another, has been utilized by a number of agencies. For example, the Youth Opportunities Board uses the group technique in training and employment counseling. This particular process is best described in a paper "Accelerated Interaction" by Dr. Ronald Waller, project psychologist. A few portions of the paper are reproduced below:

Current techniques [ 1 to 1 counseling = 1 counselor  
advising 1 counselee] center largely on information-giving  
rather than on the motivational and self-help emphasis.

Many Counselees reject help of this kind and complain of  
"too much talk". They find it dull, uninteresting: further,  
they frequently find that they have not in fact learned to  
help themselves, but can only follow whatever instructions  
were given in the limited time available.

Counseling has tended to be overly abstract and divorced from the immediate interests of Counselees. In order to maintain Counselee interest, it is imperative to have an action program where the Counselee can begin immediately to put his decisions into effect in a concrete and meaningful way. Future goals are important, but must be tied to the present by concrete and easily understood steps. . . .

Central to the present counseling approach is the initial two-day session. The impact of this session is of such strength that initially disinterested participants become greatly enthused, attitudes markedly change, plans of action are generated at a greatly accelerated pace, and commitments to self initiative and advancement are made. Some of the gains made in two days duplicate those reached by months of hourly counseling sessions; other gains may even be impossible using the usual techniques. The rationale behind the use of the extended time sessions is as follows:

1. The concentrated counseling sessions have an impact so much greater than the usual sessions that Counselees who could not otherwise be encouraged to participate will become greatly enthused with the program.
2. Rapid decisions and marked changes in such a short period of time result in hope and enthusiasm and allow for nearly immediate action. This rapidity of change, so closely connected with an action program, is essential for a population of youth who are extremely restless and impatient at delay. . . .

The most important attitude for the Counselor, in order that he may work with groups successfully, is a firm conviction that all his group members have the potential to overcome the barriers they have experienced in their attempts at vocational success. The Counselor must further be convinced that the basic necessary attitudinal changes can take place in a matter of hours and can be indefinitely maintained if a suitable course of action follows immediately upon the planning sessions. For those who are skeptical of such rapid change, it may be pointed out that the great and productive effort in the face of personal emergency (such as fire and flood), the mobilization of entire nations in the face of war, and the extreme changes involved in religious conversions, all show such rapid (and often permanent) changes in attitude and the application of energy toward productive goals.

A third persisting trend is the effort of some agencies to periodically evaluate their programs and effectiveness. Outstanding examples of this self-evaluation are the All Nations Foundation report and the Woodlawn YWCA report (both cited earlier in this study) which resulted in both cases in the relocation of their services. Demonstration projects like the Youth Opportunities Board evaluate their programs in monthly progress reports. In addition, the YOB has a full-time research department which conducts surveys comparing such items as delinquency rates inside the project

area with the rates outside the area and the subsequent changes in the rates over a period of several years.

In some agencies when there is a change of personnel, the new personnel is allowed to re-evaluate the program and implement the necessary alteration. As some interviewees pointed out, an agency should not develop a program and then bring in outside personnel to implement it. Rather, the individuals who develop the programs should implement them because of their increased understanding of the problems out of which the programs developed and their general enthusiasm to insure the success of the implementation of their ideas.

The continuation of agency self-evaluation is obviously necessary in order to avoid bureaucratic stagnation where the agency's programs fail to adjust to the changing needs of the locale. The need for more private agencies to indulge in self-evaluation will, no doubt, increase with the apparent increased participation by new and existing governmental agencies under the proposed Poverty Bill in areas presently occupied by private agencies. For example, some private agency personnel suggested that, due to expanded governmental services in the future, the time may come when private agencies may find their most useful role as a provider of referral services to the proper governmental agencies.

#### IV. THE RISE AND FALL OF PRIVATE AGENCIES

One observer of South Central Los Angeles commented that only recently have organizations generally associated with the middle-class community (Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, etc.) commenced actively serving the South Central ghetto area. For example, the Boy Scouts

have built up 16 troops around the Avalon Center area averaging 22 members per troop.

Although most lay leaders remain with Scouting once they have been enlisted, the problem of recruiting a sufficient number of Scout leaders throughout the South Central area is great. Many men have little time for community affairs as they must hold two jobs in order to support their families. Others who have no jobs and/or do not live with their families choose for a variety of reasons not to participate in the institutions (churches, clubs, etc.) that generally sponsor Scout troops. Thus, the many matriarchal governed institutions characteristic of the Negro community often have difficulty sponsoring troops, mainly because of a manpower shortage.

However, the assumption that there is less lay leadership within the ARA study area than outside the area cannot be sustained in the case of the Boy Scouts. For example, the area around the Avalon Center has more lay Scouting leadership available than does an area to the west which lies mainly outside the ARA study area.

Although the Boy Scouts is an example of a private organization on the upswing, other agencies such as the Salvation Army Tabernacle Corps and the Woodlawn YWCA, as mentioned before, have relocated outside the Negro ghetto area. These two organizations were not successful in appealing to the large influx of the new Negro population which now dominates the area. Most of the supporters and members of these two organizations moved out of the area and the agencies eventually followed.

Perhaps the decline of a few private agencies illustrates, not that the area has no need for the services, but rather that some

traditional methods of implementing services and contacting the community fail to enlist the new residents in this port of entry.

V. THE WAR ON POVERTY--POVERTY OF IDEAS

During the course of this study, one of the questions that was continuously posed was: how would you and your agency fight the War on Poverty over and above what you are presently doing? Comments regarding this question from interviews and written material have been collected below.

The first attack on poverty must obviously be waged on the idea front. Merely spending more money on the same programs will not solve the vast problems of poverty. Thus, the War on Poverty must be fought first on the poverty of ideas and imaginative approaches.

On April 20, 1964, Helen E. Baker, Baltimore attorney and American Friends Service Committee board member, made the following statement to the special subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor regarding the Economic Opportunity Act:

There is also a great need for experimentation and for new and imaginative approaches. This pioneering can be done more effectively by smaller private agencies which have the flexibility and freedom to test out new ideas.

In the course of the interviews with private agencies, this interviewer posed the question of what new programs would be attempted if each had the necessary funds and manpower. Although it was perhaps unfair to pose a question of such magnitude on such short notice, the responses still were disappointing. Most reacted with a desire

to expand the traditional services in which the agency was already engaged. Few new approaches were suggested. Although one is encouraged to see agencies conduct lengthy evaluations, the suggestions for additional programs are generally confined to the traditional services and purpose of the organization, which the agencies apparently believe set the limits beyond which no venturing must transpire. While the private agencies may indeed possess the flexibility and freedom to test new ideas, the consensus of this limited study is that the private agencies have not thus far become stimulated to develop these new and imaginative approaches.

The responses of the governmental agencies were equally disappointing. As one agency interviewee commented, the lack of creativity stems in part from the bureaucratic mind which thinks, not in terms of innovation, but rather in terms of administrative efficiency and working within the budget. Indeed, the bureaucrat must excel at administrative efficiency if he is to retain his job. The top-level governmental bureaucrat is becoming increasingly self-conscious about innovation, for he knows that the eagle-eye of the Board of Supervisors or City Council is gazing over his shoulder to assure that he does not stray from the pasture into new fields that would throw the budget out of kilter. Even with all these limitations, some believe that agency directors have more power to initiate and innovate than they are willing to use.

On the problem of allocation of funds by the governing bodies, one school of opinion charges that elected officials allocate a disproportionate share of funds for facilities on which they engrave their names, and thus leave insufficient funds to staff the facilities.

An example given was a section in South Central Los Angeles where, because of no personnel to patrol and supervise, some youngsters were afraid to come for fear of being beaten by roaming gangs. However, this example really only illustrates a lack of personnel, not necessarily a disproportionate allocation of funds.

Another stumbling block is the desire of some agencies to perpetuate traditional services for the sake of perpetuation. As Dr. Dodson pointed out:

A good case could be made that in the past decade, service has become a rationalization for avoiding a vigorous program of public affairs. It is far safer to bury one's self in service than to launch campaigns which would change the structure of the society in order that the service may not be needed. Service is a middle class approach to the solution of problems. We are the "out serving-est" people in the world. There are dimensions of social welfare, however, in which service only creates dependency and postpones the day when those served must stand in stature and dignity of their own selfhood and demand respect in their own right.<sup>1/</sup>

In the case of the ARA study area, a frontal attack on the economic conditions may eventually reduce the need for agency services presently in demand.

In the area of public assistance, some believe that, due to limited budget and present welfare laws, the Bureau of Public

<sup>1/</sup> Dr. Dodson's report to the National Board, "The Role of the YWCA in a Changing Era," Workbook-22, National Convention of the YWCA.

Assistance case workers have such large case loads that they are forced to devote most of their time to certifying whether or not a family is eligible for welfare payments. Thus, the social worker has little or not time to devote to counseling and rehabilitating a family on relief. In practice, the policy appears to be that the state and local government would rather spend meager funds on rehabilitative services over an extended period of time than spend a sizable sum for rehabilitation over a much shorter period and thus get the family off the public dole. As an example, the government would rather pay a family \$2000 per year for the next 5 to 10 years than spend \$4000 per year per family on intensive rehabilitation and get the family off public assistance within a year or two.

Another area that merits re-evaluation is the U.S. Employment Service. Edward T. Chase describes the situation thusly:

On at least one vital front the war against poverty in the 1960's is being fought with tragically obsolete weapons. A crucial part of the battle consists in finding jobs for people who now don't have them, and the only nationwide mechanism designed to do this is the United States Employment Service.

Although a heroic effort is now under way to improve it, the agency--as of this writing--is still pitifully unequal to its mammoth responsibility. Indeed USES does not even know, on a national basis, where the job openings exist or are likely to occur, or the location, and skills

or lack of them, of the unemployed men and women who might fill those vacancies. This is a major cause of that baffling phenomenon of our time--the existence of some four million unemployed workers while hundreds of thousands of jobs go begging. . . .

And there is virtually no incentive for employers to make their needs known to USES, despite the urgency of the present manpower crisis. The whole operation has a voluntary character like that of a travel agency . . . while over four million Americans are jobless and triple that number will be out of work for varying intervals in the year ahead. Obviously, pinpointing the job opportunity is more than half the battle in placing a man. Dr. Arthur Burns, who was chairman of President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, has called the lack of national job-vacancy statistics a "vital missing link in our entire system of economic intelligence."

Against great odds USES has been trying, within the past several years, to transform itself from a down-at-the-heels social-welfare relic of the New Deal--absorbed with unemployment compensation and the placement of domestics--into a national manpower agency responsible for the most efficient use of our total labor resources. . . .

To assess the gap between what we need and what we now have, it is instructive to look at a successful

national employment service in operation--Sweden's for instance.

The Swedes swear by their employment service. They credit it not only with mastering the employment process, but also with contributing to productivity and growth. The biggest difference, however, between their service and USES is the enthusiastic support it gets from the population generally and Swedish businessmen in particular.<sup>2/</sup>

Within the ARA project area, there are several activities in particular that may sweeten the flow of bitter water from the spring of discontent. Both the Youth Opportunity Board and the Avalon Demonstration Project at least offer an experimental environment in which new approaches and ideas are encouraged. While a few private agencies may indeed scoff at these two projects, these agencies are challenged to produce evidence of the new areas in which they have experimented and to demonstrate any new workable approaches they have developed within the last year.

Hopefully, the new approach with which these temporary demonstration projects are experimenting will prove workable and can be incorporated into the programs of some of the established institutions like the Department of Employment and the school system. Short-term experimental projects such as these may be one of the better approaches for the developing of ideas needed to prosecute a successful War on Poverty.

<sup>2/</sup> "The Job-finding Machine" by Edward T. Chase, Harper's Magazine, July, 1964.

APPENDIX

LIST OF PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED

Los Angeles County Department of Community Services  
Burton Powell  
Humberto Cintron

Young Women's Christian Association  
Mary Doolittle  
Essie Robinson

Young Men's Christian Association  
Kenneth Morris  
Art Griffa  
Charles Stenhouse

Los Angeles County District Attorney--Failure to Provide Division  
Gil Alston

University of Southern California Youth Study Center  
Annette Gromfin

California State Department of Mental Hygiene--Bureau of Social  
Work  
Mrs. Cora Hilton

All Nations Foundation  
Linda Gragg  
Darwin Wagner

Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council  
Lloyd Street

California State Department of Social Welfare--Sacramento  
Herbert S. Fowler

Salvation Army  
Pat McGuerty  
Mrs. Gene Bingham  
Captain Tobin

Boy Scouts  
Clifton Simmons

Los Angeles County Department of Senior Citizens Affairs  
Gene Anderson

Plaza Community Center  
Albert Ehrke

California State Department of Employment  
June Roper

South Central Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council  
Tom Owan

Youth Opportunities Board  
Bill Acosta  
Charles Knox

Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance  
Ellis Murphy

Avalon Community Center  
Tim Sampson

## ABOUT THE COVER

The area studied in this report is one of great diversity and potential, filled with the homes of people, with industry and commerce, and with the creative and disruptive forces common to most American urban areas. Pictured in the mosaic of the cover design are the famed Watts Towers, tall filigrees of iron scraps and countless bits of broken glass and crockery set in concrete. They represent one immigrant man's effort to create things of beauty in this area, where he lived. The graphic designs applied to this setting are the actual markings of some of the area's youthful gangs, which often react impulsively to those conditions described in the report that follows.



~~MHA  
LAW~~

WANDA  
THE  
BLACK-GIRL

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SAM<sup>x</sup>ONS

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