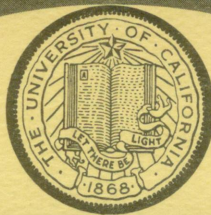


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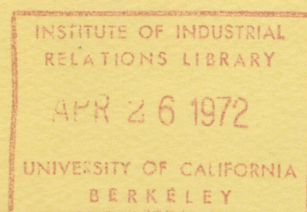
YOUTH IN THE LABOR MARKET:

Employment Patterns and Career Aspirations  
in Watts and East Los Angeles

by

Paul Bullock

**INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS**  
**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES**





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This report is a product of the research program of the Institute of Industrial Relations. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for the interpretations, conclusions, and recommendations contained herein.

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## I.

### INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the process by which young men in low-income Black and Chicano ghettos enter the labor market. Of the identifiable groups whose employment experience is reported and evaluated in official censuses and surveys, none has suffered a higher and more persistent rate of unemployment than has the minority youth labor force. Indeed, massive unemployment and underemployment have prevailed in urban ghettos even during periods of significant economic growth and general prosperity. In 1969, when the overall male unemployment rate was only 2.8 percent, the officially reported rate for Negro male teenagers was 21.3 percent and the rate for those in the age 20-24 bracket was 8.4 percent. In 1970, a year of economic recession, the corresponding rates for Negro male teenagers and young adults were 24.8 percent and 12.6 percent respectively at a time when the overall male unemployment rate had risen to 4.4 percent. Though the rate of youth unemployment is sensitive to changes in the rate of economic growth, since 1954 (after the end of the Korean war in 1953) the annual unemployment rate for Black male teenagers has never fallen below 13.4 percent, and over the decade of the 60's the rate never dropped below 21.3 percent.<sup>1</sup> As of March, 1971, the reported unemployment rate for nonwhite men in

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1. Figures are drawn from the U.S. Department of Labor's Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training, included as part of the Manpower Report of the President, 1971. It should be noted that unemployment figures for nonwhite teenage girls are even higher, but for reasons discussed subsequently this study focuses principally on the labor-market experiences of young men.



the age 16-24 bracket was 20.1 percent (compared with a rate of 12.7 percent for white men in that same category, "white" being defined so as to include almost all persons of Latin origin such as Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans).<sup>2</sup>

Consistent time series for the Chicano youth population are either unavailable or highly inadequate relative to the quantity and quality of data on young Blacks in the labor market. A recent study, however, gives an unemployment rate of 14.3 percent for Chicano men in the age 16-24 bracket, as of March, 1971.<sup>3</sup> This compares with a reported rate of approximately 10 percent for that same category in November of 1969.<sup>4</sup>

Clearly there is a chronic problem of unemployment and underemployment among minority youngsters which persists despite cyclical movements, or even secular growth, in aggregate indices such as Gross National Product and total employment. Strong economic growth and full-employment policies are a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for measurable improvement in the economic status of minority young men residing in central-city ghettos. Nor can it be assumed that the income earned by a Black youngster in a low-income area is merely a supplement to the earnings of a fully-employed adult head of household. Most of the young people in a community like Watts live in households headed

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2. Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 224, October 1971, "Selected Characteristics of Persons and Families of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Other Spanish Origin: March 1971," p. 10.

3. Ibid. The corresponding rate was 25.4 percent for Puerto Rican youngsters, the highest rate in any category listed.

4. Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 213, February 1971, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: November 1969," p. 28.



by a mother on welfare or in intermittent, low-paid employment, or an adult man who is unemployed or underemployed, or themselves. Thus the lack of employment has disastrous consequences both for the individual and for the household.

Nor does frequent job-changing and intermittency of employment generally have the beneficial side-effects which may be advantageous to young people in higher-income areas. The jobs available to a ghetto or barrio resident, particularly to a teenager or young adult, are not of a diverse nature which might provide an exposure to varying occupational experiences and a useful introduction to the labor market.

The basic problem, however, is even more complex than the official statistics might suggest. A high proportion of men are not enumerated in the censuses and surveys on which the published reports have been based--a fact which in recent years has been acknowledged by the census-takers themselves. The undercount appears to be greatest among men in the age 20-50 bracket who are nonwhite and concentrated in low-income, low-skilled categories. "The 1960 census enumerated 98 percent of white persons but only 90 percent of persons of other races, according to Census Bureau estimates. The total number of unenumerated persons has been estimated to be 5.7 million, of whom 38 percent were members of races other than white. Thus, while the number of uncounted white persons is greater than the number of uncounted persons of other races, the proportion of white persons

missed is considerably smaller than the proportion of persons of other races."<sup>5</sup>

Special studies of unenumerated persons in New Haven, Connecticut, Central Harlem in New York City, and Trenton, New Jersey have produced some tentative conclusions about the characteristics of nonwhite men missed in the official census. Uncounted men are less likely to be married, and are more likely to move frequently, than are those who are enumerated. In the studies mentioned, there is little evidence to suggest that inclusion of the previously unenumerated men would significantly affect the total unemployment rate, although the sample contained therein is regarded as too small to justify conclusive findings.<sup>6</sup>

Further, it would appear that any study of this nature would necessarily experience many of the obstacles which earlier enumerations have encountered: principally, a reluctance of many unenumerated persons to give employment and other socioeconomic information to unfamiliar interviewers. An additional factor, to be explored at greater length later, is the somewhat obscure meaning of terms like "employment" and "unemployment" in a low-income ghetto where attachment to the labor force, as formally defined, is subject to unique variations and influences. Some preliminary estimates of undercount in the 1970 census suggest that significant percentages of persons were also missed then (perhaps

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5. Deborah P. Klein, "Determining the Labor Force Status of Men Missed in the Census," Monthly Labor Review, March 1970, p. 26. It should again be noted that the Census Bureau designates most Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans as "white," which may mean that many of the uncounted whites fall in these "minority" categories.

6. Ibid., pp. 27-32.

as many as in 1960), thus indicating that the problem of the "invisible man" is a continuing one. We know, in addition, that large numbers of "discouraged workers" simply drop out of the labor market.

A recent report of the Advisory Committee on Problems of Census Enumeration further emphasizes the importance of gaps in the census data. "The crux of recent concern about census underenumeration is less the simple 3 percent shortfall in national census totals than much larger deficiencies in the counts of specific population subgroups, most notably young black men."<sup>7</sup> Noting that approximately 15 percent of all nonwhite men between the ages of 20 and 40 are estimated not to have been counted in the census, it adds that the Current Population Survey (CPS) figures also suffer from the problem of underenumeration and that one out of four young adult nonwhite males is thought to be unrepresented in the CPS samples. The committee's report finds that many of the concepts and assumptions on which the census is based are inappropriate to the life styles of various groups within American society, and that "in urban slums and tenements, there are people whose existence and whereabouts will not be acknowledged by

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7. America's Uncounted People, Report of the Advisory Committee on Problems of Census Enumeration, Division of Behavioral Sciences, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, 1971, p. 3.

8. Ibid., p. 32.



anyone. . . ."9 In specific economic terms, it notes that:<sup>10</sup>

Definitions of work and income are, for some people, extremely loose. Their sources of income are varied and often cannot be broken down into wages, salaries, commissions, and the like. Among ghetto residents, for example, information about income is not readily volunteered to anyone, and the census is, of course, not apt to be informed of income derived from illegal businesses or from welfare checks for which the recipient-respondent is legally ineligible.

The official discovery of "missing men" in the censuses underscores a point which others have made unofficially: that minorities in America have traditionally been undercounted, and that large numbers exist in a shadowy "no-man's-land" which is neither fully in nor fully out of the labor market. Close observers of economic conditions in inner-city ghettos have long been puzzled by the apparent gap in magnitude between the amount of unemployment or underemployment or poverty observed and the amount reported in official censuses and studies.<sup>11</sup>

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9. Ibid., p. 91.

10. Ibid., pp. 86-87.

11. One such example, among many, is the sharp divergence between the estimates of ghetto unemployment in Los Angeles, made by the McCone Commission in late 1965, and the figures produced by a special census in November of that year. As early as 1964, a report submitted by the staff of the UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations to the U.S. Department of Commerce\* stated that: "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. ...Public and private agencies reach only a proportion of the long-term unemployed men. ... Also of probable 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..." Hard-Core Unemployment and Poverty in Los Angeles, Government Printing Office, 1965, pp. 236-237.

On the other hand, common sense alone has suggested that persons who are ~~un~~employed and not receiving "welfare" or unemployment compensation or any other form of social assistance must have access to some means of livelihood in order to survive.<sup>12</sup> Though malnutrition and unbalanced diets are serious national problems, most of those in the poverty category somehow manage to avoid starvation and eke out a minimal living. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that some form of income-producing activity prevails which has not been fully chronicled.

After decades of almost total neglect, the possible economic importance of such activity is finally receiving some public attention. Sociological studies such as Elliot Liebow's Tally's Corner have triggered awareness of and interest in the "street society," and the 1971 Manpower Report of the President (in the section prepared by the Department of Labor) devotes five paragraphs to a discussion of "illegal activities," citing a recent Harlem study which concludes that about 2 of every 5 adult inhabitants had some illegal income in 1966 and that 1 in 5 seemed to exist entirely on money gained from illegal sources.<sup>13</sup>

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12. Most welfare assistance in this country has been directed to the female heads of households. However, high proportions of those already eligible for relief often do not receive it, for one reason or another. A study in New York's Lower East Side, conducted in 1960 by Professor Richard Cloward, revealed that approximately half of the area's eligible population was not on the relief rolls. See Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare. New York: Pantheon Books, 1971, p. 219.

13. Manpower Report, 1971, Op. Cit., pp. 98-99. A fuller account of this and other studies, and a summary of my own findings relative to the "street economy," appear in Chapter VIII.

The demonstrated inadequacy of more formal research processes emphasizes the need to supplement traditional techniques of social inquiry with informal (and necessarily more subjective) tools of fact-gathering and analysis. Although structured survey interviewing has been used in the present study, it has been supplemented by free-wheeling taped interviews with small groups of young men and women who live in the East Los Angeles and Watts areas. All of the field interviewing was accomplished by young people who reside in those communities. Thus the "research" in this study represents a partnership between the author and members of the group which, in a sense, is being studied. In most cases, I have been acquainted with the interviewees for several years, though this is considerably more true of the south Los Angeles interviews than it is of the East Los Angeles. In all cases, however, the responses appeared to be frank and open.

Since the purpose of this study is to explore the real factors which determine the early job experiences and career goals (if any) of young men in ghettos and barrios, an inquiry into the full range of possible determinants, clandestine and covert as well as visible and acknowledged, has obviously been essential. The usual methods of social research would hardly suffice for this purpose. The more sensitive areas of inquiry, therefore, have been explored on a direct, personal basis, with assurance given to all interviewees that their anonymity would be protected. Edited transcripts of these interviews appear in the appendix to this report, without the names or any other

identification of individuals involved. The interviews focus upon, and are separated into, two subject categories whose relationship will subsequently be clear to the reader: (1) The quantity and quality of labor-market information received by young people and its effect upon career aspirations and job search, and (2) the economic impact of the illegal "soft drug" (marijuana and pills) industry in the community. Information on the first subject has been collected both from the formal surveys and from interviews; information on the second has been gathered entirely from interviews or from published materials such as financial statements, Congressional hearings and government reports, and other sources of data on the drug traffic in the United States.

The information and findings which emerge from this study should be judged, of course, in the context of existing theoretical and empirical explanations of the economic role of labor-market information, factors which influence the employment and allocation of young people among "alternative uses," and the determinants of career preference in communities other than the ones examined here. Chapter II provides this review of literature, and Chapters III through VII summarize the findings of the surveys conducted in Watts and East Los Angeles (while, at the same time, identifying the potential pitfalls confronting anyone who interprets certain survey results too literally or uncritically).

Chapter VIII introduces the reader to the major characteristics and functions of the "street economy" in low-income ghettos, explaining why and how this often-unrecognized market structure influences



the goals and perceptions of young men. This chapter will argue that the existence of this specialized economy renders irrelevant and academic many of the commonly-accepted theses and hypotheses about the employment impact of minimum wages and similar measures, at least insofar as economic conditions in the ghetto are concerned. The "sub-economy," however, is hardly a new phenomenon in American life. Historically it has been a virtually universal characteristic of low-income "immigrant" ghettos in the congested metropolitan areas of the United States--one of the important sources of income and economic advancement. Chapter IX will describe the process by which illegal economic activity has met certain "stigmatized" consumer needs and has served as a subtle instrument of social and political power. The "street economy" in Black areas, however, has certain special features which make it somewhat distinct from the earlier immigrant economies.

Those distinctive features, as Chapter X will argue, have had economic and political consequences in many critical areas of policy. The conjunction of inadequate labor-market information, unavailability of attractive employment, and immediate visibility of rewards from the "street economy," coupled with the selective enforcement of law, leads to long-term disabilities for some residents of the ghetto: jail terms and police records, loss of civil rights (including the right to vote in some instances), narcotics addiction, premature termination of education, and denial of job and career opportunities as a result of one or another of the foregoing handicaps. The ensuing

vicious circle entraps many young people permanently in some aspect of the sub-economy or in "dead-end" employment.

Chapter xii will offer recommendations for changes in public policy, designed to meet at least a few of the more critical problems identified in this study. The premise on which the study and recommendations are based is that, in both economic and social terms, the most urgent need is to provide long-run and meaningful employment to young men who now live in low-income households. It is posited that welfare reform, however useful and helpful that may be in other ways, will do relatively little in and of itself to solve the problem of wasted and unrealized talent among the young men in Watts and East Los Angeles and comparable neighborhoods throughout the country. Other social goals, such as (e.g.) the restoration or maintenance of reasonable family stability, can hardly be considered attainable in the absence of some longer-run assurance of employment and advancement opportunity for the "dudes" on the street. This our society has so far failed to provide, and the consequences of that failure are everywhere visible.

II.

THE YOUTH LABOR MARKET: AN OVERVIEW

The employment problems of teenagers and young adults have received attention from economists and sociologists over recent years, though much of it has been theoretical and speculative rather than empirical. Even the more empirically-oriented studies, of course, have been handicapped by their inevitable reliance upon the available statistical data and traditional techniques of social research, many of them deficient for the reasons suggested previously and demonstrated subsequently in this report. At the risk of some taxonomic oversimplification, it would appear that the various explanations of excessive unemployment or underemployment among young people (notably, minority youngsters) can be classified thusly:

(1) Primarily economic and market-oriented interpretations based upon textbook descriptions of labor-market behavior and supply-and-demand theory, focusing the blame largely on federally-enforced minimum wages and other interferences with the freely competitive economy;

(2) A more "institutional" analysis emphasizing structural factors such as discrimination, educational and training problems, defective or inadequate processes of labor-market information, transportation in relation to job and residential locations, and so forth, with these structural problems exacerbated at times by macroeconomic policies which unduly restrict economic growth and aggregate employment (often in the interest of controlling price inflation); and

(3) "Cultural" explanations which stress conflicts between the life style of the minority poor and that of the majority (including, most critically, the typical employers of labor). Analyses of this approach to the question may be found in the works of sociologists Oscar Lewis and Lee Rainwater and, in the most extreme and controversial form, in a recent book by political scientist Edward C. Banfield entitled The Unheavenly City.

Whatever the premises of the respective theories, presumably all would share a common conclusion that investments in human capital--primarily via improved education and training--must enhance the labor-market prospects of young people through a resulting increase in their productivity. "Productivity," variously defined, is the most generally recognized basis for determining the market worth of any worker. The forces which influence the productivity of young workers, and thus their employability, are reflected in both the labor-supply and labor-demand sides of the market: their own characteristics as individuals (level of education and skill, etc.) and the consumer-demand and/or technological factors which influence the hiring decisions of potential employers. Wherever the level and distribution of employment are determined mainly by profit-maximizing employers responding to consumer choices in the competitive market, the income of every worker (young or old) will correspond with his or her productivity.

When non-economic, or non-job-related, considerations enter the picture, some element of indeterminacy may result.<sup>1</sup> If either the employer

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1. In purely theoretical terms, of course, the problem can be solved by translating the consideration into "opportunity cost" equivalents. Thus, the employer who exercises a "taste for discrimination" in racial terms thereby makes that consideration a part of his cost of doing business, perhaps even at the risk of failing to maximize his profit. In realistic terms, however, the presence of subjective or sociological factors as influences upon economic decisions will often make it impossible to predict the outcome.



or the jobseeker is influenced by conceptions of "job stigma" or feelings of "prejudice," he may not behave rationally in strictly economic terms. Neither may, in fact, maximize the quantitatively measurable returns from the market use of his resources. In a free society, of course, he is entitled to adopt any maximization principle he chooses, and he may choose to pursue goals which are inconsistent with the personal optimization of his productivity or his profit in the market. Thus the "hippie" with a college degree may choose to work as a dishwasher or bum around the country rather than become an executive or a professor, and the employer may not choose to hire him as an executive (if he were available) even though he might be better qualified than the crew-cut WASP who is actually hired. The orthodox economist can only respond that, by so doing, they are not contributing to maximum output, income, and economic efficiency.

The above reasoning, in a sense, fuses the economic and cultural explanations of youth unemployment. The imperfections in the labor market can arise from diverse sources: government legislation, labor union policies, lack of accurate information on the part of jobseekers or employers, or cultural and institutional barriers. If anyone has full and accurate knowledge of alternative jobs and, for cultural reasons, does not make himself available for employment on terms satisfactory to the employer, to that degree his ensuing unemployment or underemployment must be regarded as "voluntary" rather than "involuntary." If he is available for work but simply lacks knowledge of its existence or of the means by which he can qualify himself for it,

he is involuntarily unemployed because of a major structural defect in the labor market. If he is unable to find employment on any terms whatsoever (a possibility long denied by the classical economists), his involuntary unemployment is due to a major deficiency in aggregate demand. If jobs are not available to him because legislation or union policies or other interferences with competition prevent employers from offering work on terms satisfactory to them, his unemployment is involuntary to the extent that he would have accepted such employment had it been available. As a prelude to the empirical studies of the youth labor market which will follow in this report, a brief overview of these theories is in order.

#### The Impact of Minimum Wages

Perhaps the strongest and most unqualified case against minimum-wage legislation has been stated by Professor Milton Friedman: "Women, teen-agers, Negroes, and particularly Negro teen-agers will be especially hard hit [by a 1966 law increasing the minimum wage from \$1.25 to \$1.60 per hour]. I am convinced that the minimum-wage law is the most anti-Negro law on our statute books--in its effect not its intent."<sup>2</sup> These groups, he argued, are unskilled and relatively unproductive, and the denial of low-paid jobs to them also denies them the opportunity to obtain the on-the-job training which is the main route to higher productivity and advancement. "It has always been a mystery to me to understand why

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2. Readings in Economics, 6th Edition, Paul A. Samuelson, Editor. New York: McGraw Hill, 1970, p. 247.

a youngster is better off unemployed at \$1.60 an hour than employed at \$1.25."<sup>3</sup> He predicted a rise in the teenage unemployment rate to 30% as a result of the 1966 act.

Friedman even summons, as a witness for his case, an eminent Keynesian economist, Professor James Tobin of Yale University, who is quoted to the effect that: "People who lack the capacity to earn a decent living need to be helped, but they will not be helped by minimum-wage laws, trade-union wage pressures or other devices which seek to compel employers to pay them more than their work is worth. The more likely outcome of such regulations is that the intended beneficiaries are not employed at all."<sup>4</sup>

In another, more extended work, Professor Friedman reiterates these arguments and adds that those who are hurt by minimum-wage laws "are anonymous and their problem is not clearly connected to its cause: the people who join the ranks of the unemployed or, more likely, are never employed in particular activities because of the existence of the minimum wage law and are driven to even less remunerative activities or to the relief rolls...."<sup>5</sup> (Emphasis added)

Additional support for Professor Friedman's position comes from a distinguished "New Economist," Professor Paul A. Samuelson, who

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3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. It is noteworthy that nearly all economists, regardless of general philosophy, appear to look unfavorably on such measures as minimum-wage laws, tariffs, and farm price supports. In the field of microeconomics, apparently they tend to accept the economic desirability of market pricing; their disagreements, it would seem, are more likely to be found in the macroeconomic field or in areas where the focus is not strictly economic or centered on questions of economic efficiency. John Kenneth Galbraith, of course, remains an exception to all such generalizations.

5. Milton Friedman, Capitalism and Freedom. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, p. 181.

asserts in his widely-used textbook that government interferences in the labor market through minimum-wage legislation "often hurt those they are designed to help. What good does it do a black youth to know that an employer must pay him \$1.60 per hour if the fact that he must be paid that amount is what keeps him from getting a job?"<sup>6</sup> Through a graphical illustration, Professor Samuelson demonstrates that the setting of a minimum wage above the free market wage level forces an equilibrium at a wage which increases unemployment.

Recent statistical and empirical analysis of this theory fails to support it, though the findings are hardly conclusive. Comprehensive studies commissioned by the U.S. Department of Labor suggest that there is no clear-cut relationship between minimum wages and youth employment. There is some evidence that minimum-wage legislation may have had somewhat adverse effects upon 16- and 17-year-old employment, particularly among students "who were Negroes and had limited labor market information and among those students employed as service workers."<sup>7</sup> The general conclusion was that there is no support for a finding that the 1967 rise in minimum wages created relatively more unemployment among low-wage young workers. "The magnitude of the employment effects of minimum wage legislation probably has been small, as the studies included in

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6. Paul A. Samuelson, Economics (8th Ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970, p. 372.

7. Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages, Bulletin 1657, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1970, p. 183. Valuable papers and discussion on this same topic may be found in the Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Winter Meeting, Industrial Relations Research Association, December 28-29, 1970, pp. 106-144.



this report underline, and, consequently, difficult to measure precisely."<sup>8</sup> The employment effects of minimum-wage legislation, furthermore, may have been disguised by other economic forces operating at the same time, including youth employment generated by special Federal manpower programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps.

Under any circumstances, economists generally favor approaches to the problem of youth unemployment and low income which do not involve the direct fixing of wages or the setting of a wage floor. Their proposed solutions fall into three broad (and complementary) categories: (1) A subsidy in the form of income payments directly to those whose low productivity in the market denies them an income above the poverty level; (2) programs to enhance the productivity of "unskilled" persons by investments in human capital; and (3) efforts to remove or mitigate existing imperfections in the labor market through greatly improved processes of information, job data banks, new transportation facilities, increased labor mobility both spatially and occupationally, and elimination of racial discrimination and similar "non-performance-related" barriers to employment. Some economists call for programs of deliberate job creation, primarily in the public sector, but the more orthodox economists such as Professor Friedman would deplore such action for the same reasons they oppose minimum wages: because it would involve a departure from the conventional labor-market processes by which jobs are created or destroyed. The importance given by economists of

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8. Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages, p. 188.

diverse viewpoints to structural factors and investment in human capital suggests that a consideration of such issues, particularly in relation to the youth labor market, is next in order.

Improvements in the Labor Market and Youth Productivity

Even the economists who are committed to competitive theory will avow that there are imperfections in the labor market, stemming from lack of information on the part of jobseekers and employers; immobility associated with housing segregation, inadequate transportation, and psychological or cultural ties with a particular neighborhood or work environment; racial discrimination; union policies, licensing and other governmental requirements, and similar factors which may restrict entry into given occupations or professions; and other barriers to the free movement of workers among alternative jobs in accordance with productivity and market demand. Presumably, some of these problems can be remedied or alleviated through enlightened social policy.

On the other hand, some degree of "frictional" unemployment is often regarded as salutary, in terms of the most productive allocation of labor. Professors Armen Alchian and William R. Allen, for example, point out that job-changing and intermittent unemployment are natural characteristics of a volatile, free labor market, where (as in 1966) approximately 10 million people change jobs or take new jobs during a year. "There is a persistent and extensive flow of people from job to job and between jobs and unemployment, along with constant reassessment

of old jobs and consideration of possible new occupations "<sup>9</sup> It is important that those seeking new jobs acquire sufficient information about the alternatives, rather than taking the first available job. But information is not free or complete: some cost in resources and longer unemployment will often be required to acquire the needed information. Some unemployment is desirable because it permits more shopping around for the best available employment. "An essential function of the market is to make. . .information about changing demands and supplies. . .more readily (cheaply) accessible. . . .Accepting the first offer reduces the probability of getting the highest paid job and lowers one's wealth (present value of his future earnings) compared to what it would be if he took longer to find more offers."<sup>10</sup>

Of course, Professors Alchian and Allen strongly adhere to the orthodox theory of labor-market behavior, based upon a premise that "there are always jobs available if the wage rate is low enough."<sup>11</sup> Making information more conveniently accessible and more widely known is an appropriate way to improve the operation of that market, but minimum wages destroy employment for the unskilled and some job development policies aimed at keeping everyone employed will interfere with efficiency of job assignments, through arbitrary work assignments which are really "disguised unemployment."<sup>12</sup>

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9. Armen Alchian and William R. Allen, University Economics. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1967, p. 495.

10. Ibid , p. 500

11. Ibid., p. 496.

12. Ibid., p. 507.

If labor-market information is incomplete and imperfect under reasonably "normal" conditions, its inadequacy is heightened in those circumstances involving persons of low productivity and low levels of education. In the Black and Brown inner-city ghettos, the usual deficiencies in the information process are aggravated by at least three additional factors:

(1) Because much of the information about job opportunities usually comes through informal channels (such as tips or advice from a parent, another relative, or a friend), many youngsters in the low-income ghetto are at a disadvantage due to the fact that the other members of their household and their neighbors and friends are also likely to be unemployed or underemployed or out of the labor force, and therefore not in contact with firms which have job openings.

(2) Particularly in the Black ghetto, the father may be missing from the household and therefore the young male does not even have ready access to guidance or information (or mere example) which otherwise could be provided by an adult male head of household.

(3) The Black youngster (and, to a somewhat lesser degree, the Chicano youngster) typically lives in a segregated inner-city community which often is distant and isolated from major centers of employment, and, especially in a large area like Los Angeles, the combination of housing segregation and deficient or unavailable transportation will mean that he is further cut off from sources of job information and, in many cases, from the jobs themselves.

The results of such problems have been well delineated by Professor Eli Ginzberg and his associates in the Conservation of Human Resources Project at Columbia University:<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup>. Eli Ginzberg and Associates, Manpower Strategy for the Metropolis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968, pp. 141-142.

Most young entry workers begin with only a general notion of the kind of job they are seeking. Those with specific pre-employment training, high-school girls with clerical skills, apprentices, and the graduates of two or four year training programs have a better defined field of operation, but even they are often unaware of the nuances of difference among possible sites of employment. Nevertheless, their training makes it easier to use the organized placement services.

For the untrained, the information network on employment opportunity has serious defects. For the most part, it has negative characteristics--it is not a net and it does not work. The labor market is not a bourse where standard units are traded, nor do most job seekers engage in a systematic search. In New York, as elsewhere, most information comes from one's family and circle of acquaintances... The less desirable the young worker on the basis of conventional criteria, the more important is the specific help available through the family....But, by and large, the amount of help available from one's family is usually in inverse proportion to the need. Negro boys in the ghetto, for example, seldom have alternate opportunities or personal intervention on their behalf.

This analysis of labor-market informational deficiencies in the urban ghetto is shared by Professor Peter Doeringer of Harvard University, whose perceptive paper in the Proceedings of the December, 1968, meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association displays a greater awareness of the informal and unofficial forces affecting ghetto youth employment than do most other discussions of this issue:

There are persuasive a priori arguments for believing that information systems in the ghetto labor market operate less satisfactorily than those in the urban labor market as a whole. Numerous studies have demonstrated the importance of friends and relatives as a source of employment information, especially for low skilled jobs. In the ghetto, lower employment rates and skewed employment patterns tend to limit the quantity and quality of job information available to such a system, while increasing the demands placed upon it. 14

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14. Peter B. Doeringer, "Manpower Programs for Ghetto Labor Markets," Proceedings of the 21st Annual Winter Meeting, Industrial Relations Research Association, December 29-30, 1968, p. 258.

One consequence is that young Blacks and Browns in the inner city must rely relatively more upon the public employment services and the schools as sources of labor-market information, but these have proven to be of limited value. Little information of any worth is provided through the schools: in Los Angeles, for instance, the required 10th Grade Guidance class, lasting ten weeks, is on a parity with Drivers' Education, and aside from standard tests, is largely devoted to introducing the new student to high school. Almost no career and vocational data are imparted to youngsters in the ghetto and barrio schools, except occasionally and often accidentally on a hit-or-miss basis.<sup>15</sup>

Even the system of nationally-funded public employment exchanges is a relatively new phenomenon in the United States, from a historical perspective. Growing out of the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933 and the personal leadership of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins in the Roosevelt Administration, the Employment Service for many years suffered from its identification (in the eyes of most workers and many employers) as the "unemployment service" which was primarily responsible for handing out unemployment compensation benefits. This confused but pervasive conception of its function was partially offset in the early 1960's by the physical separation of the Unemployment Insurance and Employment Service offices, in large cities such as Los Angeles, but until recently the Employment Service

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15. These points are further developed in the following chapters.



has had the reputation of being employer- rather than employee-oriented, in the sense that it appeared more concerned with meeting the requirements of employers seeking workers than serving the interests of jobseekers.

Legislative and policy changes wrought by the manpower bills of recent years, beginning particularly with the original Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, have fundamentally affected the functions of the Employment Service. Virtually every major legislative enactment in the manpower field has given the Employment Service a vital role in the recruitment and placement of trainees, most notably the young trainees. Thus the Service has become responsible for implementation of manpower legislation directed to the unemployed and underemployed (and even, at least ostensibly, the "hard core"). Reorganization of the public employment services, with the old Bureau of Employment Security having been dissolved and replaced in part by the new U. S. Training and Employment Service, has further strengthened their role in relation to the problems of unemployed or underemployed youngsters in big-city ghettos and barrios.<sup>16</sup> Despite these moves, the image of the Service in the eyes of those young people remains essentially negative, and the amount of tangible assistance reported by them is minimal.

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16. The employment service section of the old BES has been combined with the Bureau of Work-Training Programs in the U. S. Department of Labor. The Training and Employment Service provides staff services to regional offices and to the various state agencies, and control of employment service offices remains primarily a state responsibility. For an analysis and recommendations for further improvement of public employment services, see the Report to the Secretary of Labor from the Employment Service Task Force (chaired by George P. Shultz), reprinted in Toward a Manpower Policy, Edited by Robert A. Gordon. New York: John Wiley, 1967, pp. 143-173.

Obviously, better counseling and a more efficient flow of labor-market information cannot solve the more basic problems afflicting young men whose productivity in market terms is low and for whom there are no available jobs at decent wages. Much of the thrust of manpower legislation, therefore, has been directed toward two corollary goals: (1) increasing their productivity through vocational training and general education, and (2) encouraging employers, both private and public, to hire young men without discrimination based on race or national origin, age, or other factors unrelated to job performance. The Nixon Administration has given particular emphasis to the JOBS program under which private employers receive subsidies from the federal government to cover a major part of the training and initial wage costs of hiring "disadvantaged" workers (including, of course, minority young men) and training them on the job. This represents some shift in emphasis away from the "institutional" (classroom) training often provided in MDTA programs. Again, the observed effects of subsidized on-the-job training in areas such as Watts and East Los Angeles, as reported by young men, continue to be almost non-existent.

There have been, in addition, limited and seemingly desultory efforts to create additional employment for the so-called "hard core," with some emphasis on job-creation for young men in the minority areas. The recent Public Service Careers program is an example of this thrust, but at best it remains a severely restricted approach to the massive problem of minority youth unemployment or misemployment. Meaningful job creation on an extensive scale has not been attempted, partly because it is expensive and government has been unwilling

to undertake it (particularly in the face of inflationary pressures) and partly because it runs counter to the strong beliefs of most economists, who prefer that the allocation of manpower remain strictly a function of the private competitive market.

To most of the Watts and East Los Angeles youngsters, "job-creation" has been synonymous with the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC). Many of them have participated in the NYC program (in Watts, these jobs often are provided through the Watts Labor Community Action Committee), but they report that the jobs generally are in the custodial, maintenance, and low-level clerical fields and, apparently, very little useful on-the-job training is offered. Indeed, it appears that many NYC and similar jobs have little content and primarily serve as excuses for the payment of small amounts of money to young people in poverty neighborhoods. This, at least, seems to be the perception of many youngsters.

In this sense, much NYC employment may actually be "disguised unemployment" (as defined earlier by Professors Alchian and Allen). Professor Charles C. Killingsworth of Michigan State University, a leading exponent of the "structural" explanation of unemployment as opposed to the "transitional" school, has noted in congressional testimony that a 1965 change in the definition of unemployment, which thereby included NYC and similar workers either as "employed" or "out of the labor market" rather than "unemployed," has significantly reduced the reported unemployment rates for young people and has therefore hidden large amounts of persistent joblessness. He points out that these programs which "hide" a great deal of structural unemployment have partly been responsible for

oversanguine estimates of the effectiveness of fiscal and monetary policy in alleviating the overall problem of unemployment in the United States.<sup>17</sup>

Even those economists who adhere to fiscal and/or monetary explanations of excessive unemployment, and therefore oppose the "structural" analysis, concede that unemployment rates in the minority youth labor markets have been resistant to the presumed effects of liberal fiscal or monetary policies. Quoting "New Economist" Walter Heller to the effect that unemployment in general can be more easily explained in fiscal than in structural terms, Professor Samuelson notes that Negro unemployment, especially among young people, has remained high relative to white unemployment in all years studied, regardless of changes in the level of aggregate demand. This suggests that structural factors may be at work, at least in minority areas. He concludes that "much research is needed here."<sup>18</sup>

#### Youth Unemployment as a "Cultural" Phenomenon

In the eyes of some analysts, the main structural factor behind persisting unemployment in low-income areas is cultural in origin. In their view, much unemployment persists because the "lower-class" culture conflicts with the needs and demands of employers and many members of

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17. Statement of Professor Killingsworth to the U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, 1970, reprinted in Rising Unemployment: A Transitional Problem?, Research Reprint Series No. 122, 1970-71, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University.

18. Samuelson, op. cit., p. 802.

that class (particularly among young people) reject the work ethic and are "present" rather than "future" oriented. There is disagreement among sociologists and cultural anthropologists as to whether the economic behavior of the poor, especially the minority poor, is the result of a distinctive "culture of poverty" or whether it is predominantly adaptive in nature. If it is the latter, presumably the poor behave as they do because they are denied an effective opportunity to behave otherwise. In this case, the basic goals of the poor and the better-off are perceived as essentially the same, but there are differences in their respective abilities or opportunities to achieve those goals. As Ernest Hemingway once remarked to F. Scott Fitzgerald in a well-quoted conversation, the rich are different from everyone else because they have more money.

Some ramifications of this dispute are beyond the scope of this report, but its general relationship to the question of youth unemployment should be obvious. If young men in urban slums (and in higher-income communities too) are not "achievement-oriented" and not interested in a career, by definition they cannot succeed in a market economy based upon work orientation and their resistance to proffered employment, even at extremely low wages, must be regarded as socially pathological.

The most extreme advocate of this view is Professor Edward Banfield of Harvard University, whose book The Unheavenly City is probably the purest example of twentieth-century Social Darwinism now extant.<sup>19</sup> Arguing, in

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19. The violence of his attack on the "lower class" and the repressive nature of his recommendations for its control have led some to speculate that Professor Banfield may be a satirist in the tradition of Jonathan Swift. It seems more likely, however, that he is dead serious and that his prescriptions for social policy stem from a fear of "lower-class" (especially, Black) violence which itself is pathological.

substance, that Black and Chicano youngsters in the inner-city ghetto are burdened not by racial discrimination or any lack of opportunity but, rather, by their own personal and cultural defects, he attributes much of their unemployment to their pathological "present-mindedness" and refusal to accept employment on terms which low-wage employers can afford. Their tendency to refuse such employment and "get away with it" is supported, and to some extent suborned, by presumably misguided government policies which denigrate the low-wage employer and compel him to pay a higher wage to an unskilled young man than he is willing and able to pay, by social and political beliefs that there should be a minimum income standard for everyone, and by alternative sources of income from social welfare or from illicit economic activity in the streets. In his discussion of unemployment, Banfield concludes:<sup>20</sup>

Even if there were a lively demand at high wages for all the labor in the city, however unproductive, some people would remain unemployed. Members of the lower class work only intermittently even if job opportunities are good. Providing for a future, even a week or two away, is not part of their culture; nor will they accept the discipline that a job usually imposes. Youth culture somewhat resembles lower-class culture in these respects. Teen-age boys are often strongly disinclined to work; they like to be "where the action is." Jobs that are lawful, safe, and well regulated are often more than they can stand--especially if they do not pay well. And in an ever more affluent society, those who prefer to live from hand to mouth without working find it increasingly easy to do so.

In arguing that there is an informal wage minimum set by peer group standards and public opinion, Banfield also recognizes the impact of illegal sources of income. "Illicit enterprises, too, tend to have the effect of setting an informal minimum wage for unskilled labor that

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20. Edward Banfield, The Unheavenly City. Boston: Little, Brown, 1968, p. 112.

has no relation to the market value of such labor and that other employers cannot afford to pay. As a result, the young 'dropout' loses face and self-respect unless he is either a 'hustler' or an idler; the suggestion that he be paid what his work is worth is tantamount to an insult."<sup>21</sup> He finds support for this view in the statement (quoted from another study) of a Harlem youngster, to the effect that the young man can "make \$40 or \$50 a day selling marijuana" and that therefore there is no point in his going to the garment district for a job which might produce \$40 or \$50 a week "if I'm lucky."<sup>22</sup>

In his recommendations for action, Banfield prefers policies which remove any legal restrictions (such as minimum wages) on low-wage employers, institutionalize the "incompetent poor" (encompassing much of what he describes as the lower class) either by encouragement or by force, subsidize the "competent poor" at a poverty-income level by paying income supplements to the low wages they receive in the marketplace, and regulate the lower class rigidly by establishing a virtual police state in low-income communities. The lower class would be pressured to adopt the "normal" culture and abandon its own as quickly and completely as possible, and would suffer severe social penalties if it resisted.<sup>23</sup> He regretfully admits that his recommendations are politically unacceptable.

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21. Ibid., p. 101.

22. Ibid., p. 101. It is worthy of note that the economic behavior described by the Harlem youngster is perfectly rational in terms of the consumer-oriented free market which Banfield elsewhere extols, though he obviously finds the behavior distasteful and unacceptable in this context. It would appear that Banfield approves the competitive market and "consumer sovereignty" only where they clearly benefit the upper class, never where they might economically benefit the lower. Further discussion of these points may be found in Chapter VIII of this report.

23. Ibid., pp. 244-246.

Professor Banfield takes care to emphasize that his remarks are directed at class rather than racial behavior, and he denies that the question of race per se is relevant to urban problems. It is clear that the Black "lower class" is, in fact, a particular target, but even in strictly class terms his views and analysis are not shared by many sociologists and anthropologists. They regard "lower-class" behavior, whether black or white, as a functional adaptation to conditions in which members of this class live, rather than as a cultural deviance from and defiance of the major values and norms of the popular majority. Thus they do not view "lower-class" life styles as pathological (as does Banfield), and some analysts find positive behavioral characteristics among the lower-class poor: a greater capacity to express spontaneous warmth and affection, love of children, "egalitarianism, informality and humor," and many other affirmative traits.<sup>24</sup> The case for the "adaptational" school has been stated by Professor Hyman Lewis:<sup>25</sup>

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24. A useful summary of the views of this school, and of others, may be found in a paper by Professor Robert Brischetto of the University of Texas at El Paso, "Social Scientists' Views of Minority Group Life Styles: A Classification of Perspectives on Blacks and Chicanos," presented at the March, 1971, meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, Dallas, Texas.

25. See Prof. Lewis' chapter "Family Life Among Low-Income Urban Negroes" in Employment, Race, and Poverty, edited by Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1967, pp. 170-1. Professor Lee Rainwater is also a prominent and articulate spokesman for this general viewpoint; see, e.g., "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower-Class Family," in The Negro American, Volume 2, Daedalus, Winter 1966, pp. 172-216. The whole concept of a "culture of poverty" is a controversial one. Originally popularized by anthropologist Oscar Lewis, who observed similar cultural traits in the various poverty families he studied in the United States and in other countries, it has been vigorously attacked by others such as sociologist Lewis Coser. Coser, in a recent address to the American Sociological Association and an article published in the October, 1971, issue of Dissent, criticizes the notion on grounds that it is based on an incorrect premise, unduly discourages attempts to abolish poverty through income redistribution, and sometimes tends to "romanticize" poverty. He thinks that poverty should be regarded as an unmitigated evil, to be eliminated totally, and that there



The behavior of the bulk of the poor Negro families appears as pragmatic adjustments to external and internal stresses and deprivations experienced in the quest for essentially common values. A seeming paradox is that affirmation of, if not demonstration of, some of America's traditional virtues and values in their purest form is found to be strong and recurrent among even the most deprived of Negro families. Our view is that it is probably more fruitful to think of different types of low-income Negro families reacting in various ways to the facts of their position and to relative isolation rather than to the imperatives of a lower-class or significantly different ethnic culture. It is important that we do not confuse the basic life chances and actual behavior of the contemporary Negro parent with his basic cultural values and preferences.

Our experience suggests further that the focus of efforts to change should be on background conditions and on precipitants of deviant behavior rather than on the presumably different class or cultural values operative in child-rearing behavior among Negroes, and particularly low-income Negroes. The way to remove the threat of the problem behavior of low-income Negro families is not likely to be found in a kind of functionalism or cultural relativism, or in sealing off persons who are presumed to be most inclined to exhibit such behavior; nor is it to be found in getting low-income urban Negro families in general, or a segment of them, to revamp what is presumed to be their culture.

The thrust of this argument, of course, is that the unemployment problems of Black and Chicano young men can be met by programs to expand employment (real employment, not "make-work" which is dead-end in nature) and provide opportunities which will lead to improvement in their life chances. They are "alienated" only in the sense that they are continually frustrated in their efforts to achieve basically the same economic and social goals as are pursued by the majority of Anglos, not in the sense that they reject those goals and seek to pursue others. In arguing that

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is no such thing as a "culture of poverty" (whether defined positively or negatively). My own impression is that the young men in Watts and East Los Angeles would strongly agree with those observations. My further conclusion (which I believe they would also share) is that the abolition of poverty need not be accompanied by an abandonment of all the cultural traits associated with the members of low-income minority households. I shall have more to say about this in later chapters..

the degree of value alienation is not as great or as significant in our society as many have assumed, Professor Melvin Seeman of UCLA finds that studies in Los Angeles show "a fairly high degree of agreement in values and attitudes across the major lines of cleavage that are so fundamental in our thinking about urban life: across race, sex, occupation, etc. To a degree that I certainly would not have expected, the blacks and whites, the manual and nonmanual workers, fathers and mothers, suburban and central city residents show little difference in their views concerning a wide range of issues--for example, the values they would like to see their children accomplish in life and in school; the importance of status striving for themselves; sentiments of generalized trust in others; preferences in family decision-making processes; commitments concerning conformity, materialism, the primacy of self-interest over social welfare; and the like."<sup>26</sup>

Certainly, in their own expressed views, the young men of Watts and East Los Angeles reflect no lack of interest in the material goals which are commonly pursued in American society. To the extent that their behavior in the street ("hustling," petty crime, gambling, etc ) seems to differ from the articulated norms of the majority, they justify it in terms of the necessity to survive and do not assign to it any inherently positive values.<sup>27</sup> It may be ironical that, among the various segments of America's youth population, perhaps only the low-income minority youngsters suffer no guilt feelings whatsoever about pursuing materialistic goals--cars, good clothes, etc.

26. Melvin Seeman, "The Urban Alienations: Some Dubious Theses from Marx to Marcuse," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1971, Vol. 19, No. 2, p. 141. Reprinted by Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA, Reprint #220

27. See the youth interviews in the Appendix to this report.

One theme running through all analyses of youth unemployment (with the possible exception of Professor Banfield's) is that the established labor market does not function efficiently in providing employment or labor-market information to young persons who live in central-city ghettos, whatever their cultural preferences. Some important effects and impacts of this deficiency are discussed in the following chapters.

III.

A PROFILE OF YOUTH IN EAST LOS ANGELES AND WATTS

The use of traditional survey techniques in exploring the labor-market experiences and career goals of young men in inner-city ghettos and barrios entails special difficulties not always foreseen by the researchers. Though some resort to formal surveys seems inevitable, as the only available means of producing certain statistically valid results, the process has definite limitations which must be recognized at the outset.

There is, of course, a general resistance to surveys, stemming from a suspicion of the interviewers' motives, an impatience with the time consumed and the boredom required, and a fervent belief that it is all an exercise in academic "make work" which, at best, only proves what everyone already knows. There is some merit in each of these complaints, but we attempted, with at least partial success, to overcome such resistances by employing as interviewers young men and women who live in Watts and East Los Angeles and are in the same age group as those interviewed. Furthermore, in the case of Watts all of the interviewers were long-time friends or acquaintances of this report's author. As a consequence, 304 usable interviews in the Watts area and 268 in the East Los Angeles area were obtained, with the bulk of the Watts interviews conducted in the spring and early summer and the bulk of the East Los Angeles interviews in mid-summer. The purpose, of course, was to gain an insight into the processes by which these young men, ages 16 to 24, acquire labor-market information and experience and determine their career preferences (if any).

A more complex problem arises in connection with the usual definitions of labor-market status. However clear or unclear the meanings of "employment," "unemployment," and "labor force" may be in other areas, they are decidedly obscure and uncertain in communities such as Watts and East Los Angeles. For instance, we sought initially to use the normal definition of "unemployed," which reflects an assumption that the interviewee is neither in school full-time nor in a job and has been actively seeking work over a defined period, such as the previous week. In test interviews, however, we discovered that this question posed knotty problems for the interviewer, since the respondent may not have been then "looking for work" even though he met the other criteria for being unemployed. Furthermore, he may have been "self-employed" at least in the degree that he had been "hustling" for income on the street. In such case, he probably should be classified as "employed," in strictly economic terms, and the implications of this are explored more fully in Chapter VIII of this report. However, for our purposes we had to decide whether he was "unemployed" or "out of the labor force" (i.e., a discouraged worker), and we opted for the classification of "unemployed" unless he provided clear evidence to the contrary. These are, obviously, fine lines of distinction which call into question the usefulness of certain of the traditional labor-market definitions used.

Another possible problem is the tendency of some respondents to classify themselves as "employed" when, in fact, they are not. While employment as such may not confer any status upon the interviewee within his immediate peer group, it may be perceived as being more acceptable in the eyes of the usual interviewer. The

fact that we used local residents as interviewers may have eased this problem, though conceivably it introduced other difficulties. Perhaps of greater importance is the fact that, for some young people in the ghetto or barrio, it is to their interest to be officially classified as "employed," or at least as persons who are actively seeking employment. Probation and parole officers, for example, often will view the youngster more favorably if he reports himself as "employed," and some young men may occasionally make an arrangement with a friend or a kindly-disposed businessman to report them as "employees" if a probation officer or other official should inquire.

These considerations may tend somewhat to offset one another, and it is impossible to determine how the actual "unemployment" rate ultimately is affected by them. A related problem is the probability that some respondents are quite honestly uncertain or confused about their employment status at the time of interview, and may be inclined to classify themselves as "employed" even though they are on layoff or otherwise receiving no current income from a job. The status of the Watts survey interviewers themselves could be a case in point, since they remain technically on the UCLA payroll even as these words are written and yet receive no income because no hours worked are being reported.

Whatever relative weights are given to these various considerations and difficulties, it is clear and incontrovertible that unemployment among young men in Watts and East Los Angeles is of crisis proportions. When those who were in school or otherwise

out of the labor force are deducted from the statistics, the total unemployment rates for all men ages 16 to 24 in our sample are approximately 46 percent in the Watts area and 30 percent in the East Los Angeles area. For the teenage (ages 16 to 19) group alone, the respective rates are 62 percent and 34 percent. Even if it can be concluded that some part of this differential in rates between the two areas is due to a sampling bias (the sample from East Los Angeles is substantially better off economically than the Watts sample, according to survey estimates of family incomes, but on the other hand, many Chicanos were out of school and in the summer labor market at the time of interview), all rates are shockingly high and the general pattern is consistent with the findings of the Urban Employment Survey in those same areas in 1968-69.<sup>1</sup>

Figures on labor force participation are especially dubious and subject to much interpretation in areas such as Watts and East Los Angeles, if not generally, but again it appears from our survey that participation tends to be higher among young men in the predominantly Chicano area than in the Black area surveyed, and that young Chicanos are relatively more successful in finding work, although in both cases the jobs are concentrated below the skilled or professional levels. Overall figures on labor force participation are influenced by the different periods over which the surveys

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1. See (e.g.) BLS Regional Report No. 14, Pacific Regional Office, pp. 6-8, for summary of unemployment figures from the July 1968-June 1969 UES results. Unemployment rates for teenagers (both sexes) were about 16 percent for Mexican Americans and 43 percent for Blacks, at that time.

were conducted. Nevertheless, tabulations by age and school status continue to show that young Chicanos participate in the labor force in higher relative numbers than do young Blacks.

At the time of the surveys, the vast majority of Chicano teenagers (65 percent) were in the labor market, due to the fact that many of them were seeking summertime jobs, while only 38 percent of the Black teenagers could be counted as being in the labor force because many were still in school at survey time. A more representative pattern emerges from the sampling of young adults (ages 20-24) in the two areas: in this group, approximately 74 percent of Chicanos and 68 percent of Blacks participated in the labor force at survey time. This pattern, again, appears consistent with the general results of the Urban Employment Survey in 1968-69.

Proportionately more Black teenagers (70 percent) attend school than do Chicano teenagers (62 percent), which probably accounts for a part of the difference in labor force participation in that age group.<sup>2</sup> Among young adults in our sampling, however, the percentages of school attendance were virtually identical: approximately 29 percent in each area surveyed. Among those reported as not attending any school, dropout rates reflect a mixed pattern. An astounding 54 percent of the South Los Angeles teenagers had dropped out of school without getting a diploma, while the corresponding figure for East Los Angeles teenagers

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2. This fact, emerging as it does from a survey taken in the midst of a severe recession, suggests some interesting possibilities that will be explored in later chapters.



was 33 percent--still high but much lower than the rate in the Watts area. The relationship is reversed for young adults surveyed: 22 percent in South Los Angeles and 32 percent in East Los Angeles.

The variations in educational attainment are somewhat puzzling, both in the light of our own survey results and of other surveys and studies conducted in the same areas. The figure for high school dropouts in Watts, among teenagers, corresponds reasonably well with the educational attainment figures obtained for Negro men age 25 and older surveyed in this area in 1968 and 1969 through the Urban Employment Survey, and with the figure for both sexes age 18 and older, though neither figure is directly comparable with our own because ours refers specifically to males ages 16 to 24 only. Among the men only (25 and older), about 59 percent in the UES study had failed to complete high school, and among both sexes (18 and older), the corresponding figure was about 51 percent. These compare with our figure of approximately 54 percent for a group of male teenagers in the Watts area.

Most of the young men in our sample attend or have attended either David Starr Jordan or Alain Locke High School, both located in the general Watts area. Locke is a relatively new school and a dropout ("attrition") figure is available only for its 1970 graduating class, indicating that about 23 percent of the 1967 entry classes (adjusted) had failed to graduate. Jordan probably enrolls a bigger percentage of the student population of Watts proper, and is an older school in the system. Its corresponding dropout rates

for the graduating classes of 1967 to 1970 are as follows:<sup>3</sup>

1967	50.5 percent
1968	43.6 "
1969	46.0 "
1970	30.4 "

The 1967-69 dropout figures for Jordan High School are generally consistent with our finding of a 54 percent dropout rate among the teenagers in our sample, particularly when it is considered that males invariably drop out more frequently than females and that some young men will drop out before entering senior high school. The sharp decrease in "attrition" in 1970 is of uncertain significance, and it is difficult to judge how much this reflects substantive improvement as against statistical adjustments required by a 1969 change in classes and other factors.

By contrast, a relatively low percentage of young adults in the South Los Angeles sample indicates failure to complete high school. This appears substantially below the average dropout figure for the Watts area, and may reflect a sampling bias introduced by the fact that many interviews in this age group were conducted by three young men who are themselves graduates of Jordan High School. They may have tended to interview a disproportionate number of classmates who (like themselves) were more likely to be graduates than dropouts. In any case, it would

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3. Dropout figures for all Los Angeles District schools are taken from Reports Nos. 296, 305, and 313, Measurement and Evaluation Section, Los Angeles City School Districts.

seem that, in terms of educational attainment, the teenage group surveyed is close to or somewhat below the average for Watts, while the young adult group is better off than the average for that immediate area.

The figures for educational attainment in the East Los Angeles area are considerably more consistent. The indicated dropout figures for both the teenage and young adult groups are almost identical in that area (33 percent and 32 percent, respectively), and generally are compatible with or somewhat below the published figures for the two public high schools that primarily serve East Los Angeles: James Garfield and Theodore Roosevelt. The "attrition" figures for graduating classes of these two schools are as follows:

	Garfield	Roosevelt
1967	46.1	42.9
1968	47.6	37.5
1969	42.2	35.3
1970	35.1	28.9

One complication in this case is the fact that a high proportion of the "East Los Angeles" sample apparently has not attended Los Angeles District schools and, instead, has attended private schools (parochial, mainly) or schools in communities near East Los Angeles, such as Montebello, Monterey Park or Alhambra. This fact, together with some others which emerge from other parts of the survey, may suggest that as a whole the "East Los Angeles" sample is somewhat better off economically and educationally than the average in the East Los Angeles community proper.

It is also possible, of course, that figures on educational attainment and other variables, in both East and South Los Angeles, could have been affected by immigration and the accompanying fact that education had been obtained in areas outside of Los Angeles County. Our statistics on length of residence in the County, however, refute this possibility. Of the total sample, approximately 61 percent in South Los Angeles and 80 percent in East Los Angeles reported that they had lived in Los Angeles County all their lives. Only about 5 percent of the Blacks and 1 percent of the Chicanos had been in the County less than one year at the time of survey. The evidence is overwhelming, therefore, that almost all of the persons surveyed had attended, or are attending, senior high schools in Los Angeles County. It also suggests, quite clearly, that the many economic and social problems affecting both groups are unconnected with recent immigration.

Figures on marital status and "head of household" show that this is overwhelmingly an unmarried group, in both areas, and that about 60 percent of Watts teenagers live in households headed by someone other than their father. By contrast, about 67 percent of East Los Angeles teenagers live in a household headed by their father. Perhaps a more unexpected result is that approximately 19 percent of all East Los Angeles interviewees live in households headed by their mother, and another 6 percent live in households headed by a sibling, other relative, or someone else besides a parent or themselves. Among Chicano teenagers alone, the percentage living in households headed by a mother is

approximately 22 percent, and approximately another 5 percent live in households headed by someone other than a parent or themselves. This degree of family disorganization--affecting about one quarter of all respondents in a predominantly Chicano area--was not anticipated.

The figures on marital status are skewed somewhat by the fact that the proportion of young teenagers is much higher in the East Los Angeles sample than in the South Los Angeles. Despite this, probably not more than a third of the Chicano young adults in our sample are married, and less than a fifth of the Black adults report that they are married (with wife present in household). Obviously, our survey tells much more about the problems and prospects of single young men in the two areas than about those of married men.

Survey results also suggest that households tend to be large in both areas surveyed, markedly more so for teenagers than for young adults (as would be expected). The average size of household appears to be somewhat larger in East than in South Los Angeles, but this can be accounted for by the fact that there are proportionately more young teenagers in the East Los Angeles sample.

Family income figures, highly unreliable at best, indicate that the average household income is considerably higher in the East Los Angeles sample than in the South Los Angeles, but many qualifications must be added here. Of those responding to the question in each area, about 35 percent of Watts area respondents are listed as being in households receiving less than \$4000 a year, compared to about 15 percent of the East Los Angeles group. On the other hand, only about

TABLE I  
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD  
BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	Ages 16-19	Ages 20-24	Ages 16-19	Ages 20-24
Person Answering	8.2	63.9	5.2	44.0
Father	40.3	17.0	67.4	33.0
Mother	41.0	15.6	22.1	15.4
Brother or Sister	2.2	1.4	1.2	2.2
Other Relative	1.5	1.4	2.9	3.3
Someone Else	6.7	0.7	1.2	2.2

TABLE II  
LABOR FORCE STATUS,  
BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	Ages 16-19	Ages 20-24	Ages 16-19	Ages 20-24
Working	11.1	26.2	37.1	48.9
Had job but not at work	0.0	3.4	4.8	3.3
Looking for work (unemployed)	23.8	34.5	22.2	18.9
Going to school (at survey time)	57.1	20.7	15.6	6.7
Unable to work	4.0	5.5	5.4	4.4
Other	0.8	6.2	14.4	14.4
Both Working and going to school	3.2	3.4	0.6	3.3

Note: Responses, as coded above, were in answer to the question:  
"What were you doing most of last week?"

TABLE III  
HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED,  
PERSONS NOT IN SCHOOL,  
BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	Ages 16-19	Ages 20-24	Ages 16-19	Ages 20-24
9th Grade	3.7	2.2	1.6	0.0
10th Grade	9.3	5.4	14.1	4.6
11th Grade	40.7	14.0	17.2	27.7
12th Grade	40.7	52.7	60.9	40.0
1st Year of College	5.6	9.7	6.3	9.2
2nd Year of College	0.0	7.5	0.0	13.8
3rd Year of College	0.0	4.3	0.0	1.5
4th Year of College	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.5
Any Other	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.5

Note: Additional tables for this chapter can be found in the Appendix.



17 percent of Watts area respondents are in households receiving more than \$6000 a year in income, contrasted with almost 48 percent of the East Los Angeles sample responding to that question. Among teenagers only, about 84 percent of the Watts area youngsters were reported as being in households receiving \$6000 a year or less, compared to only 42 percent of the East Los Angeles group.

The fact that incomes are generally higher in the predominantly Chicano than in the predominantly Black area corresponds as a pattern with the findings of other surveys and studies (for example, the 1968-69 UES study mentioned before), but there is reason to believe that the difference is not as marked as the above statistics might suggest. For one thing, there was an extraordinarily high non-response rate to this question in East Los Angeles: 111 non-responses out of a total of 268 interviews. It is perhaps reasonable to infer that a high percentage of non-respondents will tend to fall in the lower-income brackets. Furthermore, the responses to this question will be influenced by the fact that the interviewees were teenagers or young adults and often do not know precisely, or even approximately, what the actual family income is. In both areas, the interviewers were instructed to estimate (on the basis of knowledge about whether the respondent lived in public housing or was in a "welfare" family or other circumstances) whether the family income was below \$4000 a year, between \$4,000 and \$6,000, or above \$6,000, without necessarily asking the question directly. In many instances, however, they asked the interviewee to check the appropriate category.

The significant percentage of "East Los Angeles" youngsters not attending Los Angeles District schools would also suggest that many are in households receiving an income above the average in East Los Angeles proper, because attendance at parochial schools involves a cost to the household and residence in communities adjacent to East Los Angeles (as narrowly defined) may also reflect a somewhat higher economic status, in the light of what we know about the median income levels in those communities. What these considerations may indicate, in general, is that our sample probably contains a somewhat higher percentage of middle-income households than is true for East Los Angeles, narrowly defined, but that (given the probable impact of non-responses and other factors) the difference between the East and South Los Angeles samples is not as wide as the family income figures alone would suggest. Clearly, the teenage group in Watts can be regarded as "hard-core" (a term which is intended merely to reflect extreme economic deprivation). The corresponding group in East Los Angeles is somewhat less so, but this fact, in a sense, makes even more dramatic and impactful the severe economic and educational problems uncovered in our survey.

Perhaps we should add a final word of warning about the usefulness of family income figures as they may apply to areas such as Watts and East Los Angeles. As I have mentioned earlier and will explore deeply in Chapter VIII of this report, reported income often will not include total income from all sources, especially those which may be illegal or illicit. On the other hand, some respondents probably tend, for reasons of perceived status or related factors, to

exaggerate the amount of income actually received. Under any circumstances, questions about income and personal finance are perhaps more resented and suspected than any others contained in the typical household survey. Even where there is no intent on the part of the interviewee to conceal any information, there is the omnipresent problem that many persons, especially if they are young and not themselves the head of household, simply do not know what the income may be.

Subject to the qualifications and interpretations above, a general pattern emerges from the survey results in East and South Los Angeles. In both areas, unemployment in the youth labor market had reached disastrous proportions in mid-1971. Chicano youngsters participate in the labor force to a greater degree than do Blacks, but neither group is particularly successful in obtaining jobs above the service, unskilled, low-level clerical, or semi-skilled levels.<sup>4</sup> Educational attainment (quantitatively measured) is below average for both groups, more so for the Black than for the Chicano teenagers in our sample. Family income is low in both groups, though noticeably lower in Watts than in East Los Angeles. More than a third of the households in our Watts sample appear to be below the poverty line.

Whatever problems may arise indirectly from the past residence of parents, relatives, and associates in other areas, there is no evidence that migration from other states or from foreign countries is of any importance in the groups studied or has any direct impact

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4. Chicanos penetrate semi-skilled jobs to a greater degree than Blacks, and are somewhat more successful at the skilled level, but, generally, both groups are heavily concentrated in the lower-skill categories.

on their educational or economic status. To the contrary, almost all interviewees have lived in Los Angeles County for long periods.

What does appear to be a problem of some magnitude--notably so in the Watts area, but of greater significance in East Los Angeles than anticipated--is the degree of family disorganization reflected in numbers of households headed by someone other than the father. As argued later in this report, this problem is of special meaning in relation to labor-market entry and career choice because, typically, youngsters in all areas and ethnic groups receive much of their information, guidance, and labor-force orientation from their parents and, particularly, their fathers.

Whatever dubious merit the argument may have in other areas of the city, certainly it cannot be argued that, in communities like Watts and East Los Angeles, high rates of youth unemployment are really not critical because teenagers usually are not heads of households and any income from employment is merely supplementary to the earnings provided by the head of household, normally an adult male. Aside from welfare allowances, or occasional earnings by a female head of household from low-paid employment, the income provided by teenagers or young adults is frequently the only income received by the household. Our survey shows that a high percentage of the youngsters are themselves the head of household (though relatively few report themselves as being married). Even in those cases where there is another adult male as head of household, the family income appears to be significantly below average, pervasively so in the Watts community.

These facts, then, provide the framework for a more intensive analysis of those factors and conditions which influence the process of labor-market entry and career choice for young men in inner-city ghettos and barrios. The process, for most, begins during their tenure in senior high school, and we shall next examine the impact of their school experience upon career attitudes, goals, and information. Subsequently, we shall inquire into their early employment pattern, relationships with public and private agencies or training programs, perceptions of the labor market, and, finally, the forces which govern their decisions relative to a "career."

IV.

COUNSELING AND THE SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

It is hardly news that the public schools provide little or nothing in the way of effective vocational guidance or career counseling. Nor is this deficiency limited to ghetto or barrio areas; there is no evidence that the schools in other, less deprived areas are significantly better in this field. The young man in Watts and East Los Angeles, however, is especially burdened by the absence of meaningful labor-market information at the school level, because many of the channels available to youngsters in higher-income communities are closed to him and his dependence upon public institutions is correspondingly greater. Furthermore, the general quality of the education received by him is likely to be lower than it is in the more privileged communities, leaving him with even more limited alternatives and prospects.

The young man in Watts is perhaps more burdened than his counterpart in East Los Angeles, though the degree of disenchantment with the school system as a whole seems about equal in the two areas. He is more likely to live in a broken home where the father is missing and a major source of advice and information on jobs is therefore unavailable, and, because of discrimination and other factors, his ability to penetrate the semi-skilled and skilled jobs is more impaired. On the other hand, the transiency and dropout rates in both areas are high (the reported sharp drop in 1970 is somewhat suspect, as suggested earlier) and despite the higher economic status of their households and their better

record in obtaining production jobs, the Chicano youngsters in our sample remain concentrated in the lesser-skilled occupations.

The Los Angeles District high schools have had a 10th Grade Guidance class for many years, serving twin functions of introducing the incoming freshman to high school and offering some basic testing to ascertain aptitudes and interests. Though there are variations by school, in most cases less than half the time spent in the required ten-week course is devoted to testing and vocational information. In certain ghetto schools, testing is not even provided because the reading and comprehension levels of students are considered so low that test results would be meaningless. To the extent that our group interviewees remembered the class at all, they recalled it as an "introduction to high school," offering information on school personnel and activities and so forth. They were far more likely to recall the Drivers' Education class which is given following Guidance.<sup>1</sup>

Although almost all of the South Los Angeles youngsters attended or had attended Los Angeles schools, barely a third of the respondents in our sample recalled having taken this required class. In East Los Angeles, less than 20 percent remembered any instruction on careers and the labor market, but many of those in our sample had attended (or were attending) high schools outside the Los Angeles district. When the results are tabulated by individual school, however, the pattern remains essentially unchanged. Only about 11 percent of the students currently attending

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1. Our survey results and observations correspond perfectly with the findings of Dr. Marvin L. Marshall, whose USC doctoral dissertation reported in 1968 that less than one third of recent graduates in nine Los Angeles high schools could remember 10th Grade Guidance as such.

Roosevelt High School and 17 percent of those at Garfield High School (the two major high schools in East Los Angeles) recall such a class. Only a third of the Chicano students at other Los Angeles District high schools are able to recollect attendance at the class, though every one had been required to take it. Remarkably, in both East Los Angeles and Watts, the vast majority of students in the tenth grade itself respond that they have never had a guidance class. In Watts, for example, almost two-thirds of all those in the tenth grade recall no such class. Some of these results may be, to some degree, a commentary on the imperfection of surveys, but it is clear that (whatever the reasonable qualifications) Tenth Grade Guidance has had almost no impact upon these young men as a source of information on jobs and careers.

Naturally, the awareness of testing in this field is no greater. Only about 29 percent of the South Los Angeles and 27 percent of the East Los Angeles samples could recall having taken an aptitude or vocational interest test, though (with certain exceptions in the Watts area) such tests are supposedly a standard part of the Guidance class. Again, when we eliminate the non-Los Angeles schools from the sample, the results are fundamentally the same. Only about 55 percent of the Chicano and 46 percent of the Black young men who recall the class can remember discussing the test results with anyone. Slightly more than a third of them in each area say that the test had some influence on their thinking and goals.



Similarly, the impact of Career Days seems to be non-existent or minimal. Some schools have Career Days during which businessmen, educators, and others come to campus to discuss careers with students and provide at least some introductory information, but relatively few in either area could recall any participation whatsoever in a Career Day program. Of course, many schools outside of Los Angeles do not even offer a guidance class.

These survey findings are fully consistent with the opinions expressed by young people in the group interviews conducted (see appendix to this report). Some of their comments reflect a skepticism about the value of school in general, in addition to their lack of awareness of any positive results from "Guidance":

"That [Guidance] was just about the school. Guidance, yeah, we had it for three weeks. It's required, yeah, in 10th grade. That was only about the school. . . . We went over a little of it [testing and vocational guidance], but not as much as I think we should have. Basically they tell you who's the Principal and V. P. and things like that, that's all it was about, it wasn't nothing. . . . You know, I used to go to a counselor and ask him about graduation and. . . I would just sit there for an hour and then the bell would ring for lunch and they would never call me back." (East Los Angeles)

"Yes, it was [10th Grade] guidance and learning about Dorsey (High School), the different things that Dorsey had. . . . I mean, they give you an aptitude test finding out different fields--I remember taking that. But as far as guidance, I learned more about Dorsey than anything else. . . . Well, I remember going through that [talking about different careers]--that was in junior high school; my English teacher, she would

do all that as far as guidance was concerned. . . I know that guidance is like only a half of a semester, then you go to Drivers' Education--it wasn't that long. We were mainly talking about 7 founder of the school and learning about the customs." (South Los Angeles)

"We talked about how hard it is to get a job when you drop out of school, how hard it is to get a diploma without a high school education. . . .(Having previously expressed an interest in carpentry, the student was asked whether he had learned about apprenticeship programs through the Guidance class). No, through my wood shop teacher." (Another school in South Los Angeles)

Their impressions appear reasonably objective, and one young man reported a better experience at his high school in South Los Angeles (Alain Locke High School). "We usually fill out forms like the interview thing, and taking a little quiz--maybe on what field you want to take up. . . . Yeah I found it useful<sup>ed</sup>, 'cuz I didn't know you had to go through all that. . . .(The youngster had decided that he was interest<sup>ed</sup> in engineering, and had discussed that field with his teacher). Yeah, he said you have to get a lot of schooling." Locke is a relatively new school located just to the west of Watts, with a student body which generally is educationally and economically more advantaged than the pupils at Jordan--the other high school in the Watts area. From the statistics in our survey, it would appear that Locke has more "college preparatory" majors and students from non-poverty households than has Jordan. The more disadvantaged youngsters, therefore, find that their existing disadvantages merely lead to new and progressively more burdensome ones.

One of the major criticisms directed by young men against 10th Grade Guidance, aside from its lack of substance, is its placement so early in the high school curriculum. No student, they feel, has even a remote interest in the subject at that stage of his education, ". . . because it's just like some of the kids in kindergarten . . . if you do your lessons real good, when you get to the sixth grade you go to junior high school. At that particular time, they're not worried about going to junior high school because they're just in kindergarten. Same way with that guidance class. What are you going to do, worry about three years from that particular day? . . . Three years from then, you don't even hardly remember what they said. The stereotype thing like 'the good grade will get you a good job.'" (Alfred Jackson - South Los Angeles).

On the surface, there would appear to be some logic in placing Guidance in the first semester of the tenth grade. Presumably the testing and discussions would be of future value to the student and his counselor in planning his academic program, and the labor-market information would be useful to those who drop out without graduating. Placement in the 12th grade would make it meaningless in these terms, despite the obvious advantage that those who had survived the three years of school would be more keenly interested in the subject matter at that point in their education.

Our investigations, however, suggest that these goals are seldom reached in practice. To the extent that labor-market information is conveyed at all, it is more likely to come from the vocational teachers

TABLE I

SCHOOL,  
BY AWARENESS OF CLASS AND TEST  
AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>School</u>	South Los Angeles			<u>School</u>			East Los Angeles		
	Class?		Test?	Class?		Test?	Class?		Test?
	Yes	No	Yes No Not Sure	Yes	No	Yes No Not Sure	Yes	No	Yes No Not Sure
Jordan	29.4	70.6	23.5 64.7 11.8	Belmont	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Locke	27.8	72.2	31.3 56.3 12.5	Roosevelt	11.1	88.9	33.3	66.7	0.0
Fremont	37.5	62.5	37.5 62.5 0.0	Garfield	16.7	83.3	17.6	76.5	5.9
Washington	50.0	50.0	50.0 25.0 25.0	Other LA District High School	33.3	66.7	33.3	50.0	16.7
Jefferson	33.3	66.7	0.0 100.0 0.0	Non-LA District High School	10.2	89.8	14.6	70.8	14.6
Dorsey	0.0	100.0	0.0 100.0 0.0	Junior College	16.7	83.3	25.0	75.0	0.0
Other LA District High School	60.0	40.0	40.0 60.0 0.0	University	26.1	73.9	39.1	56.5	4.3
Compton	33.3	66.7	33.0 0.0 66.7						
Junior College	50.0	50.0	42.1 47.4 10.5						
University	24.1	75.9	37.9 58.6 3.4						

on a hit-or-miss basis. Nor is there any evidence that counselors make frequent or significant use of test results from Guidance in advising students academically. The students I interviewed and the counselors and teachers I surveyed tend to agree that there is little or no connection between the 10-week Guidance course and the subsequent grade counseling of pupils. "That [Guidance] was just a classroom. Like, all your counselor sees is your grade--he doesn't know maybe if you do take a test. I don't think he even knows about it." (South Los Angeles). Three-quarters of the counselors and guidance teachers who answered my question reported that the test results and other ~~information~~ from Guidance are used in grade counseling only "occasionally" or "rarely." Of the four schools reporting that this information was "always" or "often" used, the location of one school is unknown; another is in a predominantly Jewish area of the Los Angeles District; a third is in a predominantly Black area outside the Los Angeles District; and only the fourth one is a school located in a Black community of Los Angeles.

Apparently, one barrier to effectiveness of the Guidance course has been the unchanging nature of its content in the light of what its instructional guide . . . itself calls "a rapidly changing world." The teachers' guide supplied to us by the Los Angeles City Schools is dated 1962, and the attached "Selected Student References" contain books published in 1962 and earlier. The counselors and teachers I surveyed confirm, in most cases, that the materials and reading list are updated infrequently or not used at all. We were informed

by school officials that a new and revised "guidance" unit was to be instituted during the current (1971-2) semester, but, of course, none of our interviewees had attended the remodeled class and it is too early to assess the extent and impact of changes made.

The amount of contact students typically have with vocational counselors or "work experience coordinators" in the public schools seems to vary somewhat according to a number of variables: the economic status of households in the area (e.g., how many of them have incomes below the poverty line), the majors of students, and the program at the school. In South Los Angeles, for example, the interviewees who attended Jordan indicated relatively more contact than did those who attended Locke. One of the important reasons for this, it would appear, is that there are more "college prep" majors at Locke, and, naturally, they are primarily or exclusively interested in academic counseling. In addition, Jordan draws its students almost entirely from a very low income area, while the Locke students tend to be somewhat better off as a group. According to the estimates of our interviewers and interviewees, about three-tenths of Locke pupils come from households receiving incomes of \$6,000 a year or more, compared to only ten percent of those at Jordan. Almost 27 percent of the Jordan pupils live in households getting less than \$4,000 a year, compared to about 15 percent at Locke. The immediate need for work, therefore, is more desperate among Jordan than among Locke students, although family income is below standard in both cases.

The amount of contact reported in East Los Angeles is even lower than it is in the Watts area. Whereas the students in Watts usually indicated that they knew at least to whom they would go for information

TABLE II

SUMMARY OF QUESTIONNAIRE  
ON  
COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE

1. Do you have a class in guidance and career selection in your school?  
18 Yes 3 No
2. If so, approximately how much time in that class over its total length is devoted to aptitude testing and/or information on careers?

20% (2)	Approximately 60% (2)
25% (1)	10 hours during a 10 week course (1)
30% (1)	10 weeks (5-50 min. a week per student
40% (2)	(10th grade) (1)
45% (2)	Depends upon the teacher (1)
50% (2)	Some guidance and career planning takes place
Over 50% (3)	in the Social Science classes (1)
	No answer (2)
3. What sort of tests, if any, are administered to students in that class?

<u>12</u>	Kuder Preference Record
<u>11</u>	Differential Aptitude Test
<u>1</u>	Armed Services Aptitude Test
<u>1</u>	Brainerd Interest Inventory
<u>1</u>	Herman-Nelson
<u>1</u>	Test of Academic Progress
<u>1</u>	All required tests - State mandate
<u>1</u>	None
<u>3</u>	No answers
4. Do you have an opportunity to discuss the test results individually with students? 15 Yes 3 No 3 No answer
5. (To class instructors) In terms of its effectiveness in conveying useful career and labor-market information to students, how would you rate the guidance class?

<u>0</u>	Excellent
<u>6</u>	Good
<u>7</u>	Fair
<u>2</u>	Poor
<u>6</u>	No answer
6. (To class instructors and head counselors) To your knowledge, how often are test results and other information from guidance class used in the grade counseling of individual students?

<u>2</u>	Always	<u>5</u>	Rarely
<u>2</u>	Often	<u>0</u>	Never
<u>9</u>	Occasionally	<u>3</u>	No answer

7. Does your school have Career Days? 13 Yes 8 No

8. If so, how often and under what circumstances are they given?

Once a year

Once a year for seniors

Once a year under the direction of a career advisor

Annually given on Saturdays

Each year until 1970

Annually students are guests of businesses on voluntary basis

Annually - one week long - to begin March 1972

Annually at campus

Once a year by the L.A. City Schools. Given at a centrally located area to which students are bused.

We had a career day in 1969. I feel that career days tend to give superficial information on jobs and careers.

Departmental/seniors/and participation in Annual Career Guidance Center sponsored by Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools

Since invitations to career days are a limited number (20-25), only 1% can attend, but for those few it is beneficial

Have had first one this semester. Will probably have one each semester since this was extremely effective.

8 No answers

9. How would you rate attendance at Career Days?

<u>2</u>	Excellent
<u>8</u>	Good
<u>2</u>	Fair
<u>9</u>	Poor

10. If the guidance class has an instructional manual and reading list, how often are they revised and updated?

No manual available

Infrequently (2)

Not since 1962

Seldom updated

About every three years

Five to six years

Not for several years

Just received new text this semester

I don't know

Not often for textbook, but the reading lists and manuals are under constant revision.

10 No answers



TABLE IV

64.

SCHOOL BY HOW OFTEN CAREERS DISCUSSED WITH ADVISOR,  
AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>Never</u>	<u>Less Than 5 Times</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Can't Recall</u>	<u>Unable to Code</u>
South Los Angeles:						
Jordan	17.2	27.6	41.4	10.3	---	3.4
Locke	33.3	33.3	16.7	8.3	---	8.3
Fremont	40.0	40.0	20.0	0.0	---	0.0
Washington	0.0	50.0	25.0	25.0	---	0.0
Jefferson	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	---	0.0
Dorsey	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	---	0.0
Lincoln	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	---	0.0
Other LA	25.0	0.0	75.0	0.0	---	0.0
Compton	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	---	0.0
Jr. College	0.0	36.4	45.5	18.2	---	0.0
University	11.8	52.9	23.5	11.8	---	0.0
East Los Angeles:						
Belmont	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
Roosevelt	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Garfield	20.0	20.0	50.0	10.0	0.0	0.0
Other LA	25.0	75.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-LA	33.3	38.9	22.2	0.0	5.6	0.0
Jr. College	16.7	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	16.7
University	13.3	33.3	20.0	13.3	6.7	13.3

and counseling on jobs, a slight majority of the East Los Angeles youngsters either did not know or were unsure. Here, again, it must be remembered that many of those in our East Los Angeles sample attend non-Los Angeles schools, and this group indicated the least knowledge or certainty as to where they would go for vocational guidance. Within the Los Angeles District there is a mixed pattern: about 71 percent of students at District high schools other than Garfield and Roosevelt respond that they do know, but the responses at Garfield and Roosevelt differ significantly. Almost 56 percent of Garfield students answered affirmatively, compared to only about 22 percent of the Roosevelt students.

In our sample, a slightly higher percentage of Roosevelt than Garfield students are "college prep" majors, though the difference perhaps is not significant; only one person from Roosevelt was included among the respondents to the family income question, but almost 38 percent of the sixteen Garfield respondents came from households having less than \$4,000 a year in income. These results are, at least, consistent with our thesis that the amount of contact with vocational counselors or "work experience coordinators" varies to some degree with the percentage of college prep majors and low-income households represented within the school population. In this case, however, there may be a special factor operating which helps explain the significantly greater awareness by the Garfield pupils.

For three years, a specialized counseling program--the Garfield Educational Complex Center--has served Garfield students and attempted to assist potential dropouts who need economic support in order to remain in school. According to data provided to us by a staff member

of the Center, the Center has been able to find part-time employment or summer work for high percentages of those who apply to it. Since our own survey findings (to be discussed in detail later) show that youngsters in low-income areas often must rely upon the school to find or develop employment for them, obviously the Garfield program has been of some importance and our figures suggest that it has markedly increased the contact between students and vocational counselors or work coordinators.

The high dropout rates observed for these schools (in both East and South Los Angeles) in the late 1960's, contrasted with the lower rates in 1970 and particularly with the high in-school rate reported in our Watts area survey in mid-1971, suggest the possibility that there is an inverse correlation between the unemployment rate and the dropout rate in low-income areas. An expanding, high-employment economy tends to draw many youngsters out of school and into the labor market, while recession and joblessness have the opposite effect. The basic reasons are obvious: when work is available, even at low levels, the lure is strong and almost irresistible for young men from low-income households, for whom the school experience at best has been considerably less than satisfactory. When this attraction is absent, as it is in the depth of a recession (the word, of course, should be "depression" for the minority areas), there is far less motivation to leave school.

In addition, there are special circumstances in areas like East Los Angeles and Watts. Many schools make no attempt to retain pupils regarded as troublesome or unmotivated, and quite a few are sent from school to school on what is euphemistically termed the "opportunity

TABLE V

SCHOOL BY MAJOR  
AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>School</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	Vocational and Industrial Arts	College Preparatory	Vocational and Industrial Arts	College Preparatory
Jordan	64.0	36.0	25.0	75.0
Locke	56.3	43.8	28.6	71.4
Fremont	33.3	66.7	50.0	50.0
Washington	100.0	0.0		
Jefferson	66.7	33.3	53.8	46.2
Dorsey (Only 1)	100.0	0.0		
Lincoln (Only 1)	0.0	100.0		
Other LA District High School	80.0	20.0		
Compton (Only 2)	50.0	50.0		

TABLE VI

TRAINING PROGRAM AWARENESS,  
BY SCHOOL AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>School</u>	South Los Angeles		<u>School</u>	East Los Angeles	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
Jordan	0.0	100.0	Belmont* (Only 1)	0.0	100.0
Locke	44.0	55.6	Roosevelt	12.5	87.5
Fremont*	100.0	0.0	Garfield	23.5	76.5
Washington*	50.0	50.0	Other 1A District High School	33.3	66.7
Jefferson*	66.7	33.3	Non-1A District High School	43.8	56.3
Other 1A District High School	25.0	75.0	Junior College	25.0	75.0
Junior College	35.7	64.3	University	31.6	68.4
University	79.2	20.8			

\* Figures computed from a small sample

TABLE VII

TRAINING PROGRAM AWARENESS,  
BY RECALLED ATTENDANCE AT GUIDANCE CLASS  
AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Had Class	34.8	65.2	46.2	53.8
Had Not	42.1	57.9	28.7	71.3

TABLE VIII

TRAINING PROGRAM AWARENESS,  
BY RECALLED TAKING OF TEST  
AND AREA  
(%)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Had Test	49.3	50.7	43.1	56.9
Had Not	35.9	64.1	28.4	71.6

Note: Figures refer to the percentages in each category who responded "Yes" or "No" to the question: "Have you heard about any of these (specified) training programs?"

transfer."<sup>2</sup> The student's decision to leave school and enter the labor market full-time (or the sub-economy, for that matter) is not only tolerated but encouraged in such cases. The disenchantment is mutual. With some exceptions, the young people in South and East Los Angeles are articulately scornful of the value and quality of the education they receive, and will often assert that it makes no real difference whether they attend school or drop out. One of them told me, for instance, that he stayed in school mainly to please his mother. The prospect of employment will strengthen their inclination to drop out; the unavailability of work on the outside will reinforce parental pressures to stay in.

There are some reasons to believe that, at least in short-run terms, their assessment has merit. For those who are not college-oriented and do not seek employment which normally requires a diploma or a degree, it is not at all clear that staying in school significantly improves their labor market prospects. Assuming that entry-level jobs are available and employers are prepared to train for advancement on the job, the young man may do at least as well in the labor market without the diploma. Our survey findings (to be analyzed later) tend to confirm that the dropouts in East Los Angeles and Watts do not fare much worse than those who graduate, in securing the types of jobs which may be available to young men in those communities. It is obvious,

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2. Whatever progress has been made in this area, since I first studied the question in 1963, appears to be mainly semantic. What is now termed the "opportunity transfer" was then called the "social adjustment transfer." What was then called the "dropout rate" is now labeled "attrition."

of course, that this is hardly the best long-run alternative for them, because it effectively bars them from the expanding professional, technical, and higher-level service occupations. A great many employers, public and private, continue to use arbitrary and unvalidated job stipulations requiring diplomas, degrees, and other "credentials," often as a means of subtly screening out the applicants from minority communities.

On the other hand, the onset of economic recession closes off many of the channels of usual employment, even at the lower levels. At the same time, some students will increasingly look to the school itself as a source of employment or financial aid, and, particularly if he is regarded as a good student and potential college material, a young man may find that the administration is prepared to provide on-campus work or guide him into part-time off-campus employment in order to help him stay in school. Some of the group interviewees were critical of the process by which such work is arranged and allocated, claiming that the school plays favorites and reserves its favors for those students who are most conformist and compliant rather than those who may be in greater need.

Our survey findings suggest that, in such a recession period, Chicano youngsters continue to penetrate the semi-skilled occupations more successfully than do the Blacks, and this explains in part why they are more likely to enter the labor market while the Black teenagers attend school in a somewhat higher proportion. In both cases, however, the tendency to stay in school seems to be stronger in periods of recession than in periods of prosperity. The Blacks have an additional



incentive to remain in school longer: according to our sample findings, those in the Watts area receive proportionately more concrete assistance from the school in finding employment than do those in East Los Angeles. School employment, incidentally, is of great importance to the junior college and university students in our samples.

Thus the young men in Watts and (to a somewhat lesser degree) in East Los Angeles receive little useful information or career counseling in high school and enter the labor market with minimal guidance from either school or home. Because of labor-market discrimination, family disorganization, faulty early education, segregation, and related factors, these young men require relatively more assistance from government and the school than do the Anglos in higher-income communities. The evidence at hand demonstrates that the Anglos also receive little counseling of value from their schools: in a 1969 survey of almost 2,000 students in Connecticut schools, Professor Raymond C. Doane of the University of Connecticut found that two out of every three students indicating a need for career counseling had received none at their schools.<sup>3</sup> More than seven out of ten respondents say that they get such guidance outside the school setting, primarily from their parents. This is a source which is either unavailable or of little use to the young men of Watts and East Los Angeles, because those who might provide this assistance are absent or are themselves unemployed or underemployed.

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3. Guidance Practices Leading to Career Orientation and Instruction for Selected Secondary School Students of Connecticut, Department of Higher, Technical, and Adult Education, Univ. of Connecticut, January 1970, pp. 36-37

TABLE III

SCHOOL BY KNOWLEDGE OF WHOM  
IN SCHOOL TO SEE FOR CAREER ADVICE,  
AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>School</u>	South Los Angeles			<u>School</u>		
	Yes	No	Not Sure	Yes	East Los Angeles No	Not Sure
Jordan	77.1	17.1	5.7	100.0	0.0	0.0
Locke	64.7	17.6	17.6	22.2	77.8	0.0
Fremont	62.5	37.5	0.0	55.6	33.3	11.1
Washington	100.0	0.0	0.0			
Jefferson	100.0	0.0	0.0	71.4	28.6	0.0
Dorsey	100.0	0.0	0.0	40.8	36.7	22.4
Other LA District High School	80.0	20.0	0.0	35.0	60.0	5.0
Compton	100.0	0.0	0.0	69.6	21.7	8.7
Junior College	63.2	31.6	5.3			
University	58.6	31.0	10.3			

V.

ENTERING THE LABOR MARKET

When he first enters the labor market, the young man from Watts and East Los Angeles is very much "on his own." There is probably more parental guidance in the Chicano than in the Black community, but both groups seek and find employment primarily through informal and personal channels. A great many young men will make their earliest contact with the "labor market" through what we have termed the sub-economy, a subject which I will explore later in this report. Some get their jobs through the school, the Employment Service, or a federally funded program such as a Teen Post, but most report that they find work with the help of friends and relatives or strictly on their own. This job-seeking pattern is consistent and pervasive in both communities, with one interesting variation: the Black youngsters report relatively more help from governmental, organizational, or school sources, while the Chicano youngsters rely proportionately more upon direct applications to employers. Once having entered the labor market, the Chicanos in our sample penetrated the clerical, semi-skilled, and skilled categories to a greater degree than did the Blacks, but teenagers in both areas were concentrated in the service, unskilled, and "other" occupations.

We tried to secure information on the respondent's present work (if any) and his previous three jobs, after having abandoned our attempt to get a complete work history for every interviewee. There were several reasons for our inability to obtain the more detailed data, but a major one was simply the practical impossibility of holding interview time to

a reasonable length, and getting answers to other questions, if a complete work history were required. Reducing the scope of the inquiry to the previous three jobs seemed a feasible compromise which would still give us a great deal of useful information on the young respondent's labor-market background.

Even with this reduction in information required, however, there were many instances where only a part of the anticipated data was supplied. Undoubtedly a high percentage of the younger teenagers would not have much of work history anyway and therefore had nothing to report. But there were quite a few cases in which 18- and 19-year-olds and even young adults reported no work history at all or perhaps only one job. Consequently, the size of sample falls off considerably for jobs other than the most recent job held (which, in our numbering sequence, we label "Job #1").

I can only speculate as to some of the reasons for this. The first possibility is a practical one implied earlier: that both interviewer and interviewee resist the boredom and amount of time required to complete that part of the questionnaire. A more fundamental reason may be that interviewees suspect the motivation of the questioner and the use to which the information may be put. Income from previous jobs may not have been reported to Internal Revenue, and in some cases, as we have noted several times, the "employment" may not have been strictly legal for one reason or another. Conversely, the interviewee may have held a large number of very short-term jobs (e.g., post office work at Christmas time, NYC in the summer, campus work-study jobs), many of which he may not even recall. My own observation is that intermittency of employment is endemic to the ghetto labor market and that many young men go for long periods without a "legitimate" job. This chronic problem,

critical even when the country is prosperous, is exacerbated in periods of recession.

Even with these limitations, we were able to accumulate a large volume of valuable data on the process by which Black and Chicano young men in Los Angeles seek and find work. One generalization is immediately possible: the public employment services and funded training programs (including, of course, the highly touted NAB-JOBS program for subsidized on-the-job training by private employers) are largely irrelevant, from the perspective of the young men in our survey samples. The overwhelming majority find their employment (if any) without the visible assistance of the Employment Service, and almost none had obtained permanent employment which has a demonstrable relationship to participation in available training. Indeed, the majority in both areas showed little or no awareness of the training programs in or near their respective communities. This result is especially striking in the Watts community, where a number of training centers are physically located.

#### Jobseeking in the Ghetto and Barrio

In South Los Angeles, about 46 percent of those having a job at survey time had found it through friends and relatives or by direct application to the employer. Another 17 percent had been aided by a school; about equal percentages (5 percent, respectively) had used want ads or private employment agencies; and somewhat over 6 percent had used unidentified "other" sources. Approximately 19 percent had been steered into their work by the Employment Service.

In East Los Angeles, exactly 68 percent had obtained their present work through friends and relatives or by direct application to the employer. About 11 percent had found it through a school; only 3.2 percent and 2.4 percent, respectively, had used want ads or private employment agencies; and almost 9 percent had made use of unidentified "other" sources. Almost 6.5 percent had been assisted by the Employment Service.

In total, almost 36 percent of the Blacks in our sample had found their present work through the school or the Employment Service-- much above the 17.6 percent figure for the Chicanos. Chicanos, on the other hand, had made proportionately greater use of the "walk-in" (direct application) technique: almost 25 percent had used this channel in contrast with less than 13 percent of the Blacks. Correspondingly, about 43 percent of the Chicanos had been guided by friends and relatives, compared to almost 34 percent of the Blacks. Thus, the Blacks got significantly more help from public or federally-funded institutions, while the Chicanos relied overwhelmingly on their own personal or internal resources. In neither case, however, were existing public agencies the major source of assistance.

For Blacks, in particular, the "other" category appears to reflect assistance from organizations like a Teen Post (a federally-funded recreational and cultural program for teenagers), the Watts Labor Community Action Committee (WLCAC), and so forth. The corresponding category in East Los Angeles is more difficult to evaluate, but it does not appear that the Chicanos received the same volume of support from the types of organizations mentioned above.

TABLE I  
JOBSEEKING METHODS  
(Percent)

	6 UES Poverty Areas Total 1968-69*	Men Ages 16-19 L.A. UES Areas 1968-69*		IIR Survey 1971 (Most recent or previous job)	
		M.A.	Negro	M.A.	Negro
Employment Service	15.5	18.2	14.6	9.5	3.4
Employer	25.1	27.3	24.4	20.0	18.6
Relatives, etc.	21.3	27.3	24.4	50.5	23.7
Newspapers	18.5	13.6	12.2	1.1	
School				14.7	28.8
Private Agency	4.8		2.4		3.4
Organization	7.9	9.1	17.1	4.2	22.0
Union			2.4		
Pickup Location					
Other	7.0	4.5	2.4		

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\* Methods used during previous 12-month period.

The experience of teenagers in the two areas especially emphasizes the informality of the job-hunting process. Almost three-quarters of the East Los Angeles teenagers had found their jobs through friends and relatives or direct application. About 13 percent had been aided by the school, and barely over 4 percent had used the Employment Service in finding their work. About 37 percent of the Watts teenagers had been aided by friends or relatives, but a smaller percentage had used the "walk-in" method than those in East Los Angeles and much larger percentages had used the school (26.7 percent) and the Employment Service (10 percent). In both areas, the young adults reported proportionately more use of the Employment Service in finding their present work (9.6 percent in East Los Angeles and 24.6 percent in South Los Angeles). In South Los Angeles, the adults had used the "direct application" method much more than had the teenagers.

The above figures, of course, apply to those who were employed at the time of our survey. Among all those (employed, unemployed, or in-school) who reported on their previous employment, the pattern is much the same. The teenagers rely heavily upon friends and relatives or "walk-in" in East Los Angeles, whereas the South Los Angeles youngsters depend more upon the school and "other" sources and relatively less (though still considerably) upon the standard informal sources. No age group had been assisted significantly by the Employment Service.

Among only the presently unemployed, the South Los Angeles group again relies overwhelmingly upon friends and relatives, direct application, and "other" sources, in that order. By contrast, those



currently employed indicate proportionately greater assistance from the Employment Service and the school and relatively less upon "walk-in" and "other." The presently unemployed in East Los Angeles report some past help from the Employment Service, but slightly over two-thirds had secured employment through friends and relatives (preeminently) or direct application. The employed in that area had used those two methods even more, though with somewhat greater reliance on direct application and proportionately less on friends and relatives.

When job-finding techniques are examined by the type of work presently and/or formerly performed by the person surveyed, we find that the pattern described previously is fairly consistent for all types of employment. Among the presently employed, both the Chicanos and Blacks had secured all types of work primarily through friends and relatives or direct application, although the Chicanos consistently had been relatively more successful with the "walk-in" method than had the Blacks. In South Los Angeles, the small number of semi-skilled and professional workers showed the highest percentage use of the Employment Service; in East Los Angeles, the percentage pattern is mixed, but only 8 workers out of 119 credited their employment to the Employment Service (3 service workers, 1 professional, 2 unskilled, 1 skilled, and 1 uncategorized).

A further examination of sources of previous employment shows that the Chicanos in our sample have consistently used informal methods (friends and relatives or direct application) at all levels of work, with some use of the Employment Service reflected only among the unskilled and NYC workers. For the most recent job, the Blacks had used the Employment Service somewhat to obtain semi-skilled and professional

jobs, but informal methods predominated at all levels--precisely the same pattern as exists for the currently employed. The pattern for earlier jobs is mixed, with informal methods still predominating, but the sample here is small. A very tentative generalization, based on the current and most recent work, is that both Chicanos and Blacks predominantly get their jobs through informal and private channels, with some use of the Employment Service at low job levels in East Los Angeles and higher levels in South Los Angeles. In both areas, of course, those youngsters who hold or have held school-related jobs had obtained them through the school itself.

In South Los Angeles, there appears to be somewhat more successful usage of the Employment Service among high school graduates than among dropouts while in East Los Angeles the pattern seems to be reversed. Dropouts in both areas have less success with the "walk-in" method, and rely proportionately more upon friends and relatives or "other" sources. Youngsters in households headed by the mother find relatively fewer jobs through their friends and relatives and, apparently, rely somewhat more upon the school, the Employment Service, and "other" sources.

Consistent with the employment patterns described previously, East Los Angeles respondents in the higher-paid (\$3.00 an hour or more) jobs had found them overwhelmingly through informal channels; those in South Los Angeles also had relied heavily on those same sources, but successful usage of the Employment Service was reported by nearly 30 percent of those whose previous job had paid at least \$3.00 per hour.

There is some evidence that the amount of contact with the Department of Human Resources Development (HRD) is positively related to labor-market information; those who did relatively poor<sup>ly</sup> on our information quiz (four job definitions and four evaluations of relative pay for specified jobs) generally indicated less contact with HRD. However, on the question (the definition of "machinist") which seemed to be the most valid indicator of degree of information, there is no significant difference between the "contact" and "no contact" groups, and it would seem that knowledge, in this case, is related most directly to actual labor-market experience. This area will be explored in Chapter VI.

While, in general, there is little relationship between one's major in high school and the other variables, there is evidence in our survey that college preparatory majors obtain a higher proportion of the school-related jobs than do the vocational or industrial arts majors. This may be some confirmation of the statement made by teenage interviewees that school administrators show favoritism in the allocation of and referrals to employment, and would tend to favor the "better" students (more of whom, presumably, would be college prep majors).

The general results of our survey may be compared, to some extent, with those obtained from previous surveys in the same or similar areas. In 1968 and 1969, surveys were conducted in six UES low-income areas throughout the country, including Los Angeles. Administered by the Census Bureau for the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, the surveys encompassed a number of questions on jobseeking methods. A comparison of certain BLS survey results with our own is contained in Table #I.

There are, of course, some differences in the form of questionnaires and the nature of the samples. In addition, the BLS surveys were conducted at a time when unemployment was considerably lower than it was at the time (mid-1971) when the IIR survey was made, a fact which inevitably would have some effect on results. All surveys consistently show that Chicano and Black teenagers use informal methods in the greatest degree, and that young Blacks are substantially more assisted by "other" sources than are Chicanos. We specifically asked about possible assistance from a school in finding work, which was not asked in the BLS UES surveys, and ascertained that minority (especially Black) teenagers in Los Angeles, in mid-1971, were significantly dependent on that source. Our survey also shows that Chicano teenagers were proportionately much more dependent on help from friends and relatives than they appeared to be in 1968 and 1969, and received even less aid from the Employment Service and newspaper ads.

By and large, the jobseeking methods used predominantly in poverty areas seem to correspond with those generally used in non-poverty areas, with some variations.<sup>1</sup> Nonpoverty jobseekers appear to rely somewhat more upon direct applications to employers and want ads, while poverty residents make proportionately greater use of the Employment Service and community organizations. In general, the differences are small, and it might be concluded that minority youngsters suffer no special disadvantage from their reliance upon informal jobseeking channels. This conclusion would be incorrect. Those with parents and friends already located in permanent jobs have a marked advantage over those without parent or friends who are similarly situated in the labor market.

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1. For a summary of these findings, see Harvey J. Hilaski, "How Poverty Area Residents Look for Work," Monthly Labor Review, March 1971, pp.41-45.

### Patterns of Employment

Most of the teenagers in Watts and East Los Angeles enter the labor market at low levels and, with some exceptions, tend to stay there. Even the young adults surveyed were often to be found in those categories, though the Chicanos succeed in getting semi-skilled, skilled, and clerical jobs in somewhat higher proportions than do the Blacks. Among those who were at work at survey time, the Watts teenagers are located in school, governmental, and organizational jobs in much greater degree than the Chicano youngsters. The Chicano teenagers are proportionately more concentrated in the service, clerical, and "other" categories. Altogether, almost 52 percent of the employed Chicano teenagers are in service and unskilled categories, compared to about 43 percent of the Blacks. Almost 24 percent of the South Los Angeles teenagers are in some sort of employment connected with a school, and another 9.5 percent are in government work of some kind (post office, etc.). Nearly 5 percent have organizational jobs.

In South Los Angeles, the age 20-24 group among the employed is located in service work in almost the same proportion as the teenagers, but otherwise it reflects a higher concentration in semi-skilled, professional, and skilled jobs and much less in the unskilled category. In East Los Angeles, the pattern by age group also changes, but in different directions. The young adults are much less concentrated than are the teenagers in service occupations, and are more frequently to be found in clerical, semi-skilled, and skilled jobs. In total, almost two-thirds of the Chicano 20-24 group are in clerical, semi-skilled, professional, and skilled jobs, compared to about 38 percent

TABLE II

PATTERN OF EMPLOYMENT,  
BY TYPE OF WORK, AGE, AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category of Work	South Los Angeles						East Los Angeles														
	Present Work			Job #2			Job #3			Present Work			Job #1			Job #2			Job #3		
	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 24.5	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 24.5	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 24.5	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 24.5	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 24.5	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 24.5	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 24.5
School Job	23.8	13.2	12.3	13.8	4.4	5.2	13.0	4.5	7.6	0.0	5.2	1.4	3.8	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TP or similar*	4.8	3.8	4.1	3.7	8.9	2.6	13.0	6.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	4.1	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service (exc. above)	23.8	24.5	30.1	24.8	28.9	23.4	34.8	25.0	36.4	18.0	28.9	15.7	30.2	16.3	34.5	19.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Clerical	9.5	7.5	5.5	4.6	6.7	13.0	4.3	11.4	13.6	22.0	6.2	14.3	17.0	16.3	17.2	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Selling-Retail	0.0	1.9	4.1	0.0	2.2	2.6	4.3	2.3	4.5	6.0	3.1	2.9	9.4	4.1	3.4	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Semi-skilled	0.0	11.3	6.8	13.8	4.4	18.2	4.3	18.2	3.0	14.0	9.3	24.3	17.0	28.6	6.9	22.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Government	9.5	11.3	6.8	6.4	8.9	2.6	4.3	6.8	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.4	1.9	2.0	0.0	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
NYC (exc. school)	0.0	0.0	15.1	3.7	15.6	3.9	13.0	6.8	0.0	0.0	9.3	1.4	3.8	2.0	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Professional, etc.	0.0	7.5	0.0	5.5	2.2	7.8	0.0	6.8	7.6	6.0	2.1	2.9	1.9	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unskilled	19.0	1.9	9.6	5.5	11.1	9.1	4.3	2.3	15.2	4.0	19.6	10.0	11.3	10.2	17.2	16.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Skilled	4.8	9.4	1.4	7.3	0.0	6.5	4.3	4.5	1.5	16.0	5.2	18.6	0.0	6.1	3.4	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	4.8	7.5	4.1	11.0	6.7	5.2	0.0	4.5	10.6	14.0	10.3	7.1	1.9	4.1	3.4	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

\* Means Teen Post or similar organizational job

NOTE: Job #1 is the most recent job (or the one prior to the present job, for employed persons); Job #2 is the job preceding Job #1; and Job #3 is the job preceding Job #2.

TABLE III

PATTERN OF EMPLOYMENT  
BY PAY, AGE, AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category of Pay	South Los Angeles						East Los Angeles									
	Present Work		Job #1		Job #2		Job #3		Present Work		Job #1		Job #2		Job #3	
	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 16-19	Age 20-24	Age 16-19	Age 20-24
Below \$1.50	0.0	0.0	23.9	6.1	15.8	4.4	22.7	5.3	4.8	0.0	12.6	1.5	17.6	8.2	7.1	16.7
\$1.50-1.74	23.1	1.9	29.9	10.2	28.9	11.8	18.2	7.9	36.5	2.1	24.2	7.7	21.6	6.1	39.3	6.7
\$1.75-1.99	11.5	0.0	7.5	5.1	2.6	1.5	13.6	5.3	11.1	0.0	15.8	9.2	21.6	10.2	21.4	3.3
\$2.00-2.24	7.7	7.5	9.0	6.1	10.5	20.6	18.2	15.8	14.3	19.1	17.9	16.9	11.8	22.4	10.7	23.3
\$2.25-2.49	3.8	9.4	4.5	7.1	5.3	7.4	4.5	5.3	4.8	8.5	4.2	10.8	5.9	6.1	3.6	6.7
\$2.50-2.74	7.7	15.1	3.0	11.1	2.6	13.2	13.6	10.5	6.3	8.5	5.3	7.7	7.8	10.2	3.6	6.7
\$2.75-2.99	11.5	9.4	4.5	3.1	5.3	10.3	4.5	18.4	3.2	4.3	4.2	4.6	0.0	8.2	7.1	6.7
\$3.00+	23.1	22.8	7.5	45.9	18.4	27.9	0.0	28.9	12.7	53.2	7.4	40.0	7.8	22.4	0.0	20.0
Uncodable	11.5	3.8	10.4	5.1	10.5	2.9	4.5	2.6	6.3	4.3	8.4	1.5	5.9	6.1	7.1	10.0

of the Blacks. In our sample, therefore, the older group in East Los Angeles had been more successful in moving out of the lowest job classifications than had the same group in Watts, but again it must be remembered that the Chicanos in our survey come from proportionately more households receiving \$6,000 a year and over. With this fact in mind, it is then worthy of note that only a total of 22 percent of the Chicano young adults are located in the skilled blue-collar and professional white-collar occupations. This is only slightly better than the corresponding labor-market pattern in South Los Angeles, where about 17 percent of the young adults are in those same jobs. The difference between the two areas lies in the greater penetration of Chicanos into the clerical, sales, and semi-skilled jobs. Except for certain semi-skilled occupations, those jobs often pay less than the service, governmental, and school jobs in which the Blacks remain heavily concentrated.

This point is confirmed by an analysis of the pattern of employment by pay levels. Here we find that almost identical percentages of the young adults in East and South Los Angeles--53 percent in each instance--are receiving \$3.00 per hour or more, and the modal pay for those under \$3.00 an hour is lower among the Chicano adult employed than among the Black. Employed Chicano teenagers fare much worse than the Blacks, with lower percentages in better paid jobs and higher in the poorly paid areas.

This somewhat strange pattern may be due in some measure to a sampling bias, because a higher percentage of Chicano teenagers are in the age 16 group where pay is especially low. Many of them were in



summer employment at the time of the survey. Still another factor may exert an influence: youngsters in relatively higher-income households are under less pressure to get better-paid jobs, because their earnings are only supplementary to those received by the head of household. The Black youngster is less likely to be satisfied with low-paid employment, and he may leave the labor market and enter the sub-economy in preference to acceptance of such work. The transcripts of interviews in the appendix to this report offer some verification of this thesis.<sup>2</sup>

When we move to the total sample (employed, unemployed, in-school, etc.) and examine the patterns of previous employment and pay levels, there are interesting variations in both areas and age groups. The past employment of Chicanos, in both the teenage and young adult categories, reflects a higher concentration in semi-skilled jobs than is true of the presently employed. Currently employed Black and Chicano teenagers show a much higher concentration in school-related jobs than in the past, but this is particularly significant and striking in the case of the Blacks. Proportions of employment in service occupations remain consistently high for both areas and age groups. The proportions in government work have increased for the Blacks and diminished for the Browns. On the other hand, the percentage of Black teenagers in unskilled work has appeared to increase while the corresponding proportion of Chicano teenagers has decreased slightly.

- 
2. One major problem emphasized by our analysis of the ghetto labor market is that the prevailing definitions of employment categories (service, semi-skilled, professional, etc.) are highly deficient for analytical purposes. In categorizing jobs, we used the official Census Bureau manual, but logically it makes little sense, e.g., to lump together policemen and janitors in one occupational category, and the distinctions between the service and unskilled categories are blurred at best.

TABLE IV

SELECTED PAY LEVELS,  
BY WHETHER TRAINED AND AREA  
(Percent)

Training Category	East Los Angeles			South Los Angeles		
	Job #1 \$1.74- \$3.00+ \$1.74- \$3.00+	Job #2 \$1.74- \$3.00+ \$1.74- \$3.00+	Job #3 \$1.74- \$3.00+ \$1.74- \$3.00+	Job #1 \$1.74- \$3.00+ \$1.74- \$3.00+	Job #2 \$1.74- \$3.00+ \$1.74- \$3.00+	Job #3 \$1.74- \$3.00+ \$1.74- \$3.00+
Had Job Training	20.0 15.0	37.6 12.5	60.0 0.0	27.5 30.0	28.2 18.8	22.3 22.2
No Special Training	28.1 22.3	28.2 18.3	30.8 12.8	32.2 30.4	23.9 25.4	21.9 19.5

SELECTED PAY LEVELS,  
BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND AREA  
(Percent)

Highest Grade Completed	Percent											
9th	---	---	---	---	---	---	*	*	*	*	*	*
10th	0.0	22.2	40.0	20.0	*	*	33.3	33.3	*	*	---	---
11th	0.0	22.7	17.7	11.8	66.6	0.0	45.5	27.3	31.3	12.5	20.0	0.0
12th	24.4	31.7	26.7	23.3	44.5	16.7	24.4	35.6	8.3	25.0	9.1	45.5
1st College	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	*	*	11.1	55.6	44.4	22.2	*	*
2nd College	0.0	40.0	25.0	0.0	*	*	0.0	40.0	0.0	40.0	*	*
3rd College*												
4th College*												
Other*												

\*Sample too small

An analysis of the three most recent jobs held (prior to the current employment of those employed at survey time) by all those surveyed reveals little consistent evidence of improvement in pay and status as the respondents moved from one job to another. The pattern, in fact, is considerably mixed. For Black teenagers, the employment situation seemed to worsen over time, with about 54 percent concentrated in the below \$1.75 category during the most recent period of work in contrast with somewhat more than four-tenths in prior periods. Black young adults increased their percentages at both ends of the pay ladder, increasing their proportion slightly in the lowest-pay categories and significantly in the \$3.00-plus bracket.

In like manner, the Chicano young adults sharply boosted their percentage in the \$3.00-plus category over time, but, in contrast to the Blacks, ~~also cut their percentage representation in the lowest~~ categories. The Chicano teenagers cut their percentage in the below-\$1.75 category slightly and increased their representation in the \$2.00-\$2.49 bracket as they progressed from job to job. Thus, for our sample, there are indications that Chicanos improve their labor-market position to some degree as they move from earlier to more recent jobs. Among Chicano teenagers, however, well over half earn under \$2.00 per hour, and this high percentage has persisted through their work experience. Even among the Chicano adults in our survey, approximately two-tenths to one-quarter have remained in that low category of pay as they shifted from Job #3 to Job #1.

The results of our inquiry into the relationship between vocational training and the labor-market experience have been, perhaps, more mystifying and shocking than anything else uncovered in the survey. All respondents were asked whether they had ever participated in a training program (outside of regular school, but inclusive of evening vocational classes). In processing those answers, we cross-tabulated them against such variables as labor-market status and selected pay levels by job. These tabulations revealed that the percentage of unemployment is consistently higher among those reporting special job training than it was among those reporting none. This is only slightly true of the South Los Angeles sample, but the difference in percentages is marked in East Los Angeles (26.1 and 20.4 unemployment percentages, respectively).

When we examine the relationship between educational attainment and labor market status, the pattern is somewhat mixed. In South Los Angeles, proportionately more high-school graduates than dropouts are unemployed; in East Los Angeles, the graduates do proportionately better, but the difference is not wide. In analyzing the pay rates reported for successive jobs, we find that in South Los Angeles those without training do about as well as (or better than) those with training in penetrating the higher pay levels or avoiding the lower; in East Los Angeles, the percentage of the defined group in the \$3.00-plus category is consistently higher for those without training, and, usually, a smaller percentage of the "no training" group is in the below-\$1.75 bracket.

TABLE V

LABOR MARKET STATUS,  
BY WHETHER TRAINED AND AREA  
(Percent)

Training Category	East Los Angeles				South Los Angeles				Both School & Job
	Emp.	Sick, etc.*	Unemp.	School	Unable**	Other**	Unemp.	School	
Had Job Training	39.1	0.0	26.1	4.3	4.3	26.1	24.0	40.0	2.0
No Special Training	44.5	4.7	20.4	11.5	3.1	14.1	23.0	37.4	4.0

LABOR MARKET STATUS  
BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND AREA  
(Percent)

Highest Grade Completed	East Los Angeles				South Los Angeles				Both School & Job
	Emp.	Sick, etc.*	Unemp.	School	Unable**	Other**	Unemp.	School	
9th***	0.0	0.0	0.0	---	0.0	100.0	50.0	---	0.0
10th	38.5	0.0	38.5	---	0.0	23.1	21.4	---	0.0
11th	33.3	10.0	30.0	---	3.3	23.3	37.8	---	5.4
12th	34.4	6.3	28.1	---	10.9	20.3	44.4	---	0.0
1st College	40.0	0.0	10.1	---	0.0	50.0	45.2	---	0.0
2nd College	55.6	0.0	33.3	---	0.0	11.1	28.6	---	0.0
3rd College***	0.0	100.0	0.0	---	0.0	0.0	0.0	---	0.0
4th College***	100.0	0.0	0.0	---	0.0	0.0	0.0	---	0.0
Other***	100.0	0.0	0.0	---	0.0	0.0	0.0	---	50.0

\* Means had job but sick, on vacation, etc.

\*\* Means disabled or otherwise unable to work

\*\*\* Means 1 only in EIA and 4 only in SLA

\*\*\*\* Means 1 only in EIA and 2 only in SLA

TABLE VI

JOBS HELD BY EMPLOYED PERSONS,  
BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND AREA  
(Percent)

Highest Grade Completed	School	TP	SV	Clerical	Sales	Semi	Govt	NYC	Prof	Unsk	Sk	Other
					EAST LOS ANGELES							
9th	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10th	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	0.0
11th	0.0	0.0	22.2	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0
12th	0.0	0.0	22.7	31.8	4.5	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.6	9.1	0.0
1st College	0.0	0.0	50.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
2nd College	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	25.0
3rd College	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0
4th College*	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	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	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0

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## SOUTH LOS ANGELES

9th	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10th	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
11th	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0
12th	9.5	0.0	19.0	4.8	4.8	9.5	23.8	0.0	9.5	4.8	9.5	4.8
1st College**	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0
2nd College***	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0
3rd College**	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
4th College**	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

\* 1 Only

\*\* 2 Only

\*\*\* 3 Only

In both areas, the graduates generally do better than dropouts in attaining the higher-pay level--a result more in line with what we would normally expect. However, in the most recent job, approximately 24 percent of the graduates in both areas were in the below-\$1.75 category. Every bit of evidence emerging from our survey confirms that economic trends over the past few years have had a particularly deleterious effect upon the labor-market position of young men in central-city ghettos and barrios.

The unusual and startling nature of certain of these results leads naturally to some wide-ranging speculations about their possible significance. One clue is the quantitative importance of the "other" category in most of the relationships we have examined. This omnibus grouping includes a great many young persons in East and South Los Angeles who, apparently, have left the labor market or never entered it. It is both ironical and understandable that those who have had training would be strongly resistant to accepting work at lower levels than that for which, theoretically, they have been trained. The "reservation price" for their labor, in economic terms, will rise in accordance with their expectations, and some will probably prefer to remain (technically) unemployed rather than accept the low-status and low-paid employment which is offered. It is an observable fact that jobs are scarce even for the graduates of existing training programs, and that many programs are regarded by trainer and trainee alike as a source of immediate income rather than as a preparation for long-term careers at a level above the average in the ghetto or barrio.

The past failure of the economy to absorb some training program graduates into permanent employment, now exacerbated by a major recession, feeds the cynicism of those already inclined to be cynical. Some may be motivated to remain in the sub-economy, or perhaps another part of that shadowy territory which is on the margin of what we call the "labor market."

### The Unemployed

When we construct a profile of the currently unemployed and compare it with that of the employed, some interesting similarities and differences come to light. For instance, both the employed and unemployed are generally concentrated in the lower skill categories, but in both South and East Los Angeles the semi-skilled workers are represented markedly more among the unemployed than among the employed (the gap in East Los Angeles is wider than in South Los Angeles). Proportionately more of the employed are in the clerical and governmental categories. All of our figures suggest that high proportions of those whose past employment has been semi-skilled have suffered unemployment during the ongoing recession, a tendency which perhaps is more evident in East than in South Los Angeles.

Amount of reported training does not distinguish the employed from the unemployed, in either area. Indeed, in both areas higher percentages among the unemployed report special training, as indicated in the accompanying table. This, of course, is simply another reflection of the market phenomenon discussed earlier in this report.

Dropouts are represented in higher relative numbers among the unemployed, though the majority of unemployed youngsters in both areas have high school diplomas. Among the unemployed, about 57 percent in



East Los Angeles and 62 percent in South Los Angeles are high-school graduates, of whom many have had some college work. By contrast, three-quarters of the employed in South Los Angeles and seven-tenths in East Los Angeles had at least graduated from high school.

In South Los Angeles, the burden of unemployment is heavier for the young man than it is in the East Los Angeles area, because a much greater proportion of the unemployed may be found in households headed by someone other than the father. More than half of the unemployed youngsters in the Watts area are themselves the head of household, compared to less than 20 percent of the Chicanos. Over 80 percent of the Black unemployed and half of the Chicano live in households headed by themselves, their mother, or a non-parental relative or friend. As pointed out before, high levels of youth unemployment and underemployment can have disastrous social and economic consequences in those communities characterized by family disorganization. Although this problem may not be as serious in East as in South Los Angeles, it must be noted that it still affects a high percentage of the Chicano households in our sample and that many of the households, even among those headed by the male parent, continue to fall in lower-income brackets. In our East Los Angeles sample, which appears to be better off economically than the average for that community, more than four-tenths of the households receive under \$6000 in annual income.

All of these findings demonstrate the continued severity of unemployment in the areas surveyed and the relative inefficacy of

established training and employment programs. The argument has sometimes been made, in response to such findings, that the beneficial effects of those programs are not reflected in surveys of low-income ghettos, because those who benefit will tend to move out of the community. Nothing in our own study can either prove or disprove that theory, and, to my knowledge, no other survey has yet provided an answer. Our survey does show that significant percentages of young men in those communities have obtained both academic and vocational training without measurable benefit to themselves in the labor market.

It will be argued, of course, that their failure to benefit does not result from deficiencies or limitations in education and training but, rather, from employer policies which discriminate against young men because of race or national origin, police records, cultural differences, rigid credential or degree requirements, and so forth. It could be added that the unfavorable labor-market experience suffered by these youngsters is also the consequence of general economic decline. Much or all of this may be true, but it merely serves to corroborate a major point of this report: that too much attention has been paid to the supply side of the youth labor market and not enough to the demand. The importance of this will be discussed and demonstrated in later chapters.

TABLE VII  
SELECTED COMPARISONS OF THE EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED,  
BY AREA  
(Percent)

	<u>Employed</u>		<u>Unemployed</u>	
	South LA	East LA	South LA	East LA
Whether Trained				
Yes	20.8	9.7	25.6	13.9
No	79.2	90.3	74.4	86.1
Highest Grade Completed				
9th	0.0	0.0	5.4	0.0
10th	15.0	10.6	5.4	14.3
11th	10.0	19.1	27.0	28.6
12th	52.5	46.8	43.2	42.9
Other	22.5	23.5	19.0	14.2
Head of House-				
hold				
Person	72.7	29.2	52.0	19.0
Father	9.1	50.0	22.0	50.0
Mother	14.5	16.0	26.0	19.0
Other	3.6	4.7	0.0	12.0

VI.

LABOR MARKET INFORMATION AND PERCEPTIONS

A major purpose of this study has been to explore the extent and accuracy of information possessed by Chicano and Black young men just entering, or about to enter, the labor market in Los Angeles. A corollary goal has been to determine and evaluate their perceptions of that market, in order to uncover those variables which influence their subsequent labor-market behavior and their choice of a career (if any). Most of the results of our inquiry are discouraging: young men in Watts and East Los Angeles begin their employment with little guidance and a highly restricted and unbalanced view of future possibilities. In our samples, the burden again is heavier on the Black youngster than on the Chicano, but neither group is substantially assisted by the educational system or by public agencies in the quest for knowledge or for work.

There are some qualifications to that dim and pessimistic appraisal. With one exception, the majority of the young men surveyed did reasonably well in our short quiz about jobs, and the Chicanos, in particular, appear to glean a reasonable amount of practical information from their higher participation in the labor market and their penetration of a somewhat greater variety of jobs.

In order to test the degree of labor-market information in a way which will make it possible to compare our results with those obtained in other studies, we used eight questions which had been asked earlier in the nationwide longitudinal study conducted (and still in progress) by Professor Herbert S. Parnes and his associates at The Ohio State University, previously referred to.<sup>1</sup> We were unable to replicate the

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1. Career Thresholds, Volume I, February 1969

entire Parnes study of job knowledge, but we selected four questions concerning job content and four concerning relative pay rates, covering occupations at varying levels of skills. Respondents were asked to define "hospital orderly," "machinist," "draftsman," and "social worker," by checking the appropriate multiple choice answer, and to indicate which one of the following pairs of occupations pays more on the average: (1) auto mechanic or electrician; (2) truck driver or grocery store clerk; (3) lawyer or high school teacher; and (4) janitor or policeman. A copy of the full interview schedule used is appended to this report.

The interviewees were also asked whether they knew anything about certain training programs in their respective communities. Each of our survey interviewers carried a mimeographed list of all major programs, complete with phone numbers, addresses, and brief descriptions, and were instructed to read off the title of the training agencies or hand the list to the respondent for his perusal. After the relevant question had been asked, the respondent could keep the list for his further guidance and information. Very few in either area expressed an interest in retaining the list.

As a test of perceptions, the young men were asked to estimate how much an average American family makes during a year, and how much they thought it should make. We did not intend this as an information quiz, because relatively few Americans know the precise average family income, but rather as an indication of the respondent's subjective evaluation. He was also asked to state his preference, for the near or immediate future, among the following alternatives:

TABLE I

KNOWLEDGE OF JOBS,  
BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent Giving Correct Definition)

<u>Job Defined</u>	East Los Angeles		South Los Angeles	
	16-19	20-24	16-19	20-24
Hospital Orderly	52.1	60.0	51.2	53.4
Machinist	58.6	73.8	33.3	52.9
Draftsman	85.2	92.9	63.1	89.0
Social Worker	82.4	89.4	62.8	85.2

KNOWLEDGE OF RELATIVE  
JOB EARNINGS, BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent Giving Correct Answer)

(Question: Who earns  
more in a year?)

(1) Auto Mechanic or Electrician	80.6	84.9	68.5	78.9
(2) Truck Driver or Grocery Clerk	88.9	91.8	80.9	87.5
(3) Lawyer or High School Teacher	95.2	95.4	88.0	87.5
(4) Janitor or Policeman	83.4	89.5	81.5	87.4

AWARENESS OF TRAINING  
BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent)

Yes	32.6	31.9	25.0	50.0
No	67.4	68.1	75.0	50.0

TABLE II  
AWARENESS OF TRAINING PROGRAMS,  
BY LABOR MARKET STATUS AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles					South Los Angeles								
	Emp.	Sick, etc.	Unemp.	School Un-able	Other School- & Work	Emp.	Sick, etc.	Unemp.	School Un-able	Other School & Work				
Yes	37.2	20.0	26.3	19.2	33.3	34.6	100.0	55.0	100.0	28.1	39.5	20.0	57.1	50.0
No	62.8	80.0	73.7	80.8	66.7	65.4	0.0	45.0	0.0	71.9	60.5	80.0	42.9	50.0

KNOWLEDGE OF JOBS,  
BY LABOR MARKET STATUS AND AREA  
(Percent Giving Correct Answer)

Jobs Defined	Emp.	Sick, etc.	Unemp.	School Un-able	Other School- & Work	Emp.	Sick, etc.	Unemp.	School Un-able	Other School & Work				
Hospital Orderly	57.9	27.3	67.3	58.1	8.3	45.9	75.0	75.8	25.0	50.0	41.9	71.4	57.1	66.7
Machinist	70.1	54.5	61.5	53.3	41.7	62.2	75.0	57.6	75.0	46.3	36.1	14.3	28.6	71.4
Draftsman	91.6	63.6	90.4	90.3	66.7	89.2	75.0	91.2	75.0	67.5	71.6	71.4	100.0	100.0
Social Worker	86.9	45.5	90.4	90.6	66.7	78.4	75.0	84.8	75.0	75.6	68.5	57.1	71.4	100.0

KNOWLEDGE OF RELATIVE JOB  
EARNINGS, BY LABOR MARKET STATUS AND AREA  
(Percent Giving Correct Answer)

(Which earns more?)	(Percent Giving Correct Answer)													
Auto Mechanic or Electrician	86.8	45.5	83.0	75.9	66.7	86.5	100.0	88.2	75.0	61.7	68.3	85.7	100.0	80.0
Truck Driver or Grocery Clerk	93.4	72.7	92.2	93.1	63.6	86.1	100.0	88.2	100.0	84.4	82.5	57.1	85.7	100.0
Lawyer or High School Teacher	96.3	81.8	98.1	100.0	75.0	94.6	100.0	87.9	75.0	85.1	88.0	66.7	85.7	100.0
Janitor or Policeman	85.7	54.5	92.2	100.0	58.3	83.8	100.0	93.9	75.0	87.0	81.7	57.1	85.7	100.0

TABLE III  
PERCEPTION OF AVERAGE  
U.S. FAMILY INCOME, BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Perceived Income</u>	East Los Angeles		South Los Angeles	
	16-19	20-24	16-19	20-24
Below \$4,000	9.8	11.0	14.6	9.5
\$4,000-5,999	8.5	15.9	17.1	19.0
\$6,000-7,999	19.6	11.0	13.0	24.8
\$8,000-9,999	22.2	30.5	26.0	19.0
\$10,000-11,999	22.9	20.7	13.8	11.7
\$12,000-13,999	3.3	6.1	6.5	6.6
\$14,000+	10.5	4.9	5.7	8.0
No Idea	3.3	0.0	3.3	1.5

PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT A FAMILY  
SHOULD MAKE, BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent)

Below \$4,000	8.5	6.0	7.6	2.3
\$4,000-5,999	8.5	8.4	8.4	19.5
\$6,000-7,999	16.3	14.5	13.4	18.0
\$8,000-9,999	15.0	8.4	29.4	17.3
\$10,000-11,999	13.1	14.5	10.9	15.8
\$12,000-13,999	9.8	25.3	7.6	7.5
\$14,000+	25.5	20.5	15.1	15.8
No Idea	3.3	2.4	7.6	3.8



(1) Finish off high school and go straight into full-time work (if he has not finished high school);

(2) Finish off college and then go into full-time work (if he has not finished college);

(3) Go into a special training program and then into full-time work;

(4) Go directly into full-time work as soon as possible, getting whatever training is needed on the job (if not already in full-time work);

(5) Go into regular work but have some time off with pay or reimbursement during the day to go to school; or

(6) Go into regular work and go to school at night on your own time.

One purpose of this question was to test the potential response to new combinations of work and education, as reflected partly in alternative #5 above and suggested as a desirable possibility by such manpower experts as Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerome Rosow.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, its inclusion in a list of alternatives toward the end of a long interview probably caused many respondents to overlook it. In addition, it is an unfamiliar concept and perhaps the first tendency of a respondent is to choose an alternative which seems more familiar and more feasible. Nevertheless, a noticeable percentage of interviewees did express an interest.

Of the knowledge questions asked (taken from the Parnes survey), two in particular--the definition of "machinist" and the relative pay for "auto mechanic or electrician"--appeared to be of greatest difficulty for the respondents in our samples. It is interesting that, as a general

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2. See, e.g., "Learning and Doing in American Society," by Jerome Rosow, Occasional Paper No. 1, Manpower Research Center, Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA.

rule, the interviewees seem to know much more about relative pay rates than about job definitions. Their "income consciousness" is such that they are likely to know whether one job pays more than another even when they may have some difficulty in defining the respective jobs.

The results obtained from our survey of labor-market information and perceptions should be reviewed in the light of certain fundamental differences between the East Los Angeles and Watts samples:

(1) Relatively more of the Chicanos interviewed reside in households earning \$6,000 a year and over;

(2) Proportionately, many more of the Blacks live in households headed by their mother or themselves;

(3) The Chicanos have a higher labor-force participation rate than the Blacks in our survey;

(4) In the labor market, Chicanos are somewhat more successful than Blacks in securing semi-skilled and skilled work, though youngsters in both groups are generally concentrated in the lower-skill categories;

(5) Many of the Chicano teenagers attend schools outside the Los Angeles City School District, some of which offer no guidance courses or vocational counseling, while almost all of the Black teenagers attend District schools;

(6) The majority of the Watts teenagers still in school attend either Jordan or Locke High School, and the previously described differences between those two schools should be kept in mind; and

(7) The Watts community geographically is much smaller than East Los Angeles, and one Skills Center and several other training or employment programs are located in Watts itself, thereby making the potential awareness of such facilities seemingly greater there than it should be in the vastly larger East Los Angeles community.

#### Labor Market Information and Knowledge

Certain generalizations quickly become apparent as the results of the surveys in South and East Los Angeles are sifted and analyzed:

(1) The Chicanos consistently tend to score higher on the information quiz than do the Blacks in our samples.

(2) This tendency is probably related to degree of labor-force participation and experience reported by the groups. Other tests also show that there is a positive correlation between extent of employment and knowledge of jobs; for instance, the currently employed tend to have more information than do the currently unemployed or the students.

(3) In South Los Angeles, those in the lowest and highest income households usually do significantly better on the quiz than those in the middle, while in East Los Angeles there is a more mixed pattern.

(4) In general, relatively greater knowledge is displayed by those who say that they have had job referrals from friends and relatives or the Department of Human Resources Development (HRD), as compared to those who say that they have never received assistance from those sources.

(5) Those who report that they were (or are) college preparatory majors in high school usually score higher than do those who major in vocational or industrial arts programs.

(6) While high school graduates (and, in greater degree, those who have had at least some college) usually do better than the dropouts, the differences often are small and the relationship is neither as strong nor as consistent as it is in the cases noted above.

(7) In like manner, those who recall taking the guidance class and an aptitude test usually do somewhat better, but the relationship does not appear to be significant for a number of reasons.

(8) In general, those who report participation in a training program do no better on the quiz than do those who are untrained. Similarly, there is little observable relationship between the nature of present or previous employment and labor-market knowledge, although our samples in the higher job categories (skilled labor, professional and technical, etc.) are usually so small that definite conclusions are risky or impossible.

Perhaps the strongest generalization which emerges from this study is that there is a close relationship between labor-market participation and knowledge. One problem, inevitably, is to separate cause from effect in this kind of relationship: correlations only suggest that two variables are associated in some reasonably predictable way, but cannot demonstrate whether one or the other of the variables is causal or whether both are

responding simultaneously to a third variable. In our case, does a young man in East Los Angeles or Watts participate more often in the market because he has greater knowledge and information or does he know more because he has participated to a greater degree? Or are both knowledge and participation related to entirely independent variables?

A process of elimination may help us to isolate the variables which are most likely to have a causal role. The potential sources of labor-market information and guidance are: (1) the household and, especially, the father or other male adult who has had labor-market experience; (2) friends and acquaintances; (3) the school; (4) public agencies or community organizations; and (5) the labor market itself. Statistically, we already know that about seven-tenths of the total South Los Angeles and about 45 percent of the total East Los Angeles sample are in households headed by themselves or someone other than the male parent, and, in addition, we discovered in the survey that there is no predictable relationship between job knowledge and whether or not the respondent had ever discussed jobs with his father. We know, also, that in South Los Angeles most of the teenagers are in households headed by someone other than their father.

We know, further, that in both areas jobseeking is performed predominantly in private and informal ways, with heavy reliance upon friends and relatives or direct application to employers. In neither area is the guidance class or counseling in school perceived as being helpful as a source of useful information. The Chicanos in our sample, who evinced a greater amount of knowledge in the quiz, had markedly less contact with public agencies (such as HRD) and community organiza-

TABLE IV

KNOWLEDGE OF LABOR MARKET,  
BY ESTIMATED FAMILY INCOME AND AREA  
(Percent Giving Correct Answer)

Category	East Los Angeles				South Los Angeles			
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
Below \$4,000	56.5	60.9	87.0	95.7	81.8	87.0	100.0	95.7
\$4,000-6,000	50.0	50.0	90.5	90.5	80.0	92.5	95.1	86.8
Above \$6,000	43.2	71.6	79.7	71.6	74.7	85.1	92.0	69.3
Not Sure*	73.3	33.3	93.3	93.3	80.0	93.3	93.3	93.3

TABLE V

KNOWLEDGE OF LABOR MARKET,  
BY LEADS FROM FRIENDS AND RELATIVES AND AREA  
(Percent Giving Correct Answer)

Mentions Counsel- ing only	58.8	64.7	88.2	88.2	83.3	100.0	100.0	83.3	62.5	14.3	85.7	62.5	75.0	50.0	77.8	62.5
Referrals to Jobs only	63.3	72.2	93.3	92.2	90.8	96.5	95.5	90.9	54.9	57.7	96.2	88.5	86.8	92.7	94.5	90.7
Both of above**	58.3	66.7	100.0	100.0	83.3	100.0	91.7	75.0	66.7	0.0	33.3	33.5	100.0	50.0	100.0	100.0
Training Referral only*	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	50.0	100.0	50.0
Training + 1**	75.0	66.7	83.3	83.3	83.3	83.3	83.3	90.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None of above	45.0	56.5	82.6	75.5	73.1	83.8	95.4	82.2	52.7	40.0	71.4	68.9	72.3	82.8	83.0	80.0
All Three*	66.7	66.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Very small sample

\*\* Small in South Los Angeles only

TABLE VI

KNOWLEDGE OF LABOR MARKET,  
BY HRD CONTACTS AND AREA  
(Percent Giving Correct Answer)

Category	East Los Angeles								South Los Angeles							
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
Mentions Counseling or Testing only	35.7	64.3	71.4	85.7	75.0	91.7	100.0	76.9	52.6	26.3	84.2	68.4	77.3	85.7	81.0	72.7
Mentions Referrals to Jobs only	56.7	66.7	96.7	86.7	86.7	93.3	100.0	93.3	26.9	40.0	96.4	84.6	89.3	89.7	93.1	85.7
Mentions both of above	69.2	61.5	92.3	92.3	83.3	100.0	91.7	100.0	64.3	35.7	93.3	78.6	86.7	64.3	78.6	93.3
Mentions Training Referral only*	0.0	50.0	75.0	100.0	80.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mentions Training + 1 of above	100.0	80.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	75.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Mentions <u>none</u> of above	52.2	62.5	87.0	80.9	80.0	88.5	95.0	86.2	60.2	49.5	73.6	74.2	69.3	86.0	89.3	86.1
Mentions all three* (Counseling, Referrals, and Training)	50.0	66.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	83.3	100.0	83.3	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

\* Very small samples

NOTE: Numbers refer to job definitions and job earnings comparisons as follows:

- #1 - Hospital Orderly
- #2 - Machinist
- #3 - Draftsman
- #4 - Social Worker
- #5 - Auto Mechanic or Electrician
- #6 - Truck Driver or Grocery Clerk
- #7 - Lawyer or High School Teacher
- #8 - Janitor or Policeman

Samples of 9th grade dropouts and college students tend to be small.

TABLE VII

KNOWLEDGE OF LABOR MARKET,  
BY WHETHER EVER IN TRAINING PROGRAM AND AREA

(Percent of Correct Answers)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles (Percent of correct answers)								South Los Angeles							
(Ever been trained?)	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
Yes	73.9	60.9	91.3	91.3	91.3	91.3	95.7	91.3	59.4	31.3	84.8	68.8	83.8	75.0	81.1	78.9
No	55.0	64.7	89.5	85.3	85.2	90.3	95.3	84.5	56.3	49.2	82.7	79.5	77.5	84.4	86.9	84.4

TABLE VIII

KNOWLEDGE OF LABOR MARKET,  
BY PREVIOUS TYPE OF WORK AND AREA

(Percent of Correct Answers)

Work (most recent job)																
School Job	83.3	50.0	83.3	100.0	83.3	80.0	100.0	100.0	35.7	35.7	82.4	64.3	75.0	94.1	82.4	82.4
Training Program, etc.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.0	0.0	60.0	80.0	66.7	100.0	100.0	83.3
Service	76.9	69.2	92.3	84.6	89.5	92.1	97.4	89.5	68.6	48.6	48.6	82.9	82.9	81.1	78.4	86.5
Clerical	58.8	70.6	100.0	100.0	94.1	94.1	100.0	94.1	50.0	83.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Selling-Retail	66.7	66.7	100.0	100.0	66.7	66.7	100.0	100.0	66.7	33.3	33.3	66.7	33.3	50.0	66.7	100.0
Semi-skilled	50.0	65.4	84.6	92.3	80.8	96.3	96.3	92.6	50.0	42.9	100.0	60.0	80.0	60.0	86.7	85.7
Government	100.0	50.0	100.0	50.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	80.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	83.3	83.3	83.3
NYC	77.8	66.7	77.8	70.0	77.8	85.7	88.9	88.9	50.0	20.0	70.0	70.0	90.0	77.8	90.0	90.0
Professional, etc.	50.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	25.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unskilled	48.1	44.4	88.9	88.9	96.3	96.3	100.0	100.0	62.5	37.5	87.5	62.5	66.7	75.0	77.8	88.9
Skilled	66.7	82.4	94.4	94.4	83.3	94.4	88.9	70.6	85.7	57.1	100.0	85.7	85.7	100.0	85.7	100.0
Other	57.1	78.6	100.0	100.0	92.3	100.0	100.0	84.6	55.6	44.4	87.5	66.7	81.8	80.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE IX

KNOWLEDGE OF LABOR MARKET,  
BY WHETHER DISCUSSED JOBS WITH FATHER AND AREA  
(Percent Giving Correct Answer)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles								South Los Angeles							
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
(Discussed with Father?)																
Yes	62.0	63.3	92.6	90.1	90.1	94.1	98.3	88.3	47.2	44.4	83.3	69.0	77.9	78.2	82.1	84.8
No	46.5	57.4	81.2	73.5	73.0	84.5	91.1	80.8	57.6	41.3	77.4	77.4	73.3	87.6	89.1	84.0

WHETHER DISCUSSED JOBS WITH  
FATHER, BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent)

	East Los Angeles		South Los Angeles	
	16-19	20-24	16-19	20-24
Yes	53.8	55.3	41.0	39.3
No	46.2	44.7	59.0	60.7

WHETHER INTERESTED IN FATHER'S  
WORK, BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent)

	East Los Angeles	South Los Angeles
Yes	32.8	41.2
No	67.2	58.8
		34.1
		65.9



tions. On the other hand, they participate to a higher degree in the labor market, experience less unemployment, and show higher percentages of penetration into production and clerical work.

It would appear, therefore, that in both communities labor-market knowledge is most likely to be the result of exposure to jobs in the market and informal counseling and referrals by friends and relatives. The parental role is undoubtedly stronger in East Los Angeles than in Watts: a much higher proportion of the Chicanos, for example, report that they have at least discussed jobs with their father. In neither case does it seem likely that the school, public agencies, or other informational sources have had an important impact.

It is clear that the effect of labor-market participation is circular. As the individual gains exposure to jobs as the consequence of informal guidance from his father and his friends, he in turn passes along his knowledge to his own children and friends. Once the members of a given group have successfully entered the labor market, that fact strengthens the potential for success among others in their group. On the other hand, a series of unsuccessful or unproductive experiences in the market will increase the probability of additional failures in that group, because the channels of useful guidance and information are thereby more limited and less available.

The importance of personal observation and experience in influencing the degree and accuracy of labor-market information can be illustrated in a number of concrete ways. One revealing illustration emerges from our analysis of relative degrees of information held by students at Jordan and Locke high schools in the Watts area, where academically and

economically the Locke students are regarded as more advantaged. Of the eight knowledge questions in the quiz, Locke students did proportionately better on five of them. Jordan students did somewhat better than Locke in three areas--definitions of "hospital orderly" and "social worker" and identification of the higher paid occupation as between "janitor" and "policeman." Jordan pupils are more likely to come into contact with the lower levels of service occupations (and, probably, proportionately more likely to have contact with a policeman). In the case of "social worker," a very high proportion of the Jordan student body lives in public housing and in households receiving income from "welfare," and would therefore have frequent occasion to know or observe a County social worker. In this specific instance, precisely the same pattern emerges from the East Los Angeles survey. Students at Roosevelt, Garfield, and other Los Angeles District schools were 100 percent right on the definition of "social worker," while the better-off students in non-Los Angeles schools scored markedly lower on this question (more than a third answered incorrectly or said they did not know).

Similarly, as a group Chicanos showed more knowledge of the definition of "machinist" than did the Blacks. This was the only category in which a majority of the community surveyed failed to answer the knowledge question correctly: almost six-tenths of the Blacks either responded incorrectly or said they did not know, while about 63 percent of the Chicanos had the correct answer. Higher percentages of Chicanos than Blacks are or have been employed in the more skilled occupations

where there would be some opportunity to observe the work of a "machinist" or even perform in that capacity. Perhaps of equal or greater importance is the fact that Chicanos generally penetrate those occupations to a somewhat higher degree than do the Blacks, thereby setting in motion the circular information system described earlier. According to the UES surveys in Los Angeles in 1968-69, about two-thirds of all employed Mexican-American men age 20 and older were semi-skilled or skilled, compared to about 54 percent of all employed Negro men in that age group.<sup>3</sup>

Certain of the findings of our survey may be compared to the published results of the Parnes longitudinal study, which includes the lengthier version of the information quiz from which we extracted the eight questions used in our own interview. Both the Parnes study and our own have found that the amount of occupational information tends to grow with age and labor-market experience, and that those who were college preparatory majors in school do better in the quiz than those who majored in vocational programs. Our results differ in several respects: most notably, the Parnes study showed a dramatic relationship between knowledge and such variables as educational attainment and vocational training (outside of regular school), while the relationship delineated in our findings is relatively weak or nonexistent. As a whole, high school graduates in our sample do somewhat better than do the dropouts, but the difference in result could hardly be described as dramatic or tremendously consequential. The relationship between training and knowledge is absent in our survey, and in South Los Angeles it sometimes seems to be inverse. Nor is the relationship between

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3. BLS Regional Report No. 14, January 1970, p.22.

TABLE X

KNOWLEDGE OF LABOR MARKET,  
BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND AREA  
(Percent of Correct Answers)

	East Los Angeles								South Los Angeles							
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
<u>Highest Grade Completed</u>																
9th Grade	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	75.0	25.0	75.0	50.0	66.7	50.0	75.0	50.0
10th Grade	75.0	50.0	66.7	75.0	75.0	90.9	83.3	83.3	87.5	37.5	87.5	62.5	100.0	62.5	75.0	62.5
11th Grade	55.2	53.6	93.1	86.2	82.8	96.6	96.6	93.1	50.0	26.1	54.5	63.6	62.5	68.2	78.3	87.5
12th Grade	53.1	65.6	87.5	81.3	81.0	83.9	90.6	73.0	56.4	43.6	87.2	82.1	74.5	93.6	89.4	89.4
1st College	77.8	66.7	100.0	100.0	90.0	100.0	100.0	90.0	57.1	42.9	100.0	71.4	85.7	87.5	87.5	87.5
2nd College	77.8	88.9	88.9	100.0	88.9	88.9	100.0	100.0	80.0	80.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3rd College	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
4th College	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	---	---	100.0	---	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Other	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	---	---	---	---

knowledge and pay as clear in our findings as it seems to be in the Parnes study. In both the Parnes study and ours, several of the conclusions probably should be regarded as tentative because of sampling size and problems in isolating the causal variables.<sup>4</sup> In interpreting results, of course, the observed differences in samples and in interview schedules should always be kept in mind.

The Parnes study reveals that Black youngsters consistently have less knowledge of the labor market than the Whites, even when adjustments are made for socio-economic factors such as family income, etc. Our comparisons are only between Blacks and Chicanos in two communities within the Greater Los Angeles area, but again it appears that Blacks obtain less information. Some of the reasons may be suggested by our explorations of certain influences not examined as deeply (or, perhaps, not analyzed in the context of a specific minority community) in the Parnes study. As indicated before, most of the Chicanos interviewed had discussed jobs with their fathers, and our findings relative to labor-market knowledge show that those young men are consistently more knowledgeable than their ethnic and age counterparts who had not so discussed jobs (see Table IX in this chapter). In South Los Angeles, many fewer had discussed jobs with their fathers, and, on the whole, knowledge among those who had is no greater than it is among those who had not. (See Table IX)

In our study, labor-market knowledge is most closely connected in East Los Angeles with advice from the father and other relatives and friends and with actual labor-market experience, and, in South Los Angeles, with help and counsel from friends, experience in jobs, and

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4. See Career Thresholds, Volume I, Chapter V, pp.119-138.

contacts with certain public agencies or community organizations. To the extent that there is some relationship statistically between knowledge and remembrance of guidance classes and aptitude tests, it does not appear that this has much cause-and-effect significance. In South Los Angeles, almost everyone in the survey had had 10th Grade Guidance (which is required in the schools they attended) and therefore the fact that those recalling it generally do better on the information quiz must be the consequence of a separate variable. The answer, in part, may lie in differing content of Guidance classes at Locke and at Jordan, and it is, of course, conceivable that the additional testing and information offered at Locke may have had a positive impact and may also have caused more youngsters to remember it. However, there are many other differences between the Locke and Jordan student bodies, any one of which could explain the observed variations in knowledge. In general, it can perhaps be concluded that the amount of assistance provided by guidance classes is minimal in relation to other influences, but that, given the absence of many other sources in the Watts area, whatever help it offers is worthwhile and necessary.

It is possible that those who are more inclined to recall things like guidance classes, aptitude tests, HRD contacts, and so on, simply represent a more sophisticated group of young men, whose knowledge, motivation and awareness have been derived from a variety of sources independent of education. There is the additional possibility that survey results are skewed according to the willingness and ability of the respondents to answer these types of questions fully and accurately and that the survey process itself has a selective bias in it. As the

increasingly reluctant veteran of formal or informal surveys in low-income areas, I can attest to the capriciousness of many of the results obtained.

Before proceeding to an examination of other survey findings, perhaps we should consider some aspects of the knowledge quiz which may or may not be capricious. I noted earlier that in South Los Angeles there is a bimodal distribution of responses when knowledge is cross-tabulated against household income, and, with one exception only, the greatest knowledge is evidenced in the lower-income (below \$4,000) and higher-income (above \$6,000) groups. This may be a procedural or statistical quirk, or it may well reflect some underlying relationship between the variables. Some speculations may be in order. It seems likely that households receiving the higher income contain persons with greater participation in the labor market, more employment, and, probably, greater education and experience. The pattern in the low-income households is more puzzling, but it appears logical that the members of these households would have more contacts with public agencies, community organizations, and other programs (such as NYC) which have eligibility requirements, either de jure or de facto, based upon income. Those in the \$4,000-\$6,000 group would not have either the educational attainment and labor-market experience reflected in the higher income category or the degree of contact with "antipoverty" programs as in the lower income bracket, though their income is only slightly above the poverty line. This pattern does not hold true in East Los Angeles, but we have previously noted that the Chicanos in general have much less contact with public agencies

or community organizations, and logically the degree of their labor-market knowledge would be far less dependent upon or associated with whatever information might be derived from those sources.

### Perceptions

Community perceptions of the labor market, as reflected in estimates of what an average American family does and should make over the year, appear to be related to the household income which already prevails in the immediate neighborhood. In East Los Angeles, where incomes are higher on the average than they are in Watts (according to our sample), respondents tend to guess higher than in the lower-income Black community. As a generalization, it would seem that young men in the communities surveyed usually perceive the average U.S. family income as a notch or two above the income level in their neighborhood, and the right income then is seen as being at a level correspondingly above the perceived average. In both communities, the modal responses were within the correct bracket (\$8,000-\$9,999 a year), but about 51 percent of the Watts respondents put the average below \$8,000, compared to only about 38 percent of the Chicanos. Only about one-fifths of the East Los Angeles sample fix the average below \$6,000, compared to 31 percent of the Blacks.

In East Los Angeles, the older (age 20-24) group is more accurate in its perception than the younger (age 16-19), while in South Los Angeles the reverse is true. The Watts young adults guessed much lower than any other group, with about 53 percent choosing the below \$8,000 categories. The East Los Angeles teenagers tend to guess the highest with almost 37 percent estimating \$10,000 and above. In East



Los Angeles, however, both age groups concentrate their replies in the \$8,000-\$12,000 category, whereas the concentration is less in the Watts area.

When we move to an analysis of perceptions related to what the average income level should be, we find that the modal responses rise in such a way that Blacks concentrate their replies in the \$8,000-\$9,999 bracket which represents, in fact, the correct answer to the previous question regarding the actual average. The mode for the East Los Angeles sample rises even higher, now located in the above \$14,000 category. Almost half of the Chicano young adult group identifies the ideal family income at a level in excess of \$12,000. The South Los Angeles perceptions are more evenly dispersed along the range of incomes, but almost three-tenths of the teenagers think that the appropriate income should fall in the \$8,000-\$9,999 bracket--precisely where the U.S. average now lies. Only about 23 percent in each SIA age group thinks that the family income should be \$12,000 and above.

The significance of this may lie in its effect upon the career goals of young men in Watts and East Los Angeles. Such perceptions, for instance, must be viewed in the light of the possible role of the sub-economy, discussed in Chapter VIII. To young men in low-income neighborhoods, whose perception of a "possible" or "reasonable" income is obviously affected by their observations and experience, the income derived from illicit economic activity must seem impressive when judged in terms of what they think the average American family does and should make during a year. Conceivably, an improved informa-

tion system might convince them that the much safer and more predictable "average" income is worth the effort in the official labor market.

There is, unfortunately, another side to this picture. All of the income derived from the sub-economy is "net" to the recipient, without tax withholding or other deductions, while the regular work income of the American family is taxed and otherwise encumbered. The young man in the ghetto and barrio, alert as he is to all possibilities and oriented toward the present rather than the future, readily detects that the strictly "unofficial" nature of his income sources has its economic advantages in the short run. The inequities in the prevailing tax system only strengthen this conviction. In one case with which the author of this report is directly familiar, a young man in a welfare family went for many years without any income except for what he occasionally earned through NYC, and then in one recent year, having managed to obtain a "permanent" custodial job which lasted until he was laid off as the result of an unfortunate mishap, he earned over \$7,000. His income tax return was professionally prepared (of course, at a cost to him) and was subsequently checked by the author, but the IRS computer determined, without explanation and seemingly without reason, that he was not entitled to his claimed refund and that, to the contrary, the amounts withheld were not even sufficient to cover the tax owed. Though he had had very little income prior to that tax year and has had virtually no income since, he is not entitled to the "tax averaging" privileges granted to the more affluent and is forced to pay what seems to be an excessively high tax when others in much higher and more consistent income brackets

(including, at the state tax level, the Governor of California) often pay nothing. Though he is an extremely responsible and conscientious youngster, it would be difficult to convince him (and even more difficult to persuade his brothers and friends and associates) that honest work<sup>5</sup> pays off.

The major results of our inquiry into the labor-market preferences of young men in Watts and East Los Angeles suggest that their goals and values are well in line with those held by the majority of Americans, and that any subsequent failure to realize their ambitions will be the consequence of lack of opportunity rather than of alienation. The majority in both East and South Los Angeles believe that their best interests would be served by finishing school and then proceeding directly into full-time employment. About 48 percent of the Blacks and 42 percent of the Chicanos would prefer (if they could) to complete college before beginning regular work. About 12 percent of the Blacks and 9.5 percent of the Chicanos prefer to enter special vocational training before working, and about 7 and 5 percent respectively check the suggested work and education combination. Immediate employment, with night school on their own time, is preferred by 12 percent of Blacks and 4.5 percent of Chicanos. A bare 6 percent of Blacks and 9 percent of Chicanos think it is best to begin their work careers without further education or training.

It is interesting that this general pattern, with high preference ratings given to further education, holds true for virtually all the sub-categories of respondents included in our cross-tabulations.

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5. Professor Bruno Stein, in his recent book On Relief, argues that poor households pay higher taxes than they should (especially in relation to the amounts paid by higher-income households) and makes a number of suggestions for equalizing the tax burden more fairly.

Dropouts, for example, rate further education and training highly, except that 10th grade dropouts in Watts are less inclined to check "college." The education-plus-work combination appeals to a high percentage (14.3 percent) of Locke students, and, surprisingly, a higher percentage of Jordan than Locke students think that finishing college would be preferable to terminating education with the diploma. Service and unskilled workers in both areas rate education (and, specifically, college) very high, and both low- and high-paid workers agree on this same preference. One minor difference between areas is that the college preference is strongest in the \$6,000-plus household income group in South LA and in the below \$4,000 group in East LA. There is also a somewhat greater inclination in East LA to enter the permanent labor force without a college education.

In retrospect, the "preference" questions probably could have been worded and cast in a better form which would highlight the alternatives more clearly. Their position toward the end of the interview schedule was undoubtedly a deterrent to adequate and more meaningful response. I suspect, as I commented earlier, that a higher percentage of the samples would prefer the combination work-education plan if it were presented in clearer and more emphatic fashion, and, unfortunately, it was probably perceived by many respondents as an alternative to the regular college education rather than as a way of combining that education (or other education) with employment.

Nevertheless, even with these qualifications and defects, the survey does effectively emphasize what Professor Seeman has argued: that the poor (and, specifically, the minority poor) share many of the

key values and aspirations held by the majority of Americans. If there is a "culture of poverty" characterized by alienation and hostility to educational and other valued goals, it does not emerge from our survey results. This, of course, may simply reflect the limitations of the formal survey process. Personal observation, however, tends to confirm these statistical findings, and other parts of the survey, including the inquiry into career choice, provide further corroborative evidence. The next chapter examines this evidence and its implications for the long-term role of Blacks and Chicanos in the American economy.

VII.

CHOOSING A CAREER

The message emerging from our study of career choice in East Los Angeles and Watts is clear and unmistakable: most Black and Brown young men in low-income ghettos and barrios want professional or other white-collar careers, if they have the power to choose. The preference transcends all boundaries and cuts across the spectrum of incomes, jobs, labor market status, and almost every relevant variable. Some are more optimistic than others about their prospects for attainment of that goal, but, incontrovertibly, they share with the Anglo working and middle class a strong interest in and proclivity toward the white-collar occupations. Ranked second behind "professional" in order of preference, to be sure, is skilled labor, but this is much farther down the scale. Noticeable proportions of youngsters surveyed are interested in careers with business or government, the Blacks opting more often for the former and the Chicanos for the latter. Higher percentages of Chicanos than Blacks are uncertain about their career preferences, and more than one-fifth of the age 20-24 group in East Los Angeles cannot define any career goal at all, compared to only about 7 percent in South Los Angeles. In the teenage groups, 26.5 percent in East Los Angeles and 18.0 percent in the Watts area cannot now state a definite preference. This is somewhat less significant than the result in the older category, because higher proportions of Chicano teenagers are in the age-16 bracket where clear choices of this nature are far less likely to exist.

As a whole, the Blacks in our sample tend to be "education-oriented," a tendency reflected in the percentages of Black youngsters who said merely that they wanted to complete their education before deciding on a career. The semi-skilled, service, and clerical fields interest small proportions of the young men surveyed, an intriguing and provocative result in the light of the fact that many established training programs are focused primarily upon those very occupations. I shall have occasion later to comment upon the importance of this finding.

The preference for a professional career (and, indeed, the entire order of preference) tends to be unaffected by variables such as family income, amount of counseling, labor market status, educational attainment, type of work held, school attended, whether the respondent had been in a training program or whether he had discussed jobs with his father. There are, of course, differences in magnitude within certain of the cross-tabulations and even an occasional shifting of priorities below the "professional" level of preference. Variations may also be observed among the various subgroups when inquiry is made into the question of how the chances for success in attaining one's career goal are perceived.

By and large, the expressed interest in skilled occupations is no greater in East than in South Los Angeles (and there is even some evidence that it is less in the Chicano community surveyed). Between 5 and 6 percent of the teenagers in each area are interested in some phase of cultural or entertainment activity, and the proportion rises to more than 7 percent within the age 20-24 group in

South Los Angeles. Interest in most other occupations is scattered and, proportionately, marginal. Needless to say, there is no preference whatsoever for the unskilled trades.

When we review the cross-tabulations between career choice and family income (which adjusts for whatever bias may exist in the East Los Angeles figures as a result of the higher proportion of families receiving \$6,000 a year or more), the pattern is unchanged. Indeed, in East Los Angeles the residents of below \$6,000 households display a greater proportionate interest in professional careers than do those of above \$6,000 households. In South Los Angeles, we can observe the same bimodal pattern which has appeared in other tabulations: the ambitions for a professional career are greatest at the income extremes, with comparatively more persons in the \$4,000-\$6,000 household category indicating an interest in the skilled trades or expressing no choice at all.

The relative community preferences vis-a-vis careers in business or government are somewhat puzzling because they seem to be the reverse of the actual employment pattern in the East Los Angeles and Watts communities. Proportionately more Chicanos than Blacks prefer careers in government, whereas relatively more of the Blacks are inclined toward business careers. The employment figures, however, show that the Blacks surveyed have penetrated government jobs to a greater degree than have the Chicanos. Perhaps the experience has been disillusioning, at least in terms of the pay levels attained or observed. Blacks may be relatively more interested in business careers because they perceive that these jobs are better paid, while the Chicanos have not yet had sufficient experience to justify that perception.



A not inconsiderable number of young Chicanos expressed an interest in becoming probation or correctional officers, due possibly to their observations and contacts. The Blacks rarely articulated such a preference, whatever their private feelings may be. My own past knowledge of the vocational interests of young men in these areas suggests that many are intrigued by employment possibilities in this field, provided that they are not required to serve as policemen on the local beat. They have little admiration for policemen as a group, but would not hesitate to accept work as a bailiff or marshal in a courtroom, a probation or parole officer,<sup>1</sup> or a jailer.

The reasons advanced for these various career choices (professional, skilled labor, entertainment, etc.) are varied but tend to fall in amorphous classifications such as "interest," "observation," "experience," and so forth. The only clearcut conclusion to be drawn from this part of the survey is that "counseling and testing" have had minimal impact upon the process of selection. The chief effect of counseling, to the degree that it has any effect at all, is to strengthen the young man's motivation to continue his schooling and not enter the labor market too quickly. The results here merely confirm our prior findings that vocational guidance is of little or no value in affecting career choice.

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1. In defining our occupational classifications, we assigned all such occupations to the "government work" category because they are unique to government and exist nowhere else. In the case of "social worker," we assigned that to the "professional" category because it can and does exist in private agencies, though it would occur most often in government employment.

Though the reason was not enunciated as frankly or as often as one might have expected, certainly the possibility of high earnings is a substantial consideration in the selection of a career. I suspect that, at this moment, motivations of this type may be stronger and more socially acceptable in these communities than they are among similar age groups in the higher-income Anglo areas. The young man in a ghetto or barrio has no "hang-ups" about making money, an opportunity which historically has been denied to him and his ethnic compatriots. Clearly the youngsters interviewed expect to earn good money from their chosen occupation. Approximately 60 percent in each area would expect to make \$10,000 a year or more in a "professional" career. In East Los Angeles, about that same percentage would apply in the case of those choosing a skilled trade, and although the Watts sample is not quite as optimistic as this, most of the respondents in this category expect to earn an income equal to or above the median family income in the United States.

Partly from personal observation and partly from survey findings, I would infer that the process of a long, sustained career effort ("starting at the bottom and working your way to the top") is of little practical or realistic meaning to many minority youngsters in low-income ghettos. Aside from sources such as the sub-economy, large incomes are perceived as deriving from a combination of natural talent, luck, and "connections." In describing the process, many ghetto youngsters will use the phrase "getting over," their equivalent of the WASP expression "getting ahead." While it is easily possible to make too much of such semantic differences, I am inclined to think that the two expressions convey different perceptions. The Anglo phrase implies

a process in which hard work, ambition, and "playing the game" are regularly rewarded over time, while "to get over" connotes the climbing of a barrier or the bridging of a gap separating two distinct economies or life styles.

Certainly the process of income attainment varies substantially in the established labor market, and some of the variations would seem to have more significance for ghetto or barrio youngsters than would others. For instance, fields such as entertainment or sports are characterized, at least on the surface, by wide gaps between the highest and lowest incomes, with the higher income levels sometimes attained quickly and at a young age (perhaps necessarily, in the light of the requirements of the field). In some cases, such as professional sports, it might be inferred that the performer either receives a high income or none at all, and success or failure would oftentimes seem to be instantaneous. Thus, athletes or young musical groups such as the "Jackson Five" or "Santana" offer the most immediate and visible examples of what is possible with talent and a lot of luck. They have "gotten over," in some cases proceeding directly from near poverty to great<sup>2</sup> wealth.

On the other hand, to a greater degree than I would have imagined, the young men in our samples evidenced a considerable awareness of the

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2. I hasten to emphasize that this often has more the appearance than the substance of reality, because in many cases the currently "successful" performer has spent a long and unrewarding apprenticeship ("paying his dues") before finally achieving his success.

special preparation or the prerequisites attached to the careers they preferred. Among those who prefer "professional" or "skilled" or "government" occupations, for example, it is widely recognized that some combination of general education and special training is required. Only in the very small East Los Angeles "clerical" sample is there a pervasive belief that no more than a high-school education is needed as a precondition for successful entry into the preferred career. Otherwise, only in the "semi-skilled" category does this percentage equal as much as one-third (in East LA) and one-quarter (in South LA).

Furthermore, those who prefer the professions typically show substantial knowledge of the labor market, with some variations. In East Los Angeles, this pattern is rather consistent, but in Watts the "professional" group has some trouble defining the blue-collar jobs of "hospital orderly" and "machinist." Generally, too, those who prefer "skilled labor" demonstrate a high level of labor-market knowledge. Relatively the least knowledge seems to be displayed by those who have not decided on a career goal or prefer simply to complete school before deciding.

Though a much higher proportion of the East Los Angeles sample had discussed jobs with their fathers, the evidence suggests that among those who had had such a discussion, its influence upon career choice may have been somewhat greater in South than in East Los Angeles. There are minor differences in East Los Angeles, with slightly lower percentages of "discussants" choosing professional and skilled occupations and a somewhat higher proportion choosing government work, but the more marked difference occurs in the Watts area. There, a much greater uncertainty about career preference is evidenced by those who had not

discussed jobs, and higher preferences for professional and business careers are stated by the "Yes" group. Indeed, when the "undecideds" are eliminated from that group, somewhat over half of those making a choice prefer professional work or business. Again it must be remembered that the majority in Watts had never discussed careers with their fathers at all.

When we turn to the question of how the various respondents perceive their chances of succeeding in their career aspirations, variations appear. Among those still in school, the college students are most optimistic. High-school graduates (who have not entered college) are usually more optimistic than dropouts, but here we find that notable percentages of graduates will respond "fair" or "poor" or "no idea." There is no evidence that contacts with counselors have any relationship to these perceptions, but those who recall taking a guidance class or aptitude test tend to be somewhat more optimistic than do those who have no such recollection. As I have commented before, it is difficult to know whether this has any real significance.

Two variables in particular seem to have a rather strong relationship to perceptions of success in pursuing career goals: family income and labor market status. In both areas, those in the highest-income households are more optimistic than their poorer associates. About half of those in \$6,000-plus households think their chances are "very good" or "good." However, the most pessimistic group in East Los Angeles by far is in the middle (\$4,000-\$6,000) income category. Almost two-thirds of this category in East Los Angeles, and two-fifths in Watts, consider their chances

"fair" or "poor" or "impossible." By contrast the corresponding percentages for the below \$4,000 group are about 37 percent among Chicanos and 48 percent among Blacks.

It should be noted, in addition, that high percentages of those in the \$6,000-plus household income category label their chances "fair," "poor," or "impossible" or have no idea what their prospects might be. This is particularly evident in South Los Angeles, where a majority of the respondents (55 percent) in this category are less than optimistic about their chances. In sum, those in better-off households are inclined to be more optimistic than those who are worse off, but across the board there remain many who are dubious or uncertain.

By and large, the employed are much more optimistic than the unemployed, a relationship which is expected and seems to make sense. One qualification is that high percentages of employed persons also have no definite notion as to what their chances are of achieving their goal. Those who are in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations are least optimistic about their prospects, while those many in the service categories seem reasonably hopeful.

The pattern among those in school differs somewhat by area. In South Los Angeles, the students are rather strongly optimistic, with 60 percent describing their chances as "very good" or "good" and only 7.5 percent regarding them as "poor" or "impossible." The students in East Los Angeles are not so optimistic: almost 43 percent consider their prospects only "fair." Another 18 percent label them "poor" and nearly 11 percent have no idea at all. Obviously much depends upon whether the

respondent thinks he can successfully make it through school, since many of those surveyed (especially in the Watts area) associate their potential for success with the quality and quantity of their education. This seems to be a realistic appraisal where aspirations are focused upon professional and other white-collar occupations.

Perhaps not too much significance should be attached to the East LA "in-school" results, because many of the Chicano young men, particularly among those outside the Los Angeles District, were not in school at survey time. A further analysis of respondents identified as being still enrolled in school (whether or not in the labor market at survey time) shows that youngsters in East LA public schools are generally less optimistic than are those in non-Los Angeles District schools. As pointed out before, in both areas the university students are by far the most optimistic: about three-quarters view their chances as "very good" or "good."

Virtually all of the findings of our survey conform to the results of the Parnes longitudinal study of young men nationally, to the extent that comparisons can be made. The Parnes survey also found that Blacks aspire in large numbers to the professional and technical occupations; that skilled manual labor is next in preference; that there is some (not entirely unmixed) relationship between educational and occupational aspirations; that hopes of achieving occupational goals are more variable but that Blacks are no more pessimistic than Whites (not investigated specifically in our study, but quite consistent with our findings); that the socioeconomic status of the household has a connection with

the expectations of the young man; and that those with more labor-market knowledge tend to be less uncertain about career goals and more inclined to seek white-collar employment if they can.

In view of its relationship to our own survey of career goals in East and South Los Angeles, a major finding of the Parnes study is<sup>3</sup> quoted at some length:

...There is not a great deal of difference between the occupational aspirations of white and black youth--certainly not nearly so much as there is between actual occupational distributions of 30-year-old blacks and whites currently in the labor force. Black youngsters, particularly those in their freshman and sophomore years, appear to be somewhat more likely than whites to be able to specify an occupational goal. But of all those who do indicate their preference, the pattern of choice is remarkably similar between the two color groups. Of those who specify an occupational goal, 59 percent of the whites and 53 percent of the blacks aspire to professional or technical jobs; 10 percent and 12 percent, respectively, hope to be in other white collar jobs. Skilled manual work is mentioned by 18 percent of the whites and 20 percent of the blacks. Very few of the youth--9 percent of the whites and 5 percent of the blacks--aspire to service work, farm occupations, or occupations in the military.

...Perhaps the most striking feature of the occupational aspirations of the high school youth is the substantial proportion who would like to be in professional or technical occupations when they reach 30 years of age. Overall, almost half of the youngsters--47 percent of the whites and 44 percent of the blacks--specify a type of work that falls in the professional and technical major occupation group. Given that only about one-eighth of employed males currently serve in these occupations, and that even among the best-educated age cohort 24 to 34 years of age the proportion is only 17 percent, it is virtually certain that the desires of substantial numbers of the youth under consideration will not be fulfilled, even allowing for a continuation of recent trends in the occupational structure of the labor force.

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3. Career Thresholds, pp.169-172.



When our results are compared with those emerging from the Doane study of vocational counseling in Connecticut schools, we find that, as suggested earlier, effective counseling is absent in most schools examined but the Anglo youngsters receive and accept a great deal of guidance or information from their parents. In South Los Angeles, most of the young men get little or no career counseling from their fathers, and although the Chicano youngsters are proportionately more likely to discuss jobs within the household, there are no particularly significant differences in career preference between those who do and those who do not.

One factor may be that young men in both areas show relatively little interest in pursuing their father's line of work. This lack of interest is even more pronounced in East than in South Los Angeles, which may help explain why so many of the youngsters seem unaffected by their discussions with parents. Thus, a source of information and guidance which appears important in Anglo communities does not have much visible impact in the areas we have surveyed.

It would seem that the relative absence of this source in low-income minority communities would require a correspondingly greater effort by schools, public agencies, and community organizations to fill the gap. Our study has uncovered no evidence that this is the case in Watts or East Los Angeles. The training programs have had a minimal effect, and even suffer from a low visibility among many of the young men to whom presumably they are directed. The Employment Service offers little in the way of meaningful information or counseling. The Los Angeles City Schools require a guidance class

in the tenth grade, but its substance varies considerably among schools and, as a whole, neither students nor teachers consider it effective as a source of career data and most of the young men interviewed cannot even recall it. In many schools, standard aptitude or interest inventory tests are given but the results are generally given little weight in the subsequent academic counseling process.

There is, of course, a fundamental question as to whether "career counseling" has any relevance at all in the context of the attitudes and goals of young people and the complexities of the labor market. While the structure of jobs expands and fragments (the Dictionary of Occupational Titles has 21,741 entries, an increase of about 6,000 over the previous edition published five years earlier), the interest in "careers" as traditionally viewed has appeared to decline among young men generally. The counterreaction, in its most pervasive and visible form, expresses a broad rejection of the principle that self-aggrandizement automatically serves the best interest of society at the same time (a basic tenet of classical economics) and that ambition for material gain or status is a desirable or acceptable value. My own perception is that this "rebellion" against materialism is more an aspect of middle-class than of low-income youth culture. To be sure, many young men in the ghetto and barrio have also avoided the traditional "career" route to material success, but much of their resistance has been directed against the means rather than the end. As argued elsewhere in this report, they would like an opportunity to share in some of the benefits of affluence before rejecting it as the Anglo middle-class youngsters now appear to do. Nor is it yet clear that they would reject "careers" if this were a visible and realistic alternative for them.

The related question is whether secondary education should continue to be strongly oriented toward the academically-inclined college-bound student or should give greater emphasis to the needs of youngsters who will enter the labor market after completing high school.<sup>4</sup> This question can arouse passionate reactions, especially in those areas where "voc ed" has historically been a dumping ground for students regarded as unteachable or otherwise unsuited for further education. Many minority parents have protested strongly that their children are categorized as "vocational" rather than "college preparatory" students, thus denying them the additional educational opportunities to which they are entitled. Others--administrators, educators, and community residents alike--will argue that secondary education, in general, is now excessively oriented toward the "better," college-bound pupil and insufficiently attentive to the requirements of the large number who will never be college graduates.

The U.S. Commissioner of Education, Sidney Marland Jr., has called for an overhauling of vocational education at both the high school and college levels, with the purpose of improving the process by which broad career decisions are made and implemented. Stating the case for a reinvigorated vocationally-oriented curriculum which will be realistic and flexible and will offer students a number of meaningful career options, the Wall Street Journal has editorially argued that:<sup>5</sup>

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4. There is a highly articulate school of thought, represented by spokesmen such as Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, which argues that the purpose of education is and should remain entirely unrelated to vocational goals and should concentrate upon liberal arts and analytical training to develop the well-rounded and intellectually strong citizen.

5. Wall Street Journal, September 13, 1971, p.12. See also "Learning to Earn," Newsweek, August 30, 1971, pp.74-75, for a discussion of innovative programs in vocational education and further comments by Commissioner Marland.

The drift away from career orientation in education-- at the college level as well as the high school level--may well be partly responsible for some of the confusion and frustration that afflict many young people. To introduce stronger encouragement to think in career terms at a younger age may well help to restore a sense of purpose among young people who now lack such a sense.

But perhaps most important is the possibility that introduction of career orientation in secondary education will remove some of the damaging stigma that attaches to pursuit of careers that do not involve college training. There can be little doubt that this stigma has caused too many students to drift aimlessly into college when they could have been spending their time more usefully training for other pursuits.

This drift has several undesirable effects. It may discourage the individual from developing his or her best talents or skills. It denies needed talents and skills to the economy. The presence of aimless students on college campuses dilutes the efforts of the colleges to provide first-rate education to those students with a genuine academic bent.

In other words, the present system is highly inefficient if we are to assume that one role of education should be to prepare people for a useful role in the economy as well as a responsible role as citizens. To fill that role some educators will have to adopt some new attitudes toward their task. There also will be some considerable expense in developing the curricula, teachers, and laboratories for this purpose.

Even so, if the fruits of such an effort will be to improve the skill level and productivity of the economy, to create greater job satisfactions for a wider number of people and to remove some of the class and status considerations that have attached themselves to work, the effort will have been well worth making.

In principle, the recommendations of the Journal editorial are unexceptionable, but serious dangers lurk in the background if the move toward expanded vocational training and career orientation is not properly implemented and controlled. There are now fundamental defects in the process by which youngsters are tested and counseled and the

so-called "academic" students identified and separated from the "vocational." Few schools have innovated in this area; testing instruments often remain unvalidated and even unreviewed; and, as we have seen through our survey, students are given little information on which to base rational choices. The structure of post-secondary education itself demands reevaluation and renovation, with further experimentation in fields such as accelerated and part-time degree programs, school-work experience combinations, and special educational curricula directed to the interests and needs of youngsters from low-income areas.

This latter point is of special significance to our study of career aspirations in South and East Los Angeles, because the lack of clearly visible and attainable alternatives either in education or the labor market has caused many young men to drift into what we have termed the sub-economy. Served neither by the schools nor by the market, they have entered a marginal and ill-defined territory where short-run needs are satisfied at the expense of their long-run personal development. We shall explore this territory in the next chapter.

TABLE I  
CAREER CHOICE,  
BY AGE AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	<u>East Los Angeles</u>		<u>South Los Angeles</u>	
	16-19	20-24	16-19	20-24
Unknown	26.5	20.5	18.0	7.1
School	---	---	6.6	2.9
Professional, N.E.C.	33.1	36.1	28.7	37.9
Skilled	14.6	8.4	15.6	15.0
Business	1.3	6.0	7.4	8.6
Government	7.9	6.0	2.5	1.4
Music, Art, etc.	4.0	2.4	3.3	3.6
Entertainment	1.3	1.2	2.5	3.6
Unskilled	---	---	---	---
Clerical	0.0	1.2	1.6	4.3
Medical (non-professional)	1.3	0.0	4.1	2.1
Sports, etc.	2.0	4.8	1.6	2.9
Semi-skilled	0.7	3.6	2.5	1.4
Service	2.0	3.6	0.8	3.6
Political, etc.	0.0	3.6	0.0	1.4
Other	2.0	0.0	0.8	2.1
Combination	0.7	0.0	1.6	0.0
Unable to Code	2.6	2.4	2.5	2.1

TABLE II - A

CAREER CHOICE,  
BY WHAT BASED ON AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles								
	Counseling or Testing	Experience	Interest	Observation	TV, etc.	Other	Combination	No Code	Unknown
School	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Professional,									
N.F.C.	3.9	13.2	11.8	18.4	2.6	14.5	31.6	3.9	0.0
Skilled	4.0	28.0	12.0	20.0	4.0	20.0	8.0	4.0	0.0
Business	0.0	0.0	16.7	33.3	0.0	33.3	16.7	0.0	0.0
Government	0.0	11.8	17.6	35.3	5.9	17.6	5.9	5.9	0.0
Music, Art, etc.	0.0	37.5	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	37.5	0.0	0.0
Entertainment	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0
Unskilled	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Clerical	0.0	0.0	100.0	----	----	----	----	----	----
Medical	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sports, etc.	0.0	66.7	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0
Semi-skilled	0.0	25.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	----	----
Service	0.0	0.0	60.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0
Political, etc.	0.0	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
Combination	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0

NOTE: Samples in career choice categories tend to be small except for "Professional," "Skilled," "Business," "Government," "Clerical," and "Attend school."

TABLE II - B

CAREER CHOICE,  
BY WHAT BASED ON AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	South Los Angeles							
	Counseling or Testing	Experience	Interest	Observation	TV, etc.	Other	Combination	No Code
School	14.3	28.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	50.0
Professional,								
N.E.C	0.0	32.6	30.3	9.0	1.1	4.5	12.4	7.9
Skilled	0.0	50.0	12.5	7.5	2.5	10.0	15.0	2.5
Business	10.5	15.8	26.3	21.1	0.0	10.5	10.5	5.3
Government	0.0	16.7	16.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0
Music, Art, etc.	0.0	37.5	25.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	25.0	0.0
Entertainment	0.0	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	0.0
Unskilled	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Clerical	0.0	57.1	28.6	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Medical	0.0	37.5	25.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	12.5	0.0
Sports, etc.	0.0	42.9	57.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Semi-skilled	0.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service	0.0	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Political, etc.	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0
Other	0.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Combination	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0



TABLE III

CAREER CHOICE,  
BY PERCEIVED CHANCES AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles				South Los Angeles				Unknown			
	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor	Im-possible	Unknown	Very Good	Good		Fair	Poor	Im-possible
School Professional, N.E.C.	---	---	---	---	---	---	23.1	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	69.2
Skilled	20.0	21.3	27.5	7.5	7.5	16.3	31.5	16.3	29.3	15.2	2.2	5.4
Business	10.7	25.0	35.7	7.1	0.0	21.4	23.8	19.0	28.6	19.0	0.0	9.5
Government	14.3	42.9	0.0	42.9	0.0	0.0	38.1	14.3	23.8	14.3	0.0	9.5
Music, Art, etc.	5.6	16.7	22.2	11.1	22.2	22.2	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Entertainment	37.5	25.0	37.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	45.5	18.2	18.2	0.0	0.0	18.2
Unskilled	33.3	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	12.5	50.0	12.5	0.0	0.0
Clerical	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Medical (non-professional)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	37.5	12.5	25.0	0.0	0.0
Sports	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	37.5	37.5	0.0	12.5	0.0	12.5
Semi-skilled	42.9	0.0	14.3	14.3	28.6	0.0	42.9	14.3	42.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service	50.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	25.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	0.0
Political, etc.	16.7	16.7	33.3	16.7	0.0	16.7	66.7	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	33.3	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Combination	0.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	50.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

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TABLE IV  
CAREER CHOICE  
BY EXPECTED CAREER INCOME AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles						South Los Angeles					
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
School	---	---	---	---	---	---	9.1	0.0	0.0	9.1	18.2	63.6
Professional, N.E.C.	9.9	0.0	5.6	1.4	59.2	23.9	2.9	4.4	4.4	16.2	61.8	10.3
Skilled	0.0	0.0	8.0	8.0	60.0	24.0	8.6	14.3	11.4	25.7	31.4	8.6
Business	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	66.7	16.7	0.0	6.3	0.0	6.3	62.5	25.0
Government	7.7	0.0	15.4	15.4	46.2	15.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	33.3
Music, Art, etc.	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	62.5	10.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	40.0	10.0
Entertainment	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	75.0	0.0
Unskilled	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Clerical	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0
Medical (non- professional)	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	66.7	0.0
Sports, etc.	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	80.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0	0.0
Semi-skilled	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0
Service	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	33.3	33.3	0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0
Political, etc.	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	66.7	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0
Other	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	33.3
Combination	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0

#1 - Under \$4,000 a year  
 #2 - \$4,000-\$5,999  
 #3 - \$6,000-\$7,999  
 #4 - \$8,000-\$9,999  
 #5 - \$10,000 and above  
 #6 - No idea at all

TABLE V

CAREER CHOICE  
BY PERCEIVED REQUIREMENTS AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles							South Los Angeles						
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7
School Professional, N.E.C.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.2	63.6
Skilled	3.9	22.4	11.8	0.0	1.3	0.0	60.5	6.8	9.5	8.1	0.0	4.1	2.7	68.9
Business	3.8	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	42.3	46.2	18.2	6.1	0.0	6.1	3.0	18.2	48.5
Government	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	33.3	14.3	14.3	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	64.3
Music, Art, etc.	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.0	5.6	22.2	61.1	20.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	60.0
Entertainment	0.0	25.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	37.5	25.0	22.2	11.1	11.1	22.2	0.0	11.1	22.2
Unskilled	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	50.0
Clerical	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Medical (non- professional)	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	0.0
Sports, etc.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	62.5
Semi-skilled	14.3	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	57.1	0.0	60.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0
Service	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	25.0
Political, etc.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	40.0
Other	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Combination	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0

#1 - High school diploma or GED

#2 - College degree (BA or AA)

#3 - Postgraduate degree

#4 - Union membership

#5 - License or permit from government

#6 - Special training program

#7 - Some combination of the above

TABLE VI - A

CAREER CHOICE  
BY KNOWLEDGE AND AREA  
(Percent of Correct Answers)

Category	East Los Angeles								South Los Angeles							
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
Unknown	39.7	46.6	82.8	79.3	80.4	89.3	94.7	80.4	47.8	13.0	60.9	56.5	77.3	77.3	71.4	77.3
School	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	66.7	0.0	50.0	33.3	71.4	16.7	66.7	14.3
Professional	75.0	72.4	96.1	94.8	89.5	93.2	97.4	92.1	47.5	46.7	88.5	78.3	78.1	30.9	90.9	93.7
Skilled Labor	51.7	69.0	93.1	86.2	93.1	96.6	96.6	93.1	61.9	59.1	81.0	81.8	69.2	34.0	92.3	92.0
Business	100.0	83.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	85.7	36.4	63.6	81.8	81.8	75.0	100.0	91.7	100.0
Government	63.2	66.7	100.0	100.0	94.7	100.0	94.7	84.2	66.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Music, Art, etc.	50.0	25.0	87.5	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	62.5	37.5	85.7	62.5	75.0	57.1	100.0	77.8
Entertainment	0.0	33.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	33.3	66.7	83.3	50.0	83.3	83.3	50.0
Unskilled	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Clerical	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	33.3	100.0	83.3
Medical	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	87.5	87.5	75.0	35.7	87.5	100.0
Sports	42.9	85.7	71.4	71.4	71.4	100.0	85.7	100.0	0.0	33.3	75.0	100.0	50.0	100.0	75.0	75.0
Semi-skilled	75.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7	100.0	100.0	100.0
Service	50.0	50.0	100.0	83.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	100.0	66.7	100.0	100.0	66.7	100.0	100.0	100.0
Political, etc.	66.7	66.7	100.0	100.0	66.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Other	25.0	75.0	100.0	75.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	66.7	100.0	66.7	66.7
Combination	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	50.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unable to Code	83.3	100.0	83.3	83.3	83.3	100.0	83.3	80.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	50.0

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Note: Numbers refer to knowledge questions, previously described.

TABLE VI - B

PERCEIVED CAREER CHANCES,  
BY KNOWLEDGE AND AREA  
(Percent of Correct Answers)

Perceived Chances	East Los Angeles								South Los Angeles							
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
Very Good	63.2	76.3	97.4	92.1	94.6	88.9	100.0	88.9	58.6	59.6	88.3	79.3	85.2	85.2	88.7	88.3
Good	65.8	68.3	100.0	94.7	84.2	94.6	97.4	89.5	67.9	60.7	93.1	89.3	80.6	90.3	93.5	93.5
Fair	65.3	59.2	91.8	90.0	87.8	89.8	91.8	85.7	36.4	42.4	75.8	75.8	61.9	95.2	95.2	90.5
Poor	56.3	50.0	87.5	81.3	81.3	100.0	100.0	93.3	23.5	27.8	68.8	76.5	73.7	83.2	94.7	88.9
Impossible	61.5	69.2	92.3	92.3	76.9	100.0	92.3	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	100.0	100.0
No Idea	64.5	76.7	90.3	87.1	96.8	96.7	96.9	93.5	80.0	20.0	80.0	66.7	61.5	61.5	64.3	50.0

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Note: Numbers refer to knowledge questions, previously described.

TABLE VII  
LABOR MARKET PREFERENCES  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles							South Los Angeles						
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7
Unknown	41.9	10.8	11.8	20.0	25.0	12.5	17.4	11.1	8.5	18.2	7.7	6.7	12.5	0.0
School	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	11.1	3.8	4.5	0.0	20.0	0.0	20.0
Professional	16.1	56.8	35.3	13.3	12.5	50.0	39.1	14.8	34.9	13.6	38.5	46.7	37.5	60.0
Skilled Labor	9.7	8.1	17.6	40.0	12.5	25.0	8.7	14.8	13.2	27.3	15.4	6.7	25.0	20.0
Business	6.5	1.4	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	7.4	6.6	13.6	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0
Government	12.9	4.1	17.6	0.0	12.5	0.0	21.7	3.7	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Music, Art, etc.	3.2	2.7	5.9	13.3	0.0	12.5	0.0	7.4	3.8	9.1	7.7	6.7	0.0	0.0
Entertainment	0.0	2.7	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.8	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0
Unskilled	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Clerical	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	15.4	0.0	8.3	0.0
Medical	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0
Sports	3.2	4.1	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	3.7	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Semi-skilled	0.0	2.7	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service	3.2	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	8.7	3.7	1.9	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Political, etc.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.9	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	1.9	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Combination	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unable to Code	0.0	1.4	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.4	1.9	4.5	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Percent Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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- #1 - Finish high school and work
- #2 - Finish college and work
- #3 - Special training before working
- #4 - Immediate full-time work
- #5 - Work with time off for school during the day (with pay)
- #6 - Work and go to night school (on own time)

TABLE VIII

FAMILY INCOME,  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles			South Los Angeles		
	Below \$4,000	\$6,000- 4,000	Above \$6,000	Below \$4,000	\$6,000- 4,000	Above \$6,000
Unknown	29.2	19.0	32.1	8.1	15.3	7.1
School	---	---	---	0.0	9.9	0.0
Professional	41.7	23.6	28.6	40.7	27.9	45.2
Skilled	12.5	2.4	12.5	14.0	18.9	7.1
Business	0.0	2.4	3.6	3.5	7.2	9.5
Government	4.2	14.3	5.4	2.3	0.9	4.8
Music, Art, etc.	0.0	2.4	5.4	4.7	2.7	0.0
Entertainment	0.0	7.1	0.0	2.3	2.7	7.1
Unskilled	---	---	---	---	---	---
Clerical	---	---	---	5.8	3.6	0.0
Medical	4.2	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.9	4.8
Sports	0.0	4.8	3.6	3.5	1.8	4.8
Semi-skilled	0.0	2.4	1.8	2.3	1.8	2.4
Service	0.0	2.4	3.6	4.7	0.9	2.4
Political, etc.	0.0	2.4	1.8	0.0	0.9	0.0
Other	0.0	4.8	0.0	3.5	0.0	2.4
Combination	0.0	2.4	0.0	1.2	0.9	0.0
Unable to Code	8.3	4.8	1.8	1.2	3.6	2.4

TABLE IX

SCHOOL ATTENDED  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles						South Los Angeles					
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
Unknown	66.7	36.8	25.0	29.3	10.0	4.2	19.4	10.5	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
School	---	---	---	---	---	---	3.2	5.3	0.0	16.7	16.7	0.0
Professional	33.3	21.1	25.0	41.5	70.0	66.7	19.4	21.1	25.0	16.7	44.4	0.0
Skilled	0.0	10.5	25.0	12.2	0.0	4.2	19.4	26.3	25.0	0.0	5.6	63.3
Business	0.0	5.3	0.0	2.4	0.0	8.3	19.4	10.5	0.0	16.7	5.6	0.0
Government	0.0	10.5	12.5	0.0	5.0	4.2	6.5	5.3	0.0	0.0	5.6	6.7
Music, Art, etc.	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.9	5.0	4.2	3.2	15.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3
Entertainment	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	3.3
Unskilled	---	---	---	---	---	---	3.2	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	6.7
Clerical	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Medical	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3
Sports	0.0	0.0	12.5	2.4	0.0	4.2	6.5	0.0	12.5	0.0	11.1	0.0
Semi-skilled	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	5.6	3.3
Service	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Political, etc.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Other	0.0	5.3	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3
Combination	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unable to Code	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	6.5	0.0	12.5	0.0	5.6	0.0

## East IA:

- #1 - Roosevelt High School
- #2 - Garfield High School
- #3 - Other L.A. Schools
- #4 - Non-L.A. Schools
- #5 - Junior College
- #6 - University

## South IA:

- #1 - Jordan High School
- #2 - Locke High School
- #3 - Fremont High School
- #4 - Washington High School
- #5 - Junior College
- #6 - University

Note: Schools having less than 6 students in our samples have been eliminated.



TABLE X  
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles					South Los Angeles				
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
Unknown	27.3	28.6	29.1	0.0	0.0	13.3	20.6	15.3	0.0	0.0
School	----	----	----	----	----	26.7	8.8	2.8	0.0	0.0
Professional	0.0	21.4	16.4	40.0	57.1	20.0	23.5	30.6	41.7	57.1
Skilled	36.4	14.3	16.4	0.0	0.0	6.7	20.6	16.7	8.3	14.3
Business	0.0	0.0	1.8	10.0	14.3	0.0	5.9	9.7	8.3	0.0
Government	18.2	17.9	10.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	8.3	14.3
Music, Art	0.0	7.1	1.8	10.0	14.3	0.0	2.9	5.6	0.0	0.0
Entertainment	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	14.3	0.0	5.9	1.4	8.3	0.0
Unskilled	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Clerical	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	4.2	8.3	0.0
Medical	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	13.3	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sports	9.1	3.6	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	16.7	14.3
Semi-skilled	0.0	3.6	5.5	0.0	0.0	6.7	2.9	1.4	0.0	0.0
Service	0.0	3.6	7.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0
Political	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0
Other	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0
Combination	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Unable to Code	9.1	0.0	1.8	20.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0

Highest Grade Completed:

- #1 - 10th Grade
- #2 - 11th Grade
- #3 - 12th Grade
- #4 - 1st year of college
- #5 - 2nd year of college

Note: Samples of less than 5 eliminated from "grades completed" category.

TABLE XI  
LABOR MARKET STATUS  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles				South Los Angeles			
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#1	#2	#3	#4*
Unknown	21.8	27.5	12.9	25.0	7.5	11.3	13.0	11.1
School	----	----	----	----	7.5	2.5	3.0	11.1
Professional	35.6	25.5	48.4	30.6	34.0	31.3	32.0	44.4
Skilled	12.9	13.7	9.7	11.1	13.2	25.0	11.0	0.0
Business	5.0	2.0	3.2	0.0	9.4	3.8	9.0	22.2
Government	7.9	7.8	9.7	5.6	1.9	2.5	3.0	0.0
Music, Art	3.0	3.9	3.2	2.8	1.9	0.0	8.0	0.0
Entertainment	1.0	2.0	0.0	2.8	1.9	2.5	4.0	0.0
Unskilled	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Clerical	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	6.3	2.0	0.0
Medical	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	2.5	4.0	0.0
Sports	1.0	5.9	3.2	5.6	1.9	5.0	1.0	0.0
Semi-skilled	1.0	2.0	0.0	5.6	3.8	2.5	0.0	0.0
Service	3.0	2.0	0.0	5.6	1.9	5.0	1.0	0.0
Political	1.0	2.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	1.3	1.0	0.0
Other	0.0	2.0	6.5	2.8	1.9	0.0	3.0	0.0
Combination	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.0	0.0
Unable to Code	5.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	5.7	1.3	2.0	0.0

#1 - Employed  
#2 - Unemployed  
#3 - In School  
#4 - Other

\* Small sample

TABLE XII  
TYPE OF WORK HELD BY CURRENTLY EMPLOYED,  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles							South Los Angeles						
	#1	#2	#3*	#4	#5	#6*	#7	#1	#2*	#3*	#4*	#5*	#6*	#7*
Unknown	16.1	21.1	11.1	----	33.3	12.5	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	20.0	14.3	20.0
School	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0
Professional	41.9	42.1	22.2	----	16.7	25.0	64.3	47.1	50.0	33.3	25.0	40.0	0.0	40.0
Skilled	19.4	10.5	33.3	----	8.3	12.5	7.1	5.9	0.0	33.3	12.5	20.0	57.1	0.0
Business	6.5	0.0	0.0	----	0.0	25.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	16.7	37.5	0.0	14.3	20.0
Government	6.5	0.0	11.1	----	16.7	12.5	7.1	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Music, Art	3.2	5.3	0.0	----	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Entertainment	0.0	0.0	0.0	----	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unskilled	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Clerical	0.0	5.3	0.0	----	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Medical	0.0	0.0	0.0	----	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sports	0.0	5.3	0.0	----	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0
Semi-skilled	0.0	5.3	0.0	----	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service	3.2	0.0	0.0	----	16.7	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Political	0.0	0.0	11.1	----	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	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	0.0
Combination	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unable to Code	3.2	5.3	11.1	----	0.0	12.5	7.1	5.9	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	14.3	0.0

#1 - Service job  
#2 - Clerical  
#3 - Semi-skilled  
#4 - Government work  
#5 - Unskilled  
#6 - Skilled  
#7 - "Other"

Note: Selected categories only.

\* Sample less than 10

TABLE XIII

PREVIOUS JOB HELD,  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles							South Los Angeles							
	#1	#2	#3	#4*	#5	#6	#7	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8
Unknown	31.6	11.8	19.2	50.0	22.2	11.8	6.1	4.0	0.0	15.0	27.3	21.4	9.1	13.3	13.6
School	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	6.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1
Professional	23.7	47.1	23.1	0.0	29.6	35.3	60.0	44.0	37.5	30.0	45.5	28.6	9.1	13.3	31.8
Skilled	10.5	23.5	15.4	50.0	7.4	5.9	6.7	12.0	0.0	20.0	18.2	14.3	45.5	26.7	9.1
Business	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	11.8	6.7	2.0	12.5	10.0	0.0	0.0	27.3	13.3	4.5
Government	7.9	11.3	15.4	0.0	14.8	11.8	0.0	6.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Music, Art	2.6	5.9	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	6.7	6.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	6.7	0.0
Entertainment	2.6	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5
Unskilled	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Clerical	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	6.7	0.0
Medical	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	6.7	0.0
Sports	7.9	0.0	3.8	0.0	3.7	5.9	0.0	2.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5
Semi-skilled	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	3.7	5.9	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	4.5
Service	5.3	0.0	3.8	0.0	3.7	5.9	6.7	4.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	6.7	0.0
Political	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.6
Combination	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unable to Code	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	9.1	0.0	4.5

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Note: Job categories same as in previous table, except that No. 8 (a school job) has been added for South Los Angeles.

\* Very small sample

TABLE XIV  
WHETHER EVER IN TRAINING PROGRAM,  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles		South Los Angeles	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Unknown	21.7	26.5	8.5	12.0
School	-----	-----	12.8	5.4
Professional	34.8	34.3	29.8	32.9
Skilled	8.7	11.0	10.6	16.2
Business	0.0	2.8	14.6	6.0
Government	13.0	6.6	2.1	1.8
Music, Art	0.0	3.9	6.4	4.2
Entertainment	0.0	1.7	0.0	3.2
Unskilled	-----	-----	-----	-----
Clerical	0.0	0.6	2.1	1.8
Medical	4.3	0.6	2.1	4.2
Sports	4.3	2.8	2.1	1.8
Semi-skilled	4.3	1.1	0.0	2.4
Service	8.7	2.2	0.0	2.4
Political	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.2
Other	0.0	1.7	4.3	1.2
Combination	0.0	0.6	0.0	1.2
Unable to Code	0.0	2.8	4.3	2.4

TABLE XV  
WHETHER DISCUSSED JOBS WITH FATHER  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles		South Los Angeles	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Unknown	23.5	25.3	5.9	16.4
School	----	----	7.8	4.1
Professional	31.1	35.6	38.2	29.5
Skilled	11.8	13.8	11.8	18.5
Business	2.5	2.3	10.8	5.5
Government	10.9	6.9	1.0	2.7
Music, Art	3.4	4.6	4.9	3.4
Entertainment	2.5	0.0	0.0	4.8
Unskilled	----	----	----	----
Clerical	0.8	0.0	2.9	3.4
Medical	0.0	1.1	5.9	1.4
Sports	2.5	4.6	1.0	1.4
Semi-skilled	3.4	0.0	0.0	2.1
Service	3.4	1.1	1.0	3.4
Political	0.8	0.0	1.0	0.7
Other	0.8	2.3	2.9	0.7
Combination	0.8	0.0	1.0	0.0
Unable to Code	1.7	2.3	3.9	2.1

TABLE XVI  
MAJOR IN HIGH SCHOOL  
BY CAREER CHOICE AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles Vocational, etc.	College Preparatory	South Los Angeles Vocational, etc.	College Preparatory
Unknown	20.5	15.6	11.5	9.1
School	----	----	2.7	6.8
Professional	28.2	47.9	31.9	44.3
Skilled	19.2	5.2	21.2	5.7
Business	1.3	3.1	7.1	8.0
Government	10.3	5.2	2.7	3.4
Music, Art	3.8	4.2	7.1	1.1
Entertainment	2.6	1.0	1.8	4.5
Unskilled	----	----	----	----
Clerical	0.0	1.0	0.9	2.3
Medical	0.0	2.1	1.8	4.5
Sports	3.8	4.2	1.8	2.3
Semi-skilled	2.6	0.0	2.7	0.0
Service	3.8	2.1	3.5	0.0
Political	1.3	2.1	0.9	1.1
Other	1.3	1.0	0.9	2.3
Combination	0.0	1.0	0.0	2.3
Unable to code	1.3	4.2	1.8	2.3

TABLE VXII

WHETHER EVER IN TRAINING PROGRAM  
BY PERCEIVED CHANCES AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles		South Los Angeles	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Very Good	15.0	22.5	46.7	34.8
Good	15.0	19.0	22.2	16.5
Fair	25.0	28.9	13.3	23.4
Poor	10.0	7.0	6.7	8.9
Impossible	15.0	5.6	0.0	0.6
No Idea	20.0	16.9	11.1	15.8

FAMILY INCOME  
BY PERCEIVED CHANCES AND AREA  
(Percent)

Category	East Los Angeles			South Los Angeles		
	Below \$4,000	\$4,000- 6,000	Above \$6,000	Below \$4,000	\$4,000- 6,000	Above \$6,000
Very Good	26.3	10.8	27.5	28.4	31.1	40.0
Good	15.8	13.5	30.0	19.8	10.4	15.0
Fair	31.6	32.4	27.5	37.0	22.6	20.0
Poor	5.3	24.3	5.0	9.9	14.2	17.5
Impossible	0.0	8.1	5.0	1.2	1.9	2.5
No Idea	21.1	10.8	5.0	3.7	19.8	5.0



TABLE XVIII - A

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT  
BY PERCEIVED CHANCES AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles					South Los Angeles				
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
Very Good	12.5	9.1	15.9	40.0	42.9	16.7	20.7	27.9	33.3	42.9
Good	0.0	22.7	22.7	30.0	28.6	16.7	10.3	19.1	16.7	0.0
Fair	37.5	22.7	29.5	0.0	14.3	16.7	27.6	27.9	33.3	0.0
Poor	12.5	4.5	4.5	30.0	0.0	16.7	20.7	10.3	16.7	0.0
Impossible	0.0	22.7	11.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
No Idea	37.5	18.2	15.9	0.0	14.3	33.3	13.8	14.7	0.0	0.0

- #1 - 10th grade
- #2 - 11th grade
- #3 - 12th grade
- #4 - 1st year of college
- #5 - 2nd year of college

TABLE XVIII - B

LABOR MARKET STATUS  
BY PERCEIVED CHANCES AND AREA  
(Percent)

<u>Category</u>	East Los Angeles				South Los Angeles			
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#1	#2	#3	#4
Very Good	24.7	15.0	10.7	24.1	50.0	16.4	35.1	44.4
Good	21.0	17.5	17.9	24.1	6.0	16.4	25.5	11.1
Fair	19.8	37.5	42.9	17.2	18.0	37.0	23.4	33.3
Poor	3.7	12.5	17.9	17.2	10.0	20.5	6.4	0.0
Impossible	9.9	5.0	0.0	3.4	2.0	1.4	1.1	0.0
No Idea	21.0	12.5	10.7	13.8	14.0	8.2	8.5	11.1

- #1 - Employed
- #2 - Unemployed
- #3 - In School
- #4 - Other

TYPE OF WORK HELD BY CURRENTLY EMPLOYED  
BY PERCEIVED CHANCES AND AREA  
(Percent)

**#1 - Service job**  
**#2 - Clerical**  
**#3 - Semi-skilled**  
**#4 - Government work**  
**#5 - Unskilled**  
**#6 - Skilled**  
**#7 - "Other"**

VIII.

THE SUB-ECONOMY

The relative lack of attention paid to the economic significance of illegal markets in the ghetto and barrio (and elsewhere in the economy) is a measure of the distance of many academicians from social reality. To the extent that it has been recognized at all in recent years, this income-producing activity has usually been treated as peripheral or of unknown and speculative impact. Prescriptions for social policy and analyses of economic issues, affecting those who live in the inner city, are regularly issued without the slightest consideration given to the realities of daily life among those most directly involved.

Rather than being marginal or of uncertain importance, the "sub-economy" has been and remains the greatest single source of market income for young men in the central city. The participants in Watts, for example, estimate that they obtain equally as much income from this source as from all the governmental programs combined. "Just about as much money in the community illegally as it is that the government is funding. Go back to that saying when you cop a kilo (of marijuana), you cop three or four kilos, you do your thing, you know, you make that much money--that's dishonest money, so they say. Can you just go right offhand and tell me<sup>1</sup> how much money the government put into Watts so far?"

This admittedly subjective impression seems to be confirmed by recent findings and reports of congressional committees and government

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from Watts or East Los Angeles youngsters are taken from the transcripts of interviews which are published in full in the Appendix to this report.

agencies. The magnitude of illegal economic activity in the production and sale of drugs alone is staggering: more than two years ago, the House Select Committee on Crime estimated that 8 billion amphetamine pills are produced every year in the United States, and "Federal officials estimate that no more than half of this production is routinely dispensed through doctors' prescriptions"<sup>2</sup> (Emphasis added). This, of course, is just one of the many types of drugs which are regularly distributed in East Los Angeles and Watts: others are barbituates, seconal tablets ("red devils" and "yellow jackets"), tranquilizers, LSD (fortunately, not as common as the others), and several more.

The sale of marijuana is also "big business." The same House committee has estimated that 12 million Americans have tried marijuana and that as many as 31 percent of teenagers may be users. It believes that the annual expenditure for the use of marijuana amounts to approximately \$850 million, a figure which some of us regard as quite conservative. Throughout the world, about 250 million people have used marijuana or hashish (the latter is, like marijuana, a product of the cannabis plant and reputedly is somewhat stronger in its effect).<sup>3</sup>

The income from traffic in "hard drugs" (heroin, cocaine, opium, morphine, etc.) is even more impressive, though the risk is great and this industry is so highly organized that little of the revenue filters down to the young men of Watts and East Los Angeles. Approximately 1.5 tons

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2. U.S. News and World Report, December 7, 1970, p. 44, citing figures reported by the House Select Committee on Crime and the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

3. Ibid.

of heroin is imported into the United States annually, producing an income of more than \$300 million each year. The heroin distributor in Harlem will earn a clear profit of about \$30,000 a week, and the street peddlers will be given commissions for selling packets of heroin at \$25<sup>4</sup> apiece.

For our purposes, the "sub-economy" (or "street economy") can be defined as a market for the distribution of goods and services which are in demand but have been outlawed officially for social or moral reasons. Thus, it would encompass the production, sale, and consumption of both "hard" and "soft" drugs; gambling; illegal betting and "numbers;" prostitution and pimping; and similar activities. This definition excludes income-producing activities such as theft or the sale of stolen property, for the reason that these represent a forced and involuntary redistribution of property rather than the original production and sale of goods in response to existing market demand. Further, these latter forms of income-production have been made illegal for reasons extending beyond the desire to regulate private morals; in short, they involve "victims."

I have also chosen to concentrate upon the markets for marijuana and pills, because observation suggests that these are the major sources of continuing income for young men in the areas which I have examined. In addition, my impression is that the consumption of those products is pervasive whereas the market for hard drugs is much more limited in scope, and, pragmatically, research into the hard narcotics trade (controlled as it is by organized crime) is fraught with peril.

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4. Ibid., p. 43.

Though the bulk of economic analysis, such as that concerned with the employment effects of minimum wages, continues to ignore the sub-economy, some economists have recently expressed an awareness of it. Professor Peter Doeringer has noted that jobseekers in the ghetto have a list of "preferred" employers, as a counterpart to the rankings of "preferred" employees which form the basis for the queue theory of labor-market demand, and therefore are not always available for the menial, low-paid jobs which typically are offered to unskilled youngsters or, at best, stay on such jobs only for short periods. One reason for this, he suggests, is that... "the social systems of the ghetto are compatible with turnover. Alternatives to earned income, for example, are available from welfare programs, hustling, and income sharing among friends and relatives, so that ghetto workers can easily withhold their labor services for short periods of time, or treat work as a supplementary source of income. In addition, the active social life of the ghetto, much of it centered on the street, can compete with work as a regular activity."<sup>5</sup>

In his analysis of income transfer systems and their possible effect on labor force participation, Professor Bruno Stein has observed, perceptively, that "most writers omit illicit activity from their analysis, although 'hustling' and other forms of making-do are not unknown among the poor.... Crime for profit is part of the American economy, although it is not included in data on the gross national product. It is probably a significant part of what may be termed net ghetto income, but data are equally lacking...."<sup>6</sup>

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5. Peter Doeringer, "Manpower Programs for Ghetto Labor Markets," op. cit., pp. 263-264.

6. Bruno Stein, On Relief: The Economics of Poverty and Public Welfare, New York: Basic Books, 1971, pp. 96, 98.

The 1971 Manpower Report of the President, already cited in the introduction to this study, gives perhaps the most explicit explanation of the key role of the sub-economy. Based on unpublished interviews with unemployed young persons in Harlem, ages 18 to 24, it concludes that many black youngsters see the street economy as the only visible and attainable route to some degree of economic success, even though they share many of the generally accepted goals such as education, independence, and social status. The words of the Report deserve quotation in full,<sup>7</sup> as a prelude to my own examination of these same issues:

The absence of employment opportunities which could lead to a radical improvement in life styles and movement out of the slums seemed to be the basic reason why jobs, even those which pay above the minimum wage, were sometimes regarded disdainfully. The young people interviewed had little hope of significant increases in earnings, because they saw so little chance of an occupational breakthrough. At best, they expected marginal employment at wages which would allow them to "get by." The incentive to work hard in order to effect a major change in their way of life was absent.

Hustling was often regarded as a logical and rational option. The market for gambling, numbers, prostitution, and narcotics is large and highly profitable, and the possibility of "being on one's own" competes powerfully with the opportunities available in the regulated middle-class world.

Criminal activities and the possible handicap of an arrest record did not seem to present problems for these Harlem youth. Issues of this kind were not even raised during the interviews. This finding suggests that the costs attached to engaging in illegal activities tend to be low. No great social stigma accompanies arrest, so far as the immediate neighborhood is concerned. Job opportunities are already limited by other barriers, so that the effect of an arrest record is not considered important. The probability of being apprehended is considered relatively small. And the penalty for a particular offense, if one is caught, can be calculated with reasonable accuracy. Thus, an individual

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7. Manpower Report, op. cit., pp. 98-99, citing a study by Stanley Friedlander of the Conservation of Human Resources Staff, Columbia University, under contract with the Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, in process.

engaged in hustling is usually aware of the chance he is taking.

To gauge the impact of illegal activities on the participation of slum residents in the regular labor market, the unemployment rates for workers in the slums of 16 cities in 1966 were correlated with crime rates in these cities. Unemployment was found to be lowest in the cities with the greatest amount of property crime. It appears that the larger the sources of illegal income, the fewer the people in the slums who persist in looking for legitimate jobs (or the greater the numbers who report themselves as employed when they are not, in order to explain their style of life to the enumerators).

#### The Structure of the Sub-Economy

The process for distributing marijuana (also called "weed" or "grass") and pills in Watts and East Los Angeles is reasonably well structured, though it appears to be less highly organized and controlled than the trade in hard narcotics. For both economic and personal reasons, the young men whom I interviewed prefer to deal in marijuana rather than pills, though pills (and, of course, liquor) will be sought and distributed whenever "grass" is unavailable. The market for marijuana is seen as virtually insatiable, while the demand for pills is less pervasive and some of the youngsters have qualms about both the quality and the effect of "red devils" and similar drugs.

Asked about the extent of the market for marijuana in the Watts area, the interviewees were explicit in their responses: "Everybody do it! Eight to eighty. You'd actually be surprised 'cuz some of the people you say, 'well, he seems not to be getting



high'and you turn around and that same John Doe is on his back.... That's where all the green (money) flows....With the pills you can do it too, but it takes a longer process...."

They prefer handling and using marijuana rather than pills because they regard pills as more dangerous and uncertain in quality, and it also appears that the profit is higher and surer with marijuana. "How do they get pills over here, enough pills so even if it was cool, you know, to provide everybody else? You even have cats manufacturing their own...Well, what's the cat been putting in the pills, you know, maybe rat poison. It might even be baking soda--I just lost a dollar or something like that. You know you have second thoughts, that's why I don't buy barbituates no more. Do you want a \$5 bag(of marijuana) or 5 (rolls of) reds? Instead of red devils you buy the weed first, you know a cat don't want to be all juiced up, laying up, reds slowing down your reactions; you know, you might as well be asleep."

Another interviewee: "With pills you can't control your high. With whites (amphetamines) you take two, you know, it might not be enough; with three you're out of it...."

A third interviewee: "The cat may have bought three rolls of red devils from you, which is nine red devils, nine seconals altogether.<sup>8</sup> He may come back to your house and, say, the cat is dead on your doorstep and what are you going to do, what's going to happen to you."

Sometimes the same person will deal in both marijuana and pills, but the youngsters state that this is usually considered unwise because it may "mess up your business" for the various reasons already suggested. According to one interviewee, the women are more likely to consume and deal in pills than are the men ("The red devil is like a spanish fly to a young lady.") and have less control over

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8. This appears to be a slip of the tongue or a miscalculation, because the current street price for "reds" is 25¢ a pill or \$1.00 for a roll of four pills. Thus there should have been 12 "reds" in three rolls, though perhaps the market for pills in Watts was somewhat different at that particular time.

their "high," but whether this is an objective evaluation or an example of male chauvinism is a controversial question on which I fully intend to remain neutral.

The income produced through the sale of marijuana is substantial, provided that the seller can obtain sufficient quantities of the merchandise. "To start with marijuana you can get singles, bags..matchbox, 'keys' (kilos)....But a single of marijuana is 50¢, you know, which is a cigarette, then there are \$5, \$10 bags. The size of the bags vary from 13 joints to about 26 joints, you know, depending on who you got the shit from. Cause they're going to get you, you know, skimpy bags, switch bags on you...Then when you start dealing with the 'keys' it starts running up \$100 and up, something like that."

"Yeah. There you're going on the pounds and stuff like that. Half pounds, three pounds, two pounds. For \$150 or better--three pound kilo unless you got the inside information or know the right man...."

When the dealer can establish access to large quantities (kilos), he expects to make a 100 percent untaxed profit on his investment: "You double your money mostly, then you'll make extra money too. If you pay \$130, \$140--you'll double that. Yeah, you'll at least double your money and still make some. You'll get about \$300 if you pay \$135, depending upon what size...That's what you're looking for when you first go take care of the business. Right on...They will tell you that you will at least double your money and possibly you might make more. But at the most even if you don't double your money back, you will make your money back and plus just about double your money, but you'll come out ahead. But that's not including the risk--like you going to jail."

All the youngsters emphasize the critical importance of timing in the business of selling marijuana and pills. The process is closely tied to the social life of the ghetto and barrio, which is at its highest pitch on weekends and special occasions like parties, festivals, and so on. If the supplies and connections are adequate, large profits can be made at those times when many people will be expecting to relax and celebrate. Marijuana, in particular, supposedly heightens the

pleasure derived from music, sex, eating, and other concomitants of relaxation. Hence it is important to be able to supply the plentiful demand during these peak periods. The following dialogue between three interviewees from Watts and myself will illustrate some of these points:

PB: "Let's say that things are going pretty good and you've got kind of good connections...Maybe within a range but figuring the things together, how much can you make on the average a month?"

Interviewee: "Man, I'd say close to 1, 2, 3 thousand dollars."

PB: "Are you talking about Watts?"

Interviewee: "Yeah, of course. For any individual it shouldn't take you no longer than a week--you got four weeks to get rid of a whole kilo. Well, you got four weeks in a month--let's say you go and cop two times, twice two weeks--the cat may put in an extra half pound for you coming back, taking care of the business for him by bringing your particular business to him. That's your money out there constantly stacking up on you. How frequently, how fast you'll be able to work for this certain person--it's not getting caught that's the point, not the marijuana really that you look at in the long run--the timing, the timing."

PB: "What do you mean by that?"

Interviewee: "Let's say, the Watts (Summer) Festival is coming and John Doe wants to sell what's-his-name and you go up there and sell it at the festival and J.D. got his "key" too, doing his thing."

PB: "Well, I mean, going back, how much could you make?"

Interviewee: "Well, it shouldn't take you very long. It should take at least two days--no longer than two or three days. During the whole Watts Festival you could make yourself at least about \$3,000/\$4,000. Normally, automatically, the first day you're

going to make a lot of money because the Watts Festival is sort of like a big thing and everybody would like to get intoxicated."

Interviewee: "Yeah, they want to be under the influence. A lot depends on location, too."

PB: "Who are you really selling to? At the Watts Festival maybe you're selling to a lot of outsiders?"

Interviewee: "No, no! It's not what you do--it's who you know. The people are sort of particular. See, if they don't know you, they don't do business with you."

Interviewee: "Then, again, if your connections are very good even the person that you, say, cop from, they can line you up with a little area and he may buy you up for about \$400, \$500 in one area. One area, one area in a small bit of time. You know, they can line you up like that--hey, man, you know, something's happening at a place at a certain time and this is where you go."

Interviewee: "And a lot depends, you know, I know a cat he makes a living--he makes at least like a hundred dollars from like, you know, the weekend. That's when it really raises...I'm talking about the location I live in....One knocks at the door, one leaving, one coming--man, that's money. I seen a cat make at the most, like on a Friday, \$130 for one day, no tax deducted money. Cash money, cash money."

The somewhat unique feature of the sub-economy is that the street dealers generally perform both as sellers and consumers of the product which they purvey. Depending upon timing and circumstances, the same person will be primarily a buyer at one time and predominantly a seller at another. Their reactions to price and quality changes must, therefore, be schizophrenic, since what they gain as buyers they must then lose as sellers and vice versa. Again, as they point out, timing and connections are critical in determining how they fare economically and personally in this perpetually active and volatile market.

PB: "I was thinking--you were talking up in the thousands of dollars and one question that comes into somebody's mind--in Watts, who has that kind of money?"

Interviewee: "Five dollars adds up from everybody. Money, for instance, like one time there may be five or ten people dealing at the same time. But then..."

PB: "Sometimes the dude may be buying and other times he's selling."

Interviewee: "That's how he starts off."

Interviewee: "Like a cat that may have a kilo last week may come to you for a bag this week."

PB: "One time, one month of the year somebody will have a kilo and so the buyers will go to him and pretty soon the buyers, they'll be selling it. So the money just keeps circulating around within the framework of the area."

Interviewee: "The money's still in the area, but you don't benefit much. Them cats are buying cars and freaking off them pills and stuff, but it'll stay in the area for a time."

These conversations again suggest the nature of the marketing structure for the sub-economy. There appear to be three entrepreneurial levels in the local community: (1) the street dealers, mostly young men who consistently demand the product and at some times, depending on luck and skill and other circumstances, will also sell it; (2) the "middlemen," usually older than the teenagers, for whom this is probably a full-time operation and who serve as the contact points within the particular marketing area, and (3) the top-level "businessmen" who arrange to bring in the supplies of marijuana and pills and distribute them to the various areas. Allied with the "middlemen" and the "businessmen" are the political, legal, and law enforcement representatives who provide protection in return for a direct or indirect share of the profits.

#### The Elasticity of Demand and Supply

According to the consistent and unanimous statements of young men interviewed, the demand for marijuana should be viewed

as highly inelastic while the demand for pills is considerably more elastic and probably would fall off steeply if the price of "reds" (e.g.) rose relative to that of marijuana. Their attachment to marijuana is so strong that they are already willing to run great risks and pay large amounts in order to obtain it, and, in general, they do not regard either pills or alcohol as being perfectly substitutable for it. Thus, if their comments are to be taken literally, the cross-elasticity between the demand for marijuana and that for other products producing an allegedly similar effect must be perceived as low.

Any evaluation of demand elasticity is, of course, rendered much more complex and uncertain by the fact that the street dealers are both consumers and sellers of the product, as indicated previously. Any given change in price or quality, therefore, must be viewed in the light of its income as well as its specific demand effect. If any one person is equally a seller and a buyer over a given period of time (admittedly an unlikely circumstance, at least in such precise terms), presumably any change in the variables would leave him in relatively the same economic position as before. The more realistic premise is that, at any given moment, some youngsters are mainly sellers while others (probably the majority) are predominantly buyers. Their respective reactions thus will depend upon whether they are then performing primarily a consumption or a supply role.

To the extent that we can isolate the consumption effect, it would still appear that the demand for marijuana is quite inelastic in the ghetto or barrio.<sup>9</sup> It is certain that moderate increases in price or reduction in quality would have no visible effect on the overall demand. How much a substantial rise in price or reduction in quality would affect consumer demand is considerably less certain. The fact is that the Watts youngsters already detect evidences of inflation in the marijuana market through declines in the quantity

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9. Professors Charles T. Nisbet and Firouz Vakil of UCLA recently sampled a number of UCLA students on questions relating to their usage of marijuana and its economic effects. Basic differences in samples make it impossible to compare their results directly with our own. Apparently they found that the demand for marijuana was somewhat more elastic than would probably be the case in Watts--a result which I would have expected.

and quality of the product offered at the established prices. They feel that their need for it is so intense that they must accept and adjust to whatever changes have been detected on the street, but there is also some feeling that continued inflation could not realistically be tolerated. The following dialogue will illustrate these points:

PB: "I was thinking about the irony that, maybe the marijuana economy seems to be more stable (i.e., less prone to drastic price movements), because years ago when I first began to learn some of the facts, a joint was 50¢ and now for instance....

Interviewee: "Well, when they do sell it that way, it's 50¢."

PB: "Of course, you can have change in different ways and that is that you can maintain the same price of the item, but two things can happen--you can reduce the quantity of that item; like you sell a hamburger and a hamburger last year was 50¢--you still have a 50¢ hamburger this year, but the patty will be smaller. The other thing is the quality of the item...for marijuana, this is the main question. But has it (the quality) generally [changed]--I'm thinking gone down over time, particularly over the last couple of years."

Interviewee: "Well, it's really hard to say, because some is better than others."

PB: "But this has always been true, right? I mean this was true two years ago."

Interviewee: "Well, the quality of it--there is the difference right there. But the quantity of it--that's where it's bad. Because it used to be larger."

Interviewee: "Yeah, that's the true difference between the last couple of years. The difference is the

quantity, because it's a lot skimpier and the quality, well, I would say the quality..."

PB: "You mean you get less for 50¢?"

Interviewee: "Yes, for the bag, you know, you can buy a \$5 bag where..."

PB: "Is the bag supposed to contain so many ounces?"

Interviewee: "Yeah."

PB: "Do you know how many ounces?"

Interviewee: "No, because it varies. Like, some cats now when they sell it, if they don't have no means or measures, they just go by what they think it is, you know."

Interviewee: "If they think it's worth \$5."

Interviewee: "Right. Now, see, I know the change in quantity... Now you can see that their outlook on the bag is there has to be a change because you are not getting what you used to get. You can tell. Okay, a couple of years back you might buy this special quantity to you and you knew that you buy and it would be twice the size that you buy today. And a couple of years ago--that's why I know the quantity or something has to be happening to slow this process...you know, to make an income. You know, there's not as much marijuana coming in as there was a couple of years ago."

PB: "So you really have that kind of inflation there, too."

Interviewee: "As a matter of fact, there was one time, I think last year, when you couldn't hardly find any, when you couldn't even find any."

PB: "That was when they were trying to close the border.."

Interviewee: "Yeah, and they was burning up a lot of warehouses. It's like every other year when they beginning to have the elections. It was during election time."

PB: "Any election, it gets scarcer?"

Interviewee: "I don't know what causes it, but it happens every year."



PB: "...But let me get back to one point and that is the fact that prices themselves, like a "bag," a "lid"--are you saying that the prices haven't changed all that much?"

Interviewee: "Just the quality and the quantity."

PB: "Just as a matter of general observation, do you think a consumer would buy less or does buy less?"

Interviewee: "In most cases, they don't really have a choice. If they really want to smoke--so they think--it's good and bad sometimes. See, they like marijuana just like people like alcohol, you know. They just didn't change all of a sudden--they know how the times is, right now. They can see why the people--why the pushers are selling marijuana like this because they know and the people know that buy it from them, it's pretty skimpy now."

Interviewee: "But you know one thing, there's one (thing) they have got to realize. See, a lot of people might get tired of that, because this is getting into \$5 which is pretty hard to get."

Interviewee: "Yeah and that's another thing. They have been going for it, see, they have been going for that quantity (which) is a lot smaller than it used to be; they have been going for it so far, but pretty soon it's going to have to open up...Everybody knows about this unemployment crisis we have and the money like \$5, for something that you knew you could get more of when you first started, plus the money is getting hard anyway."

Though the demand for pills apparently is more elastic and its magnitude limited in comparison with the market for marijuana, it still remains substantial in general economic terms.<sup>10</sup> In East Los Angeles, as well as Watts, "reds" are usually sold by the roll, containing four pills, at \$1.00 per roll. The cost

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10. As an informal indication of how profitable pill hustling can be, an adult man (now somewhat prominent in Los Angeles) once told me in private conversation that, some years ago when he was hustling in New York, he earned more than \$20,000 a year from the sale of pills alone.

of "whites," or amphetamines, is \$1.00 for a roll of ten. While some youngsters fear contamination of pills by amateur "chemists," it appears that most of the pills are distributed in essentially the same form as they display when they emerge from the laboratories which produce them. The extent of the drug industry profit from these illicit markets is discussed elsewhere in this report.

Again taking their words at face value, the young people interviewed report that they are not as dependent upon pills as they obviously are upon "weed," and thus their demand presumably would be more affected by increases in price. However, it also would seem that the demand for "reds" or "whites" can be closely linked with the availability of marijuana, in the sense that a sharp limitation on the supply of "weed" might induce more youngsters to turn to pills as the most readily available, albeit highly imperfect, alternative. As a rule, they regard the effects of "grass" smoking as more pleasurable and safer than those obtained from the consumption of pills.

The supply of marijuana and pills, of course, is subject to the constraints imposed by its illegality, its dependence in some cases upon foreign sources, and the whims of politics and law enforcement. Some of the interviewees have noted a few of the cyclical patterns in the availability of marijuana, though most fluctuations are not so predictable. Clearly the decisions, often politically inspired, of federal and local officials and law enforcement officers have a recognizable impact on the ease with which the demand for illegal merchandise is met. Even foreign relations have a not inconsiderable effect, as much in the case of heroin, opium, and the other hard drugs as in the case of marijuana. Much of the supply of drugs and narcotics comes from Turkey, Mexico, or the Orient, though some of it is home grown or manufactured and there is reason to believe that American firms are the major suppliers of the illegal pill market, knowingly or unknowingly.

The youngsters regard the market for marijuana as virtually limitless, suggesting thereby that it can perhaps absorb any foreseeable

increases in the supply. This is undoubtedly an exaggerated perception, and certainly at some point the expansion in supply would tend to push down prices and, possibly, profits. We must take note of the fact, however, that a substantial market for marijuana now exists outside the ghettos and barrios, which may or may not absorb added supplies without reductions in unit price. Another imponderable, of course, is the future legal status of marijuana consumption and the extent to which legalization would strengthen both the demand and the supply. The interviewees observe cycles in the supply of marijuana, which they consistently attribute to politics and to politically-inspired law enforcement changes, as in the following dialogue:

PB: "Do you think if the police wanted to take care of business (control the distribution of marijuana), you think they could?"

Interviewee: "Not necessarily. Well, depending upon how they go about doing it; and well, actually, if they had the right information."

PB: "I was saying earlier about the police on the take in New York City and what you're saying is that it's a big business. And it goes on, literally, under the noses of the people and the police. Do you think that the police shine it on [ignore it] because, number one, (this sounds naive) they really don't know what's going on? Or that they know what is going on, but don't care? And when they do bust somebody, why does that particular person get busted and the big dealers never get busted?"

Interviewee: "In the first place, the police is just like organized crime...Now, this is my own personal feeling, I feel like this: I believe they let it slide--they know what's going on. They may not have it right on the pin head, not exactly, but they got a pretty good picture of what's happening. I feel that they let it happen like this because, actually, the

people are asleep...They're not aware of the fact that somebody has to supply this; they have to supply this. In order for a big man in organized crime--organized crime is just one small dot, just one small dot that has something to do with narcotics coming in. I'll tell you, I believe that the "establishment" is quite aware of this..."

"You know, who gives a damn? Like they say, it's down in the ghetto. As long as they're down in Inglewood sitting on some Champale--whatever they're doing, they don't give a damn until they find out that their daughter been tripping off of weed or whatever. Now, if it's their daughter, "I'm mad, now--they'll have to stop this shit. We have to bring this shit to the hole." Until about two years ago I believe that the shit was put on a stick like that...."

Interviewee: "I remember that, it was dry. For two months straight. I remember you could ride from where I live way out to the west side, on the other side of Los Angeles--way out to the west side and couldn't find nothing."

Interviewee: "Yes. Right along that time. It was a really big thing. But then later, about six months later, they closed again, but you see, then traffic didn't slow up because organized crime, they thought of another means of getting it in. They just took Mexico off the map, you know. It wouldn't make that much difference, not now. Peoples got too much money invested--they couldn't let their money fall like that. Would you? Just because they were closing Mexico all of a sudden--just cry and sit while they bust you so you couldn't get over there--would you let that stop you? Could that stop you? You spend money to try to find out how to make more money..."

### The Risks

The youngsters view the trade in marijuana and pills as a "business," with both profits and risks. The risks, as noted, are not evenly distributed. The bigger dealers rarely are caught, while the teenager or young adult on the street will frequently accumulate a record for "possession"

(usually, simple possession rather than possession for purposes of sale). On the other hand, the actual judicial penalties for first-offense "possession" normally are light: probation, a fine, and, occasionally, a short spell in jail. By and large, only the youngster with a record of repeated offenses (both narcotics and other), or one who has antagonized local cops, will actually be imprisoned. Hence the legal penalties can be regarded as a form of "business license tax." The worst effect, of course, is the presence of a "narcotics" record when the offender applies for future employment, the long-run consequences of which are discussed later in this report.

When dealing, the youngsters regard it as a relatively safe business as long as they keep a level head. Asked how many of the regular dealers would be picked up by the police, they replied:

"It's just one of those rare cases. Well, it's not really that much. You don't really hear if someone pops--if somebody drops a dime (informs)."

"Only if they got busted on the humbug (accident or caprice)--yeah, they were high while trying to take care of business. You see, the world of dealing or transmission of drugs around in the community is just like having a job right here (in Westwood). You don't come to work intoxicated unless you know that there are certain things..that don't require you to use your brain; it's the same instance. This cat has an office, his office is the community."

"You keep a clean head."

"Right, your thinking ability has to be 100 percent all the time because if you don't, you look behind you and there will be a big white man in a blue uniform. One thing: all they have to do is really satisfy the customer. That's right, right."

'Cause that's like, you know,--- ----cross the way--you got to be on your job satsfying the customers." 11

The probability of getting caught, they believe, is in direct proportion to the number of others who are associated with the street dealer or are cognizant of his activities. The more one can deal independently and in relative secrecy, the less the likelihood that punishment will ensue. One young man stressed on several occasions that it is highly desirable not to have wives, girl friends, or others knowledgeable about one's street business; presumably such knowledge might endanger the dealer in the event of a quarrel or dispute, where motives of revenge or recrimination might lead to a police tip-off.

"The majority's (the big operators) not getting caught. Well, not too long ago one got picked up, but was 'cause of him and his wife, or whatever, had a misunderstanding. And she turned him in. But the police didn't actually catch him."

"She put the nickel on him. But, see, like-----he more or less is the type of person where if he keeps a clear-thinking mind and, like they say, pay your dues--you know, you been in a racket a little while, you know what you're doing, you know...If your hang-up is gonna be a female--this is my personal opinion--I feel that she shouldn't have anything to do with it..."

"So many of them got so many front-men."

"You see, anything you do that deals with narcotics goes right back to your risk. Anything that's illegal goes back to your risk. You can be hung-up by your front-man, you can be hung-up by your associates-- people that come to take care of business with you. (Don't try to play games with the big operators)...This is what he's gonna tell you. The

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11. Compare these completely spontaneous comments with the following account of why Irishmen lost out to other ethnic groups in the rackets of New York, written by D.P. Moynihan: Addiction to alcohol "partially accounts for the disappearance of the Irish from organized crime. Gambling and related activities are among the largest business activities in New York and certainly among the most profitable. With their political power, even if declining, the Irish ought to have a share of control in them, but the Southern Italians, with Jewish connections, have completely taken over. Bookmaking, policy, and drugs are complex, serious, exacting trades. They are not jobs for heavy drinkers." Beyond the Melting Pot, p. 257.

bag not gonna get any fatter, you know. You just have to buy this to be cool. Don't come back to my pad if you don't dig it, you know? Fronting him off like that, you know, shit.... He'll blow your shit up just as fast and then he'll get you in a lot of trouble with the law and then get you in trouble with the big man. The big man--you get hurt. You get hurt--it's not just a little nickel and dime thing--It's thousands of dollars."

"Most of them that's in there--some of them might be doing it on their own, but not the majority--I mean they are doing it for somebody else."

There is always a risk that the police will detect one's supply and confiscate it, thereby wiping out the considerable investment which it represents. However, the perception is that this is very rare, and that individual policemen will be tolerant as long as the youngster is willing to share some of the "good stuff." These perceptions are absolutely consistent in both East Los Angeles and Watts, and even the wording is similar although the interviews were conducted separately and there was no opportunity for exchange of views or information between the two areas surveyed.

Watts:

"The police gets high, yeah! All of them get high."

"You know, the police, the establishment, they are the ones with the best weed, right, they got the good stuff."

East Los Angeles:

"There's this one cop that everyone knows that if he catches you under the influence he'll let you slide twice, if you behave yourself, and like there was once a couple of brothers were walking down the street and they had a case and instead of busting them they took the case and said, 'you better not do that again.' Usually they pour it out, or throw it away or something, but this case they just got it, it was an Anglo and a Chicano. They didn't bust us, they just took one of the cases away from us. I've known a lot that take advantage of you, that I know of. They don't hassle you; if you're loaded, you know, you got pills or something, as long as you give them, it's okay. He says, 'how much you got?' or 'what do you have in there?' you know, and then he says, 'well, give it to me,' you know, it's really weird, man."

PB: "That's interesting because in Watts they say the police have the best stuff or can get the best stuff."

"They do. They get the best stuff away from you. The dirty rats."

"The pigs don't bust you if you have just one joint, they can't use that."

"By the time you go to court, you know, they're through with it, you know, so they've got to get 5 joints out of you...."

"Well, they'll take it away from you and they'll let you go."

"Even if you have two (joints), they'll take one and say, 'you better go home and if I see you around here again, I'll take you in.' It's what happens."



The views expressed above, in both areas, are partly cause and partly effect of a virtually universal cynicism about the morals of the "moralists"--the policemen, public officials, and others identified with "law and order." "It ain't nothing but a racket, just a racket, so far as the political structure is concerned. J. Paul Getty and Howard Hughes are going to do what they want to do, I don't care what the law is. A main function of the political structure is carried out through the Police Department. Did you notice what they campaigned on last time? Crime. They can get you any time they want to, but if they don't want to, like with Howard Hughes, they'll never get you. Now, these peckerwoods get up there and run for President and say, 'Well, look, we want the police to enforce this, we want to enforce that,' it's just a racket, man."<sup>12</sup>

In any case, there is nothing to indicate that the existing legal penalties or enforcement of law provide any major deterrent to the functioning of the street economy. In general, the young people believe that the police and the courts will be reasonably lenient with them as long as they are concentrating on marijuana and staying away from drugs, especially the hard stuff.

"I say you can go to jail quicker for possession of drugs."

"On a marijuana beef, man, you can get a little slack on that, man, the establishment goes easier.... Where you have a case of

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12. Watts: The Aftermath, edited by Paul Bullock. New York: Grove Press, 1970, p. 144.

marijuana, you know, when you go in there...you know they get on statistics, they lay it on your background. Yeah, check out your record, if you have been busted before, you been busted for drugs, you know what I mean, heroin, cocaine, mescaline, all that strong stuff, man. In the United States you come in and get busted for a \$5 bag, man, cat gonna shoot some shit on you."

Even in cases of stealing, some youngsters feel, strongly, that survival demands it and the risks are worthwhile. Not even the possibility of a jail sentence frightens or deters them, and when a white is the victim, there is the added feeling that justice has been done, as the following dialogue among Watts youngsters will illustrate:

#1: "We went into this shop. They had everything and a lady's purse sitting right there. We got the purse and left."

#2: "Oh, man--was she black or white?"

#1: "White."

#2: "Right on....Power to the people!"

#3: "At this time, was you employed anywhere?"

#1: "No, I wasn't employed anywhere."

#3: "Okay, well--did you really have to have it?"

#1: "Yeah, I had to have it. At the time, yeah. We needed it...I needed it."

#3: "Need it at home or by yourself?"

#1: "At the home and for myself and for the sake of living, period."

#3: "Survival, right?"

#2: "In another words it's what you knew what you had to do with it."

#3: "Now, to me, in my own opinion and I think that J---- and M---- feel the same way, you know that was a good enough reason if any to risk going to jail for, 'cuz you will get fed in jail. You will reach your goal one way or another. And when you say about the pad, man, I know. Boy, when you're hungry that's the worst thing--that is sick. When you go to the pad and there ain't nothing in there..."

Or, as another youngster summarized the feelings in a separate session: "Any kind of way a cat's gonna make it, be a risk, always a risk."

#### Possible Effects of Legalization of Marijuana

It is obvious that the market for marijuana, in particular, has all of the characteristics of a regular consumer market (or what might be called, with great irony, the "white" market). It is based on an existing demand, has a price and marketing structure, and allocates resources in accordance with the principle of "consumer sovereignty." Only the fact that it is illegal distinguishes it from (say) the liquor or automobile or cosmetics markets. Logically, one would expect that the orthodox economists, who normally deplore governmental interferences with free-functioning markets and "consumer sovereignty," would be in the forefront of those calling for legalization of the sale and purchase of marijuana.

It is possible, of course, that the production and sale of marijuana might entail certain external diseconomies which would lead to reductions in net output overall, though this opens up a

"Pandora's box" from the viewpoint of the orthodox economists and therefore is a consideration which they tend to minimize or shun. A full exploration of the available findings on the "effect" of marijuana is beyond the scope of this report, but it now appears that the observable short-run or immediate consequences of its use are no more harmful, or perhaps less harmful, than those arising from the consumption of alcohol or tobacco. Whether there is a long-range physical or psychological disability associated with its continuous use is still uncertain, but there is, as yet, no scientifically verifiable evidence to support this fear. The fundamental reason for its present legal status, it would seem, is the Puritan ethic which denigrates the seeking of pleasure and exalts work and asceticism (an ethic which, at various times in our history, has produced legal restrictions on drinking, smoking, dancing, horse racing, theatrical performances, music, and myriad other forms of "enjoyment").<sup>13</sup>

The young people recognize the glaring inconsistencies within the structure of our society and are united in their belief that the use of marijuana should be legalized. However, our discussions of the possible economic impact of this move raised questions in their minds which markedly lowered their enthusiasm for it. Apparently they have

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13. As a personal aside, I have observed that a kind of mystique has arisen in connection with the use of marijuana, sometimes ascribing to it qualities and effects which I question. At best, I would not regard it as superior in any way to alcohol (as some of its more enthusiastic admirers proclaim), but this is a subjective opinion which is irrelevant to the matter of its legality. My impression is that, in accordance with some recent findings, its effect varies in line with the personality of the user and his predisposition as to the kind of response he wants and expects.

assumed that legalization would simply mean that they would secure it in the same way and same form as now but that they would then suffer no legal penalties for its use. As they became aware that certain basic marketing and economic changes would take place as a result of legalization, they had second thoughts. Clearly, the legal sale of marijuana would be subject to licensing and other restrictions, taxation, and, probably, stronger or better enforced penalties for unlawful manufacture and distribution than now exist. Like the market changes which accompanied the repeal of the prohibition laws in 1933, these would have a profound impact on what is currently the sub-economy. The fears expressed by some of the Watts youngsters seem to take two forms: (1) a belief that marijuana would be heavily taxed, which might raise the retail price, and otherwise regulated in a strict form which would be to others' advantage and not to theirs, and (2) an apprehension that it would lead to the destruction of their major source of income, without the substitution of any alternative source.

"I believe marijuana would be legal right now if it was left up to the people. If everything was originally left up to the people, like the Bill of Rights, 'cuz the people are supposed to make the laws.

PB: "What do you think it's going to do to the market?"

"You mean where's the money going to? They going to take all the goodies out of it! Would tax it, take all the goodies out of the shit! Better leave it like it is. That's a consideration."

"They would charge much, much more money for it."

"They would charge a little bit more money for it. They will tax the hell out of it. If you legalize marijuana it's gonna go up."

Some of their second thoughts about legalization stem from their cynicism and suspicion about the role of the "establishment." As elsewhere, many are convinced that even more of the profits would leave the community if the marijuana trade became a legal business, subject to taxation and other regulation, and that the imposition of taxes might strengthen the motivation of government to penalize and eliminate its unlawful distribution on the streets. "Man, I'd rather the shit stay just like it is. Uncle Sam he won't be cool, he's the one that's going to have all the weed." In principle, however, they think the consumption of marijuana should be legal:

"Right. I think they should go ahead and legalize weed and everybody get high and be happy."

"It would be a lot of chaos on that although I would like to see it legalized because it's better to legalize it so when you do it you don't risk a chance."

"I look at it just like alcohol. If you wanna drink and wanna get high, that's up to you. But then if anything happens to you, you just go to the hospital, that's all."

Other comments suggest that many people would probably attempt to grow their own supply (untaxed) if marijuana usage became legal, but they also seem to agree that Uncle Sam would make a serious and effective attempt to control illegal manufacture, just as the legalization of alcohol led to the systematic decline and eventual destruction of bootlegging. As to whether legalization would lead

to significant increases in demand, they believe that existing laws do have a preventive effect and that more people would smoke marijuana if it were legalized. A close examination of their reasoning, however, indicates that potential increases in demand would be concentrated in areas outside the ghetto and barrio and, perhaps, among the older age groups. It is not at all certain that young men in the central city could expand their consumption substantially, and if the overall economic effects of legalization diminish or undermine their present role in the sub-economy, it is possible that they might then be unable to afford as much.

If either legalization or law enforcement does, in fact, have these consequences, the economic crisis in the ghettos and barrios, already of disastrous proportions, would intensify to the point of social chaos unless provisions are made for replacement of the lost income through other channels. As suggested elsewhere in this report, the relative peace in inner-city areas during periods of severe economic recessions is probably due, in large part, to the stabilizing influence of the sub-economy and the interest of its major operators in preventing violent interruptions of normal business.

There are groups, of course, which believe that the drug trade is intentionally encouraged or promoted by the "establishment" as a means of tranquilizing ghetto residents and preventing them from carrying through plans for radical and perhaps revolutionary reform. The Black Muslims, as one example, deplore the widespread use of marijuana and other "drugs" and see this as a reflection

of deliberate outside control over the ghetto. Whether or not one accepts this Machiavellian interpretation literally, it is undeniable (as the next chapter of this report demonstrates in detail) that the majority group has traditionally tolerated the pervasive use of pills, narcotics, and other illegal items or services as long as it was confined to low-income ghetto communities.

#### Effect on Work Attitudes

The availability of an illegal income naturally affects the willingness of young people to accept legal employment at wages below the level attainable in the sub-economy. Though this fact enrages Professor Banfield and other exponents of Social Darwinism and the Puritan ethic, it is entirely consistent with the premises and precepts of competitive economics. Since the sub-economy is actually a form of consumer market, it is economically appropriate for the worker to offer his services at the higher income level associated with that market rather than to accept lower wages in the types of work considered morally superior by Banfield and others. The orthodox economists, of course, should be willing to pursue the logic of the doctrine of "consumer sovereignty" wherever it might lead, without making the value judgments which in other contexts they deplore so articulately.



Manifestly, these facts also render irrelevant much of the controversy over the presumed impact of minimum wages upon employment.<sup>14</sup> Thousands of young men already express no interest in unskilled jobs paying the full minimum wage and above. Professor Doeringer's concept of the dual queue--reciprocal rankings by jobseekers and employers--helps explain why many young men, quite logically from their viewpoint, reject low-paying jobs (particularly those involving manual labor). They rank preferred employers just as the employers rank preferred workers, and accept the less preferred alternatives only when the better ones are no longer available. Again, what is sauce for the middle-class goose should be sauce for the inner-city gander.

PB: "Back to the economics of the situation. At most from an NYC job you can make maybe \$1.45 (to \$1.65) an hour. A training program has ...an allowance which is maybe \$60.00 a week .... In your opinion, is this an important reason why a lot of people who might be eligible for a training program or eligible for NYC may not even be interested in going in that direction?"

Interviewee: "You can't compare them."

Interviewee: "Right, 'cuz they're making money."

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14. This is not to suggest, of course, that the minimum wage necessarily has no impact on employment anywhere in the economy. This study is limited to those areas where the sub-economy is active and large numbers of workers rarely work at jobs covered by Social Security and other forms of social insurance, through which it may be possible to trace their employment pattern. Outside the low-income ghetto, it is conceivable that minimum-wage legislation does have a measurable employment impact, but this is not our concern in this report.

These impressions and observations are fully confirmed by the available statistics on employment in many of the special governmental programs and in low-paid jobs in private industry. Since the initiation of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program in Fiscal 1965, approximately 318,000 NYC enrollment slots have gone unfilled. Since Fiscal 1964, almost 147,000 MDTA (Manpower Development and Training Act) slots have similarly gone begging. This same pattern holds true for a number of other programs supposedly intended to increase employment and employability for residents of low-income areas, including young men (and in the case of NYC, young persons exclusively).<sup>15</sup>

The official statistics on numbers of "discouraged workers" also are impressive. The number of such workers, often labeled "the hidden unemployed," rose approximately 125,000 to a total of 740,000 (seasonally adjusted) between the second quarter of 1970 and the corresponding quarter of 1971. Most of the men falling in this category were either under 25 or over 60, thus indicating that a substantial percentage will be found in the age group studied in this report. This Bureau of Labor Statistics study reports that Blacks tend to be even more over-represented among discouraged workers than among those regularly counted as unemployed (and, thus,

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15. See p. 299 of the 1971 Manpower Report and Table III in the Appendix to this report. The Wall Street Journal of December 14, 1971, reports that only about half of the available slots under the new public-service job law had been filled as of that date, far behind schedule and below expectations. The article attributes much of the difficulty to bureaucratic delays and resistance from employee organizations, but it may also reflect the reluctance of jurisdictions to offer anything but low-level "made work," thus triggering some of the reactions already noted.

in the labor market). It speculates that we probably do not know all the real reasons why such large numbers do not enter, or leave, the labor force.<sup>16</sup> Some of the underlying reasons may perhaps be suggested in our analysis of the youth labor market and the sub-economy in Los Angeles. It should again be noted that official statistics usually understate the magnitude of this problem.

Young men in the central city, for a number of reasons, will often tend to set a "reservation wage" for their acceptance of proffered employment which exceeds the actual wage established. Thus, whatever effect a reduction in wages would have upon demand (and even that is uncertain, given the reluctance of many employers to hire unskilled minority youngsters under any circumstances), it would even further discourage the supply of young people for such work. Professor Banfield, as noted earlier, is aware of this fact and deplores it. It may, indeed, have deleterious long-run consequences, but it hardly seems sensible to blame the young men who are responding logically to those alternatives which society has made available to them.

#### The Profits of "Sin"

One of the critical reasons why the sub-economy is tolerated is that it is highly profitable to important sectors of the regular economy. Society has deemed the preservation of the sub-economy preferable to the establishment of family income

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16. Daily Labor Report, August 26, 1971, p. B-4.

guarantees at a level above the poverty line, or the reform of existing employment structures to accommodate the needs of those excluded rather than of those included. It has been cheaper and simpler to permit the sub-economy to function, producing some income for ghetto and barrio residents as a pacifier. This alternative is rendered even more attractive by the fact that a significant part of the revenue flows into the coffers of "legitimate" businesses, invariably controlled by Anglos.

Though much of this process is hidden from view, enough visible evidence remains to confirm the above observation. The actual cost of producing a "red" (seconal capsule, known as a "downer") is from  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent to a penny each. Thus, at the retail street price of 25¢ per pill, the profits have multiplied 25 or 50 times the actual manufacturing cost. According to estimates of experts, about half of the annual production of barbituates is diverted to illegal uses and 92 percent of "up and down" pills in illicit traffic are manufactured by "legitimate" drug companies; whatever estimate is accepted, it is clear that a large percentage of pill production in this country finds its way into the sub-economy. Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, who has investigated the drug industry, has stated that pet food factories are inspected more frequently than are those producing prescription drugs. The issue of Congressional Quarterly for December 4, 1970, contains a special report on the successful lobbying by the Swiss-based drug manufacturing firm of Hoffmann-LaRoche against government regulation of its top-selling

tranquilizer drugs, and adds that amphetamine ("uppers") producers also won lobbying victories despite reports that much of their production was going into the "black market."<sup>17</sup>

"In 1967 the Federal Trade Commission revealed that the U.S. drug industry had the highest profits of any industry group in the country. The drug manufacturers averaged 21.1 percent profit on investment--after taxes."<sup>18</sup> (Emphasis added)

Further information provided in the June 24, 1971, issue of Standard & Poor's Industry Surveys (a major financial manual) reveals that ethical drug industry profits this year were then expected to rise 10 percent to a total of about \$7.7 billion, and that the "demand for drug products is generally recession-resistant, and the return on sales is among the best in U.S. industry." Furthermore, this growth will accelerate: "Sales by the ethical drug industry are expected to rise to approximately \$10.8 billion in 1975 and to \$15.4 billion by 1980."<sup>19</sup> This means a growth rate of 8-9 percent annually. It is also reported that most of the major drug companies have established tax-exempt operations in Puerto Rico.

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17. CQ, Dec. 4, 1970, p. 2911 ff. Those familiar with the New Deal of the 1930's will find a certain irony in the fact that the law firms representing the drug industry were those of Thomas G. (Tommy) Corcoran and (Thurman) Arnold and (Paul) Porter. See also U.S. News and World Report, December 7, 1970, op. cit.

18. Figures cited in Evelyn Dubrow, "Our Other Drug Problem," Viewpoint, Fall, 1971, p. 19.

19. pp. H13 and H14.

Though outside the scope of this study, the profits realized by organized crime through the sale of hard narcotics are staggering. More immediately relevant are the proceeds from the sale of marijuana, which flow again into "respectable" coffers. Much of this has already been documented in this report. Perhaps a more dramatic illustration appeared in a news item in the Los Angeles Times of December 16, 1971:

Something new on the drug scene was seized Wednesday when officers raided what they described as a major narcotics and dangerous drugs "factory" in a plush home in Laguna Beach.

Among materials seized was a gallon of hashish oil, described. . . as something police had not previously seen.

It is 40 or 50 times more powerful than high-grade hashish, and one drop on the end of a cigarette can give a person a "high" . . .

Police said they also seized 30,000 LSD tablets, 5 ounces of high-grade cocaine and 8 pounds of marijuana, some canned and sealed for shipment. The contraband was valued at \$150,000. . . .  
(Emphasis added).

The discouraging aspect of this news item is that it appears so rarely. This is no accident, however. The sub-economy, with its usual effect on the ghettos, has been a permanent and traditional feature of American society, partly because it has been so convenient and so profitable to the majority group. The next chapter documents this generalization through an exploration of history.

IX.

THE SUB-ECONOMY IN AMERICAN HISTORY

In his definitive account of the prohibition era and the role of the bootlegger, Andrew Sinclair gives prominence to a quotation from<sup>1</sup>  
Al Capone:

I make my money by supplying a public demand. If I break the law, my customers, who number hundreds of the best people in Chicago, are as guilty as I am. The only difference between us is that I sell and they buy. Everybody calls me a racketeer. I call myself a business man. When I sell liquor, it's bootlegging. When my patrons serve it on a silver tray on Lake Shore Drive, it's hospitality.

Capone's statement, however self-serving it may be, is an insightful commentary on the economic function of many lawbreakers in the urban areas of the United States, then and now. The sub-economy is hardly a new phenomenon in American life, nor has it historically been limited to the Black and Brown ghettos. Sometimes it has functioned directly through political machines and public corruption, as in New York City and other large metropolitan areas in the 19th century and earlier in the 20th century. On other occasions, it has operated quasi-independently, but always with the implied or explicit cooperation of government and the law enforcement agencies. From the earlier concentration on graft and the operation of saloons, gambling houses, and brothels (as in New Orleans' famous Storyville district), it progressed to the large-scale racketeering of the prohibition era from the end of World War I to 1933. With the passing of prohibition, the emphasis shifted again to illegal betting, gambling, and, most notably, the supply of narcotics and drugs of all varieties.

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1. Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition: The Era of Excess. Boston: Little, Brown, 1962, p. 220.

Traditionally, much of the illegal economic activity has centered in low-income areas of the city, though the consumer market for the products of this activity often has covered the entire city. In the earlier periods, the "immigrant" ghetto served as a major locus of the sub-economy and a source from which the lower-level criminals or corrupt entrepreneurs were commonly drawn. Significant proceeds from this activity, however, flowed outside the ghettos into the coffers of politicians, industrialists and other businessmen, union leaders, policemen, and others who might be generally regarded as "respectable."

There is, apparently, a high correlation between ethnicity and economic crime. In the 19th century, the Irish gravitated to the big-city political machines, and displayed a taste for politics which enabled them to rise into the higher echelons by the end of the century. In 1880, New York's Tammany Hall elected the first Irish Catholic mayor, and this domination persisted for another half century. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, surely no enemy of the Irish, has commented that among the Irish "there was an indifference to Yankee proprieties. To the Irish, stealing an election was rascally, not to be approved, but neither quite to be abhorred."<sup>2</sup> The Irish, accustomed to official persecution because of their religion, tended to suspect law and formal government and to prefer informal political and social processes.

Of course, the early political machines performed social-welfare functions for virtually all of the immigrant groups and for many of the indigenous poor. In return for their necessary political support, the

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2. D. P. Moynihan, "The Irish," a chapter in Beyond the Melting Pot, by Nathan Glazer and D. P. Moynihan. Cambridge: MIT Press and Harvard University Press, 1963, p. 224.



poor and the recent arrivals were given public jobs, relief, Christmas and Thanksgiving baskets, and other favors. Such interference with the free market and "survival of the fittest" was, of course, contrary to the most cherished doctrines of the laissez-faire economists and their potent allies in the conservative classes.

The disreputable role of the Irish, however, was not limited to the performance of these formally disapproved but socially useful functions. They became heavily involved in waterfront activities, on all sides, and corruption has been endemic to the waterfront economy even to the present day. "The Irish, in a sense, have never strayed far from the docks, where they established a singularly dispiriting regime of political, business, and trade-union corruption."<sup>3</sup> In the 20th century, of course, other minorities have gravitated to waterfront employment and its concomitant graft: first, the Italians, and, later, the Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

The new immigration waves in the late 19th and early 20th centuries brought the Italians from Southern Europe and the Jews from Eastern Europe. The newer immigrants again provided the human raw material for the sub-economies of the cities. Some of the immigrant Jewish economic success came through legitimate channels in merchandising, banking, and building, but many Jews concentrated in the garment industry where sweatshops were prevalent and racketeers not infrequently played a role in labor disputes. In the 1920's, both the Jewish-led employers' association and the Jewish-led union hired "muscle men" to serve them

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3. Ibid., p. 255.

in industrial disputes, and both later discovered that all of the thugs were employed by the same man: Arnold Rothstein.<sup>4</sup>

The coming of prohibition provided a golden opportunity for the rise of the sub-economy to a pinnacle of affluence. Again the ethnic minorities were the major risk-takers, and by the end of prohibition almost all of the prominent racketeers were Italian, Jewish, or Irish. The Southern Italians, notably the Sicilians, provided much of the manpower for operation of the bootlegging empires in cities like Chicago and New York, but the chief consumers of their illegal goods were the Anglo-Saxon whites. Of greatest interest, in terms of the main focus of this report, was the role of the low-income ghetto dweller in this massive operation. Young men in the poor sections of Chicago learned from experience that crime "is the only avenue available to them."<sup>5</sup> The bootlegger and racketeer was a hero in the poverty neighborhood, someone to be envied and emulated rather than despised. Sinclair describes the role and influence of the prohibition racketeer in terms which can be applied word-for-word to the sub-economy in Watts and East Los Angeles (substituting only "Black" or "Chicano" for "Sicilian" or "Italian"; "marijuana" or "pills" for "bootleg liquor"; and "Black Panthers" or "Brown Berets" for "Unione Siciliano"):<sup>6</sup>

The wealthy racketeer and bootlegger was, in the eyes of the Italian or the Slavic community, the American dream come true. The recent immigrants had come to America in pursuit of a golden mirage, and those among them who made fortunes by violating antipathetic laws were their first heroes and helpers. They were the "successes of the neighborhood."

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4. Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology. New York: Collier, 1962 (revised), p. 131.

5. John Landesco, "Prohibition and Crime," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September 1932, p. 124, quoted in Sinclair, op. cit., p. 226.

6. Sinclair, op. cit., pp. 226-227.

The prestige and power of the Unione Siciliano gave all poverty-stricken Sicilians a hope in the future and a certain national pride against an America which discriminated against them. Only those few Sicilians who had respectable jobs in middle-class professions hated the reputation which the Unione gave to the Sicilian people. The plea of such priests as Father Louis Giambastiani against the internecine slaughter of the Sicilian gangs was rare in a community which associated wealth and power with criminal action.

The chief sources of bootleg liquor in all major cities by the close of prohibition were to be found in the tenements, in the Little Italys and Little Bohemias of the slums. There, the tenement dwellers were organized by the gangsters into an army of alky cooks and booze-runners. The accusation of the drys that most of the large bootleggers were of foreign extraction was correct; but the contentions of the wets that most of the hard-liquor drinkers, who kept the bootleggers in business, were of old American stock were also correct. Indeed, the patronage of the new America by the old was one of the first efforts made by the old America to look after the welfare of the new. Although the prohibition laws only proceeded against the sellers and manufacturers of bootleg, not the buyers, with the consequence that the foreign-born landed in jail more frequently than their patrons, Americans of an older vintage were responsible for keeping the bootleg trade in such a healthy financial state. And even though a higher percentage of foreign-born Americans were sentenced for drunkenness and violation of liquor laws and neglect of their families, the virtue of the native-born could hardly be maintained on the basis of crime figures. For a higher percentage of native white Americans violated narcotics laws, and the laws against fraud, forgery, robbery, adultery, and rape.

Like the Irish before them, the Italians and Jews suffered crippling discrimination in the labor market and in American society generally, partly because of their religions and partly because harmful stereotypes gave rise to deeply-rooted prejudices among the dominant Anglo whites. All minorities had been told, in effect, that their cultures and their religious beliefs were inferior to those held by the Anglo-Saxons. Quite apart from the usual prejudices based on religion, vicious canards were hurled at the poorer and often illiterate immigrants. The South Italian and Sicilian peasants were "considered inferior, hardly civilized."<sup>7</sup>

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7. Glazer and Moynihan, op. cit., p. 184.

The earliest Southern Italian immigrants came from farming areas and more than half of these immigrants over the age of 14 were illiterate (just as the Black immigrants to urban centers in the United States emerge from rural communities in the South and also suffer severe educational deprivation). Skeptical toward law and government (like the Irish), with most of the better jobs barred to them because of discrimination and their educational deficiencies, the Southern Italians replaced the Irish in unskilled jobs on railroad and construction projects or engaged in criminal enterprise. Glazer and Moynihan again note:<sup>8</sup>

Opportunities for wealth and prominence came slow and late to Italian Americans. Meanwhile, gambling, drugs, and the waterfront succeeded industrial racketeering and bootlegging as the major sources of illegal wealth. Into this field, as the older groups withdrew, the new group moved. By the time of the Kefauver investigations in the early 1950's, a large part of the gambling and other illegal industries had fallen almost completely into the hands of Italian Americans. And in their hands they apparently remain, because the Negroes and Puerto Ricans have not shown the ability to capture them.

The early racketeers were poorly educated and young. At the height of his vast power, Al Capone was only 29 years old.<sup>9</sup> The farther they moved from the slums and the more wealthy they became, the greater became their social and economic respectability. Capone proudly consorted with celebrities and popular sports figures. Without strong political and police support, the criminal empires would soon have toppled; the administration of Chicago's Mayor "Big Bill" Thompson (whose fame mainly rests upon his politically-inspired threat to punch England's King George on the nose, should he visit Chicago) openly tolerated and secretly connived with the racketeers, and the enforcement of prohibition laws at the federal

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9. Bell, op. cit., p. 147.

level was characterized by a studied apathy and indifference. Prohibition had its strong supporters in the Midwest and the South and in rural communities and small towns generally, but in the cities the bootlegger was not without sympathy and respect. As long as the violence was largely confined to gang warfare and stayed away from the respectable neighborhoods, the wealthy and the middle class were prepared to accept racketeering as essential to the provision of their booze.

In the 19th century, the linkage between crime and the local government had been direct and obvious, reflected in the power of the political machine. In the 20th century, the linkage was sometimes as overt as it had been earlier (as in the case of Chicago and Cicero in Illinois) but, more often, it tended to be somewhat indirect and concealed. Civil service reform and other events had diluted the strength of the traditional machines, but, nevertheless, politics and criminal enterprise continued their partnership. During the Depression, testimony before the Wickersham Commission clearly delineated the relationship between criminal activity and the political structure; Matthew Woll, a vice president of the American Federation of Labor, noted that there was no general feeling of resentment against the racketeers "because they are looked upon as being part of a trade to satisfy a social want," and that there was little attempt to enforce the law "even for the most vicious crime committed." Not one of the 130 gang murders in Chicago between 1926 and 1927 was punished legally.<sup>10</sup> Corruption was pervasive; only the particularly brutal St. Valentine's Day Massacre in 1929 finally sparked an effective public reaction against the racketeers and led to a tightening of law enforcement.

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10. Sinclair, op. cit., pp. 229-230.

Bootlegging, of course, disappeared with the end of prohibition. Many of the bootleggers, especially at the higher levels, were jailed (Capone for income tax evasion) or fled the country, but others simply converted to lawful business enterprises or continued their illicit activity in other fields: organized gambling, race-track betting, the "numbers" game, prostitution, and narcotics. In cities like New York, the ethnic composition of the economic criminal group began to change somewhat, as more Blacks (and later the Puerto Ricans) entered the lower echelons. By this time, opportunities had opened up for Italian Americans in legitimate areas of economic activity and an Italian middle-class, respectable and relatively conservative, had emerged. Nevertheless, the top leadership of the rackets tended to remain in the hands of the Italian Americans.

On the streets of the ghettos--in Harlem, Chicago's South Side, Philadelphia's "Jungle," Central Avenue and Watts in Los Angeles, and elsewhere--the Blacks had entered the sub-economy in massive numbers, serving as the local "policy dealers" and drug peddlers. Like the Irish and the Jews and the Italians before them, they took the risks and, in return, claimed a part of the income generated by these activities. An important part of the income, of course, flowed into the hands of outsiders who controlled the operation at the top and arranged for the supply of pills, marijuana, and the hard dope like heroin and cocaine. The local police always took their share, as did politicians (sometimes through campaign contributions and other support from the "businessmen" who ran the rackets), some doctors and lawyers,<sup>11</sup> and others in the complex network of crime.

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11. In 1943, a wire tap on the phone of racketeer Frank Costello revealed that a nominee to the Supreme Court of the State of New York had thanked Costello for arranging the appointment. This is but one

Originally, the trade in marijuana and related drugs was largely confined to the ghettos. "Weed" became associated in the public mind with the poor Blacks, jazz musicians, and some entertainers. In the early 1930's, Cab Calloway sang about the "Reefer Man," and Louis Armstrong was once arrested by the Los Angeles police for smoking a "joint" in a parking lot next to the hall where he was playing (an event which apparently caused him to abandon the habit as being too risky to his career). Young Blacks, again like their ethnic predecessors, found that street crime was "the only avenue available to them." Marijuana and the harder drugs served both as sources of erratic income and means of temporary psychic escape from the tensions generated by prejudice, discrimination, and slum-ghetto living.

Although the sale and use of marijuana had been made a crime under both federal and state laws, the enforcement of these laws became highly selective. Just as in the days of prohibition, when racketeering and violence aroused little indignation as long as they stayed within certain neighborhoods of the city and certain elements of the society, the use of narcotics and the playing of "numbers" hardly disturbed the general population as long as these crimes and any violence or personal crime associated with them were limited to the low-income minority areas.

Gambling and related forms of crime have not been restricted to the residents of ghettos; the illegal off-track betting operations, as one example, have been largely patronized by the Anglos. Professor Oscar Handlin finds no substantial evidence that Negroes and Puerto Ricans commit significantly more crime than previous immigrant minorities or the Anglos in New York City. There are, he observes, particular

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example among many illustrating the close connections between organized crime and the political establishment. See Bell, op. cit., p. 145.

types of crime that are more characteristic of the ghettos and barrios, a fact which he ascribes primarily to certain cultural factors such as  
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family disorganization and social attitudes:

With reference to still other forms of delinquency, the incidence among Puerto Ricans and Negroes may not be significantly greater than in other segments of the population, but violations of the law are not regarded within the group with the moral disapprobation attached to them in the wider community. Neither the Negroes nor the Puerto Ricans see any ethical deficiencies in gambling; and they accept policy and its associated rackets as a matter of course. If the numbers game is regarded as an evil at all, it is a necessary one that plays a useful part in the lives of men and women for whom advancement is more a dream than a possible reality. But the long history of gambling in the city and its prevalence among other groups show that what is different is the form and the open acceptance rather than the extent of participation.

Cultural factors, undeniably, play an important role in explaining ethnic differences in types of criminal activity, but associated with, and underlying, these factors are powerful economic forces. As this historical review has demonstrated, society has tolerated and encouraged the ghetto sub-economies partly to meet consumer needs (in and out of the ghetto) usually regarded as "immoral" and partly to provide an income to poverty groups under circumstances requiring no direct cost to the taxpayer and no entry by minorities into those parts of the labor market where they might compete with the majority group which currently dominates. As I shall elaborate later, this has had the added advantages of imposing the major risks upon the "unpopular" minorities while, at the same time, assuring that a not insignificant part of the economic gains flows back into the Anglo community, directly through the Anglo ownership of drug-producing firms, gambling establishments, etc. and

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12. Oscar Handlin, The Newcomers. New York: Anchor Books, 1959, pp. 102-103.



indirectly through Anglo control of the stores and other businesses serving ghetto neighborhoods.

The economic and psychological effect of this "arrangement" upon the young man should be obvious. It reinforces his cynicism about "law and order" and creates the expectation that only through the sub-economy can he meet his economic needs. Clarence Williams III, actor and star of the TV show "Mod Squad," recently described how he began his "career" as a policy runner in the New York ghetto. Every morning, he explained, he would stand in hallways and pick up the small "numbers" bets from older women, and would deliver the winnings at the end of the day to those who had "scored a hit." The racket operators had an agreement with the local cops which normally protected the dealers, but Williams ultimately was arrested when temporary political pressure on the Police Department required that he be sacrificed. The bigger operators were not molested. In a new book, a young cocaine dealer<sup>13</sup> describes the fine art of police bribery:

Uptown the other night we had a big dice game goin' on. First the uniformed cops came by in the car, and the players gave them five dollars apiece, ten dollars. Then an hour or so later another car comes by with a black cop and a white cop and a sergeant. So they gave them twenty dollars--five dollars for each of the cops and ten dollars for the sergeant. Don't you know that twenty minutes later here comes two...narco detectives. They gave them some money, I don't know just how much. Now, at this point, had any more cops come, it would have been a bitch out there, 'cause they had pushed it to the bust. They had really pushed it to the wire. Somebody would have said f--- them

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13. Wall Street Journal, November 22, 1971, Editorial Page, excerpt from the book Dealer: Portrait of a Cocaine Merchant, by Richard Woodley. The previous quote from Clarence Williams III I have constructed from my memory of his conversation on a recent Dick Cavett TV show.

cops, and they would have kept on playing. And then the cops would have got out the car because they didn't get no money, and they're maybe dumb enough to start hassling people... You hear how a cop gets stabbed, fight breaks out, ten people get arrested....

Look, I can understand a uniformed cop looking for two dollars, five dollars out in the street. He's out there hustlin'. He wants to get some money to take home to his wife and kids, or whatever. Okay, they're money-hungry because they're human. But do you know how much they take a week in bribes? Do you know that if there's five crap games, and they come around every two hours and get ten dollars, five dollars apiece, all night long, and if they do that five days a week, do you know how much they're gettin' in graft?...

In what must be one of the most unique charges of discrimination ever made, then Congressman Adam Clayton Powell complained several years ago that the New York police in Harlem favored the Italian and Jewish policy bankers over the Black. The investigations of the Knapp Commission in New York, and the ongoing inquiry into police corruption at the Hollywood Detective Division in Los Angeles, have produced overwhelming evidence that many policemen are active partners in the sub-economy and that their role in protecting and benefiting from it is more than just an accidental or occasional one. In a recent Wall Street Journal article, David C. Anderson of the Journal's editorial staff cited a statement of Professor Bernard Cohen, a Queens College criminologist who has studied police misconduct in New York City, that "I don't think cops are any worse now than they always have been. I think much of this went on 30 and 40 years ago, but nobody said anything about it." Anderson cites several experts on criminology to support a conclusion that police corruption is not simply a matter of individual wrongdoing but, rather, of "systemic pressure." Further, the enforcement (at least in theory) of laws governing so-called victimless crimes

breeds cynicism in many young policemen. "The moral confusion is in some ways inherent in laws the policeman must enforce, notably those against the so-called victimless crimes of gambling, prostitution, and drug abuse. Though legally proscribed, these activities are flourishing businesses in many cities, businesses the policeman and his neighbors might even feel inclined to patronize from time to time," Stanford Law professor Herbert Packer is quoted as saying that "as long as we<sup>14</sup> have laws like that, police are going to be corrupt."

Partly as a result of sharp increases in the Black and Latin populations of major urban areas, the control over some of these activities has shifted in directions which have proved disturbing and unnerving to the old-line leadership. Not unnaturally, some of the residents of ghettos have demanded a larger piece of the action, no longer satisfied to remain in the lower echelons on the street. Coming out of the ghetto gangs of the 1950's, some of New York's Blacks and Puerto Ricans have risen to the higher and more profitable levels of organized crime. The Los Angeles Times of July 30, 1971, reported (page 6) that "out of the profits from narcotics and gambling, the most successful live in the suburbs, own summer resorts, apartment houses, limousine services, strings of bars." The consultant to the New York Legislative Committee on Crime regards this as simply another to-be-expected instance of a common phenomenon: "What's happening in the illegal professions is no different than in the legal ones. Black

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14. "Police Crime: More Than 'Rotten Apples,'" Wall Street Journal, November 22, 1971, Editorial Page. A UPI dispatch to the Los Angeles Times earlier this year quoted the testimony of a young New York patrolman that "of the 70 patrolmen he worked with in a Brooklyn ghetto, all but two took bribes." Another police force veteran and former FBI agent also testified that corruption was widespread, with "shakedowns and bribes running into the millions of dollars."

and Spanish-speaking criminals, who have for some time been within the structure and around the periphery of organized crime, are pushing for their rights and seeking upward mobility." In the Buffalo area, numbers bets are "banked" by Blacks, with a 10 percent fee to white organized crime, and there are indications that even the 10 percent is being phased out.

Loose syndicates of neighborhood narcotics and gambling "businessmen" control operations in key sections of cities like New York, Detroit, Buffalo, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The membership of the Minority Mafia is estimated to number between 5,000 and 10,000, and violence is on the rise as syndicates fight to protect their territories. Ironically, it is speculated that the new indigenous crime leaders may be partly responsible for keeping the ghettos cool, because riots can be bad for business. Corrupt police now solicit bribes directly from the ghetto leaders, having learned that this is a source of power and wealth. The reason cited by the correspondent for the growth of minority organized crime is consistent with the basic analysis of this report: Crime is a fast route out of the ghetto and into suburbia, and for young people the lure is especially strong. A social worker is quoted: "Kids pushing narcotics say, 'Give me an alternative, show me how I can make \$500 a day.' Many kids will settle for less. But it's a fast way of making a lot of money, and in our day it's important."<sup>15</sup>

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15. A rather ironical confirmation of these impressions occurred earlier in 1971, when a prominent Italian American, Joseph Colombo, was seriously wounded by a Black gunman who apparently was in the pay of a rival Italian-American organization leader. The shooting occurred in New York City at a "civil rights" rally primarily organized by Colombo to protest instances in the mass media where Italians are depicted as criminals and to promote a better public image for Italian Americans.

The historical pattern of the development and function of the sub-economy is now somewhat clear. Its important characteristics can be delineated thusly:

(1) The economy has usually served a recognized and pervasive consumer demand, and, in many fundamental respects, it performs the same functions as the "legitimate" market. Satisfaction of that demand can only be accomplished through the sub-economy because, ordinarily for moral reasons, the sale of the product or the performance of the service has been formally outlawed, or, in the case of the political machine, the activity involved was believed to violate sound economic principles.

(2) The sub-economy has most conspicuously functioned in areas of the city inhabited by members of some minority group, though frequently it has served the needs of groups living elsewhere. The locus of the sub-economy in such areas is satisfying to the dominant majority and the political structure which is responsive to the interests of that majority, because the minorities assume the major risks and also because the identification of that minority with "crime" helps support the prejudices of the majority and the resulting structure of discrimination which again serves its desires and needs.

(3) The general public easily tolerates the sub-economy whenever the accompanying violence and "immorality" are kept within the confines of the ghetto. When they break out of the ghetto and invade Anglo neighborhoods, the public has usually responded in two ways: (1) it demands stronger and more repressive law enforcement in terms which will

force violent crime out of its neighborhoods and back into the ghetto, and (2) it seeks a liberalization of law and law enforcement in those cases where members of the majority group, notably the younger persons, might otherwise be branded as law violators. A particularly apt example of the latter tendency occurred in California in 1969, at a time when the use of marijuana had become increasingly widespread in Anglo middle-class communities. In that year, the State Legislature softened the penalty for its use by allowing judges and juries to treat first-offense possession of marijuana as a misdemeanor rather than as a mandatory felony. In my judgment, that liberalization probably would not have occurred if marijuana usage had remained essentially a ghetto phenomenon.<sup>16</sup>

(4) Another reason for the "tolerance" of the general public, given the above constraints, is that much of the income and wealth generated by illegal economic activity flows or remains outside of the ghetto. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the American drug industry has profited immeasurably from the growing market for pills, many of which are sold and obtained illegally. There have sometimes been direct ties between certain elements of the sub-economy and "legitimate" business. A few decades ago, for instance, the Ford Motor Company's Service Department employed leading racketeers, including the notorious Joe Adonis. One Detroit ringleader was a partner in a Ford agency and owned a fruit concession at Ford's River Rouge plant. The alliances in the garment industry, previously cited, offer another example.<sup>17</sup>

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16. Note the incisive comment on this point, made by a ghetto teenager, in the previous chapter.

17. Sinclair, op. cit., pp. 224-225, on the Ford Service Department. The quotation from Elmo Roper on the following page is from Bell, op. cit., p. 133.

(5) The survival of the sub-economy depends upon the appropriate cooperation from the police and the local and/or national political administrations. The police and some of the politicians traditionally share in the proceeds of the sub-economy, which are considerable (several years ago, Elmo Roper estimated that "only the food, steel, auto, chemical, and machine-tool industries have a greater volume of business" than gambling in this country).

(6) For some, the sub-economy has been the most readily visible route to economic success. The ghetto youngster, in particular, has historically perceived this as the way to secure a high income within a reasonably short period of time. However, at least until recently, the Black and Brown minorities have participated in profits only at the lower levels. Because of the selective enforcement of law, the major dealers are only occasionally penalized, but youngsters on the street will usually pick up an arrest record for "possession of marijuana." There is some evidence that the Blacks and Browns are moving up the ladder of organized crime, though (as far as I can tell) this applies more to Eastern cities than to Los Angeles as of the present time.

(7) The operation of the sub-economy has allowed the majority group to perpetuate and strengthen its control over employment practices and the allocation of jobs in the "legitimate" sector of the economy, for the reason that minority group involvement in illegal economic activities (plus, in recent years, the payment of welfare allowances at a low-income level) has produced some income for minorities without requiring the majority to make available many of the legal jobs which it has traditionally controlled. Furthermore, penalties for

low-level participation in the sub-economy (jail terms, arrest and conviction records, narcotics addiction, etc.) necessarily impose special burdens upon the participants whenever they seek or temporarily obtain better "legitimate" jobs. Hence the combination of these factors, together with the seniority advantages already accumulated by the permanently and legitimately employed Anglos, effectively forces some minorities to remain in the sub-economy as the only means of survival. A further exploration of this problem is contained in the next chapter of this report.

(8) Sociologist Daniel Bell has observed, correctly in my judgment, that crime has been part of the American way of life--as a channel for some of the violent (sometimes repressed) impulses in the American character and as a means of achieving social mobility for many who are unwilling or unable to use the more normal routes. Many American fortunes have been built on a foundation of corruption, manipulation, violence, and fraud. The early settlers and the founders of the West, Bell comments, "often did so by shady speculations and a not inconsiderable amount of violence. They ignored, circumvented, or stretched the law when it stood in the way of America's destiny and their own--or were themselves the law when it served their purposes. This has not prevented them and their descendants from feeling proper moral outrage when, under the changed circumstances of the crowded urban environments, latecomers pursued equally ruthless tactics."<sup>18</sup>

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18. Bell, op. cit., p. 148.



It might be inferred, from our analysis of the history of the sub-economy, that the Blacks and the Browns can transfer out of the ghetto economy in much the same way as the previous immigrant groups escaped into the mainstream of the society. Professor Handlin, as one example, believes that the process of adjustment for Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York has been, and will continue to be, essentially similar to that experienced by the earlier groups. Over time, then, a process of assimilation and increasing social mobility will ease the tensions<sup>19</sup> that now exist and complete the necessary adjustment of the newer migrants to the city.

There are, certainly, obvious similarities in the problems faced by the various groups. However, the difficulties confronted by the Negroes (and, perhaps in somewhat different forms, the Chicanos and Puerto Ricans) appear to be substantially more complex than those<sup>19</sup> countered by their predecessors. A few of these obstacles can be categorized in the following terms:

(1) In some cases, the physical characteristics of the previous immigrant groups made it easier for them to assimilate into the "Anglo" mainstream. Name changes, religious conversions, and so forth often were sufficient to give the group members acceptance by and access to the majority culture. In the case of the Blacks (and, in some instances, the Chicanos and Puerto Ricans), their appearance and thus their visibility<sup>20</sup> as a distinct group cannot be so readily altered.

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19. It should also be noted that, even in the case of the Irish and Italian Catholics and the Jews, noticeable vestiges of prejudice and discrimination against them persist to this day, though in strictly economic terms they have progressed markedly.

20. This should not be interpreted to mean that I approve of this form of "forced assimilation" on the majority's terms. To the contrary, I

(2) The previous immigrant groups came into the urban areas voluntarily, with their families intact and usually with a sense of community and cultural solidarity. To a degree, it might be argued that their role as minorities in an often hostile environment strengthened their sense of community and their incentive to overcome discrimination. Their strong family ties were particularly important to the children and younger members of the group, as they began to seek education and social mobility.

The experience of the Blacks was precisely the reverse. Originally they came to the country as slaves; families were deliberately and cruelly broken apart and their culture undermined for reasons both malicious and well-intentioned. They were forbidden to seek the kind of ethnic or cultural solidarity which the other groups brought with them to the United States. The social and economic denigration of the Black male continued after the abolition of slavery, and the effects of this experience are felt even today.

(3) The economic circumstances surrounding the introduction of earlier groups into the American economy were more favorable than they are today. Some of the immigrant groups, for example the Jews, contained many who had at least a measure of skill in a trade or a small business or profession. There was, in general, a pervasive demand for unskilled labor, which does not exist in that degree today. Even if all minimum-wage laws were repealed, it is doubtful that the economy would spontaneously generate enough employment for all of the unskilled and poorly educated youngsters in the labor market (except possibly under conditions

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regard it not only as malicious and discriminatory but as socially counter-productive. However, much of the "assimilationist" argument implies that it is necessary, if not desirable.

equal to those prevailing during World War II, which are inflationary in the extreme).

(4) Though the other groups carried the heavy burden of invidious stereotypes (aside from religious prejudices, the Irish were characterized as "drunkards," the Italians as "criminal," and the Jews as "cunning and clannish"), only the Blacks have been historically categorized by a white culture as "biologically" inferior. The alleged defects of the others could be interpreted as merely cultural in origin (there were, perhaps, some who believed that the Irish were congenitally alcoholic and the Italians congenitally criminal, but there has not been a general belief, and attempt to demonstrate, that their intelligence is inferior to that of Anglo-Saxons for genetic reasons). The historical compulsion of whites to treat Negroes as if they were mentally inferior has been occasioned, in large part, by the need to justify first the enslavement of and later the massive discrimination against Black people in this country. The net result of this pattern has been that the intensity of expressed racial prejudice against the minority in question has been far greater in the case of Blacks than in any other case.

(5) In return, there has been an inevitable and completely natural counterreaction among the Blacks, and, particularly, the young Blacks. Because of the majority efforts to destroy their culture (or, in some cases, the denial that Blacks have had or could have a culture) and the past or contemporaneous attempts to picture them as inferior in some sense, many Blacks now assert a fierce and profound racial or cultural pride which makes them even more resistant to the

typical "assimilationist" arguments. To some degree, this has brought them into conflict not only with the conservatives but with those liberals who regard themselves as "integrationists"--a label which implies to many, among Blacks and Whites alike, that the minority will be permitted full and nondiscriminatory access to the cultural mainstream.

The consequence of these unique events and processes has been that Blacks, and to a somewhat lesser extent the Browns, face special problems in the labor market which have not similarly burdened the older migrant groups. In the next chapter, I shall discuss these problems in some detail and argue that the minority young man is their greatest victim.

X.

OBSTACLES TO YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

There are certain labor-market obstacles confronting any young man, regardless of his race or national origin or general economic status. His age itself puts him at a disadvantage with many employers, who would prefer someone with greater maturity and experience. Unless he has special training or education, he is likely to be relegated to specified unskilled jobs which provide low pay and little advancement opportunity. To many young men, however, this process has its advantages and benefits, aside from the immediate income it offers. The work serves as an introduction to the labor market and to job routine, and even if his own employment is at a low level, the youngster often has a chance to observe other jobs--clerical, semi-skilled, skilled, and even managerial and professional--which might interest and intrigue him in the longer run.

Usually, the income from his employment is not crucial to the livelihood of his household, because his father is fully employed with earnings sufficient to meet the basic needs of the family. The youngster's wages are supplementary, designed to satisfy some extra needs of his own. To be sure, there are cases in which his earnings are essential to the continuation and completion of his education, and there are low-income households in which the family's welfare depends on his contributions. In one way or another, most of the households in Watts and East Los Angeles fall in this last category.

A conventional view of unemployment in the central-city ghetto is that (particularly as it affects young people) the problem is a common and persistent historical phenomenon, much aggravated now by the impacts of minimum-wage legislation, technological innovation leading to job displacement, and cultural factors arising from the resistance of many Blacks and Browns to assimilation into the mainstream culture. Some have argued that other ethnic minorities have also faced discrimination and poverty and that the young men of Watts and East Los Angeles could follow the successful path blazed by their ethnic predecessors. With appropriate overhaul of minimum-wage policy and other interferences with free competition, the youngsters presumably could get jobs and enter careers by pursuing educational goals and adjusting to the norms of the established market.

This assumes that the labor-market problems of Black and Brown young men are essentially the same as those confronting the members of immigrant groups who themselves have been herded into big-city ghettos and discriminated against, with the important qualification that large-scale economic and technological changes have now eliminated many of the unskilled jobs that were formerly available. I shall argue that the burdens carried by the youngsters we have surveyed are not simply those carried by their ethnic predecessors but are special and unique in several respects.

In an effort to explore the preceptions of young men vis-a-vis the possible barriers in their path to career success, we probed for an awareness of problems such as discrimination, arrest and conviction

records, inadequate education, job location in relation to where they live, reading difficulties, and so forth. A great many interviewees volunteered no information on these subjects, confirming a fear of mine that matters such as police records are too sensitive to permit much exploration in a formal survey. However, 57 respondents from East Los Angeles and 96 from Watts did provide impressions of at least some of these problems, and those results are summarized in Table I of this chapter.

Before proceeding to an examination of the results, again I am impelled to enter a caveat. A quick perusal of the tables would suggest to the reader that "police records" are a major problem only in East Los Angeles and "lack of education" only in the Watts area. Actually, these are major problems in both areas, and the variation in result undoubtedly reflects a difference in interview techniques. For a number of reasons, the South LA interviewers were less willing to probe in the "police record" area, or met with more resistance, while the East LA surveyers explored this more boldly. Even so, I can attest from direct and personal knowledge (accumulated over an eight-year period) that the problem in East Los Angeles, to say nothing of Watts, is yet more critical than the survey findings demonstrate. In one group of young men from Watts with which I am familiar, approximately twelve in number, all but two of them were or had been on probation or have been arrested on various charges within the past two months.

Combining the results in both areas, we find that "lack of education" was rated as the foremost obstacle to achievement of career goals, followed by "arrests and convictions," "discrimination," "difficulty in reading," and "job location," in that order. Miscellaneous other reasons were also given by a small percentage of the total. A further analysis of the East LA results shows that, for those offenses which could be identified and classified by age and either as misdemeanors or felonies, the average age for commission of "felony" crimes was 16 and for "misdemeanor" crimes slightly under 17.

One persistent and universal theme common to all interviews conducted is a sharp condemnation of educational and police practices in the two areas. Much of this is beyond the scope of this report, although I have included the full texts of these interviews in the appendix because of their general interest. For the purposes of this chapter, I shall dwell upon the concrete employment aspects of the problems identified in our survey.

### Education

It is almost a cliché that the route to success and escape from the ghetto lies in education and training. Much of the existing anti-poverty effort rests on this premise, and it would appear that many younger residents share this same belief. Particularly in Watts, the young men tend to associate their chances for career attainment with their educational prospects, and pessimism is most often related to a perception that their existing schooling is inadequate and that they may never have an opportunity to fill the gap.



Their criticism of Los Angeles schools stems from a conviction that most schools make little or no attempt to educate the mass of students and concentrate, at best, upon the "college preparatory" and, particularly, the "good" students among them who are favored by teachers and administrators. Hence, for many youngsters their attendance or nonattendance at school is really unrelated to the question of whether they receive a quality education, unless they happen to fall in the favored category. "They don't grade you on your education, they grade you on how often you come to school. If you come to school every day and don't do nothing, they'll pass you along. If you come to school, you'll pass, you know....Hell, what's the use of staying in; I graduate for my mother, man, 'cause it made my mother more happy, you know, not that I'm a momma's boy; I didn't learn shit. I'm just out with a high school diploma and I ain't got nothing yet...I didn't learn...but I learned more from him and his brother and other people in the community than I did in school, so the education I have I got from the community, not from school....

.... I mean the first reason why they drop out, because in school, they're in dumps, nothing to relate to; they give you the classes that they want to give you, you know, like they put you in college prep, or general business and all that....[t]hey say you take this 'cause it's going to be better for you later on in life, and then they give it to the other people who have better grades than you. They just put you on a level, they categorize you on a level of pure grades...." (East Los Angeles)

Some of the youngsters feel that this handicaps them in the future because they have not received a meaningful education and because a massive lack of interest on the part of counselors prevents them from getting the help and information they need. The same disillusioned and bitter young man from East LA commented on his experience with counseling, in the following dialogue:

"FB: Have you thought about a particular kind of job that you might like to do, if you get a chance? "

"Respondent: No, I haven't thought about that yet, really."

"Jacobo Rodriguez: Do counselors talk to you about what you want to do?"

Respondent: No, you know, I used to go to a counselor and ask him about graduation and...I would just sit there for an hour and then the bell would ring for lunch and they would never call me back."

Most specifically, the alleged failure of schools to offer a good education, counseling, and preparation for work means that the young man is at a disadvantage when he first applies for a suitable job. He may or may not have a diploma, as arbitrarily required by many employers, but even if he has the "credentials" in this respect, standard tests may still disqualify him.

"#1: Okay, before I found out about this job, I went down to the Post Office in my community and the man told me that I was a week late 'cause I could have got a job there as a postal clerk or something, you know, because you have to take a test to see if you qualify. Like why don't they tell you--like sending out letters or something like that to let you know? Well, 'cause a lot of time jobs are open, it's just that people don't know about them."

"#2: On the testing thing, they might give you a test, you know, to a black person that for even high school students might be difficult to pass. If you don't pass that test, you don't get no job.. See, they base the person on if they pass the test or not, but not on how good the individual works on the job, or would he be essential to the job--that test thing, if you don't pass the test, you don't get no job. So you can't really base a person on how he did on the test because he might come up on the job which he will need, most likely. Most black people will need a job based on that." (South Los Angeles)

"....If they start a program I'll shine it on because they're going to give you the same old thing. Like when I go for a job I'll go on my own, but yet in school they don't let me know where the jobs are available; it could benefit me, you know, 'cause the jobs that I get are chicken shit, rinky dink things...Like, I was in this student training program, you know. I've been in it for a year--I'm still on it. Afterwards they're supposed to promote you to a clerical messenger clerk and you take a test, you know, but that test isn't relevant, you know, 'cause they come out with things they ask--I don't know, weird things--math and things you never learn in school because the schools are messed up. And I thought first, I don't know, we have to do something out of the past, but all it is is they give you a little information about the job you're doing, you know, about three questions about the job you're doing and that's all." (East Los Angeles)

It is interesting that many of the young people will distinguish among schools and among students in assessing the relative responsibilities for such deficiencies. In South Los Angeles, for example, Locke

is regarded generally as a better high school than Jordan, but some of the youngsters think that this is as much the result of student motivation as it is of superior teaching. They tend to feel that the most effective education occurs when there is just the right match among student, class, and teacher, and that counselors are very often responsible for the failure to make this match. They complain of too little individual attention, and at some schools, the unmotivated students will make it difficult for the more motivated to learn anything. Many of them are aware of the complexities inherent in this problem, but do not regard this fact as sufficient to exculpate the schools from their considerable share of the blame.<sup>1</sup>

#### Arrest and Conviction Records

The "police record" is a burden which many young men in Watts and East Los Angeles must carry, and its impact on employability is overwhelming. Whatever the rationalizations offered by police officials for the fact, it is clear and undeniable that the Black and Brown young man in a low-income ghetto or barrio is far more likely to be detained and arrested than is an Anglo youngster anywhere else in the city. He may or may not have been guilty of a crime, and the detention may or may not result in a formal arrest. If it does, the arrest may remain a stain of his record throughout his life, even though the charge is dropped or he is subsequently acquitted.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See the group interview transcripts in the Appendix, for an extended (albeit prolix and often disorganized) discussion of educational issues.

2. A great many of these detentions and arrests have been, and remain today, entirely unlawful. In a 1971 decision in the Gallik case, the California Supreme Court reaffirmed an earlier decision (Kiefer, December 1970) that

TABLE I  
PERCEIVED OBSTACLES TO CAREER  
BY AREA

	<u>East Los Angeles</u>	<u>South Los Angeles</u>
I. Arrests and convictions		
Total number of respondents	33	9
Misdemeanor only	18	1
Felony only	10	5
Combination of misdemeanor & felony	4	0
Unable to determine degree of crime	1	3
II. Not enough schooling or lack of education		
Total number of respondents	9	57
III. Difficulty in reading		
Total number of respondents	0	4
IV. Location of jobs in relation to where he lives		
Total number of respondents	3	0
V. Discrimination		
Total number of respondents	6	2
VI. Other		
Total number of respondents	2	4
VII. Any combination of the reasons stated above		
Total number of respondents	4	20*

\* For SLA, combinations stated were as follows:

Discrimination & school	10
Discrimination & arrest	7
Discrimination, school, & reading	2
Discrimination & reading	1

This becomes more burdensome in the current labor market if the charge involves "narcotics," as it does in an extremely high percentage of all alleged offenses in the ghetto or barrio. Ironically, the so-called victimless crimes are sometimes a greater deterrent to employment than are the crimes against persons or property. Offenses such as "possession of marijuana," "possession of dangerous drugs," "indecent exposure," and so forth may automatically be regarded by employers as indications of moral or emotional unreliability, despite the fact that such a premise has never been validated.

Many employers, private and public, continue to require pre-employment information on both arrests and convictions, even including those arrests which were dismissed without trial. Some governmental jurisdictions and private business firms have now eliminated from their employment application forms those questions relating entirely to arrests not followed by convictions, thus conforming to a policy recommended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the California Fair Employment Practice Commission, and other anti-discrimination agencies. Nevertheless, a great many employers continue to require this information, and even among those who formally do not, it would appear that some proportion of them acquire these facts clandestinely through their background record checks of job applicants. Most criminal record sheets, available from various law enforcement

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a traffic violation is not a valid ground for a search of the violator's car, even if the "suspect" engages in so-called furtive gestures. This, in fact, has been and is a common police practice in Watts and East Los Angeles; indeed, most of the arrests for "possession of marijuana" occur precisely in this manner. However, most arrestees are advised by public defenders to plead guilty, and the defender will rarely challenge search-and-seizure methods effectively or appeal a guilty verdict for his "client."

agencies, list all arrests and convictions, and an employer who so inquired could learn of mere arrests through this channel even though he never directly questions the applicant. Only those records of criminal charges which have been sealed by court order would be unavailable to the inquiring employer.

In a further attempt to glean pertinent data concerning the varying policies of major private employers, we examined a small sampling of job application forms and compared the phrasing of this question with that recommended by the California FEPC. In its official pre-employment inquiries guide, the FEPC has suggested the following wording: "Have you ever been convicted of any crime? If so, when, where, and disposition of case?" The wording actually used by certain large employers varies considerably, as the sampling below will show:

Certified Grocers of California: "Have you ever been arrested, indicted, or convicted of any crime?"

North American Rockwell: "Have you ever been arrested, charged, or held, even though dismissed, by any law enforcement authority, for any violation of law? Include all courts-martial while in military service. Do not include traffic violations for which the only penalty imposed was a fine of \$50 or less. If Yes, give date, place, charge and disposition under 'Remarks.'"

Nissan Motor Corporation (Datsun): "Have you ever been convicted by Federal, State, or other Law Enforcement Authorities for any violation of Federal, State, County or Municipal Law, Regulation, Ordinance, or any Law? Include all Court-Martials while in Military Service. Do not include anything that happened before your 16th birthday.

Do not include traffic violations for which the only penalty imposed was a fine of \$25.00 or less. If Yes give date, place, charge and disposition."

Bank of America: "Have you ever been arrested for other than minor traffic offense?"

American District Telegraph Company: "Have you ever been convicted of a criminal offense? If so, attach statement of particulars."

McDonnell Douglas: "Have you ever been arrested, convicted, charged or held by federal, state, or other law enforcement authorities, for any violation of any federal law, state law, county or municipal law, regulation, or ordinance or any other law? Include all court martial while in United States military service. Do not include anything that happened before your 16th birthday. Do not include traffic violations for which the only penalty imposed was a fine of \$25 or less. All other charges must be included even if they were dismissed. If Yes, give date, place, charge, and disposition."

A massive study of hiring policies of state, county, and local governments, focused on the question of how arrest and conviction records might relate to public employment, has recently been commissioned by the U. S. Department of Labor. Supervised by Professor Herbert S. Miller of the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure of the Georgetown University Law Center in Washington, D. C., the study concludes that most jurisdictions require pre-employment information on both arrests and convictions and that the resulting discrimination against applicants with records probably has an important employment impact.<sup>3</sup> In the

3. The report is titled The Effect of a Criminal Record on Employment with State and Local Public Agencies. In the near future, it will be available from the Division of Research and Development Utilization, Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor, Room 100, Vanguard Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20210.



words of Manpower's summary of the study's findings: "Most government agencies surveyed ask jobseekers about arrest and conviction records and fail to advise them to exclude from their applications any action taken when they were juveniles. Many use this data to rule out any further consideration of applicants."<sup>4</sup>

Since that report on the problem is or will soon be available generally, my own comments here will be limited to its possible implications for the young residents of Watts and East Los Angeles. In theory, certain of the offenses committed under the age of 21 can be officially sealed, and except for such records as are kept by federal departments (such as the FBI) or other non-state and non-local agencies, this sealing process effectively denies access to any information relative to the particular crimes. In practice, very few of the young men are even cognizant of this possibility, and, as far as I can determine, only a comparative handful in Watts and East Los Angeles ever benefit from it concretely.

Even though California's expungement and sealing provisions are regarded as more liberal than those in any other state, their effectiveness is quite limited. The ex-offender himself must initiate the action through a petition to the court, after a prescribed period of time has elapsed since the completion of his sentence. During this period, of course, he must not have accumulated additional offenses on his record. In principle, the probation officer should fully inform

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4. Patricia Marshall, "Criminal Records and Public Jobs," Manpower (a Department of Labor publication), December 1971, p. 3.

the youngster of his rights under this law and voluntarily assist him in preparing the petition to the court at the appropriate time, but, in my observation, this is rarely done. Many persons are under the impression that they require the services of a lawyer in order to have their records sealed or expunged, and, needless to say, that cost is considered prohibitive. In most cases, as I have noted, the ex-offender knows nothing about the provision, or does not understand it if someone has mentioned it.<sup>5</sup>

The scope of the law is restricted, at best. For those who were between the ages of 18 and 20 at the time of the offense and whose cases were handled in adult court, only misdemeanor offenses may be sealed. Under no circumstances does the present law permit the sealing or expungement of narcotics, traffic, and certain sex offenses. Thus, even if full advantage were taken of the provision as it now stands, the "marijuana" offenses for which many youngsters are arrested would not be covered.

Another irony is that the existing provisions apply only to those instances in which the arrestee is brought to trial. Thus, the person who is a victim of "mistaken identity," with the charges dropped even before a hearing, can never arrange for the sealing of his record.

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5. I am unsure as to whether the existing legal service offices, funded by the federal government, can legally assist the ex-offender in obtaining sealing or expungement of his record. Their jurisdiction is limited to civil cases only, and the petitioning required is connected with a criminal offense. I can attest that no one of my acquaintance in Watts or East LA has ever requested or received assistance from that source.

Legislation to remedy this defect has been introduced in recent sessions of the California Legislature, but it has aroused consistent opposition from organizations representing police officials and has never been enacted.

In California, there also are provisions which allow adult offenders age 21 and older to petition for the withdrawal of their guilty pleas or the setting aside of guilty verdicts, but only after they have completed probation. This peculiar law, as far as I can ascertain, does not seal the record in question, but only restores to the successful petitioner certain of his civil rights. The record itself remains open to all those who are entitled to see it (presumably with a notation of the court action). Furthermore, Professor Aidan Gough has pointed out that all such laws apparently allow an employer or licensing agency "to compel a former offender to disclose whether he has ever sought the relief provided by the statute."<sup>6</sup> (Emphasis added). Of course, these expungement provisions again apply only in those situations where the accused person has been brought to trial (and, in this particular case, only where he has been convicted).

There are wide gaps between official policy and practice in the area of criminal records. Although the Los Angeles Police Commission many years ago adopted a policy that the records kept by LAPD are to be revealed only to the appropriate law enforcement or judicial officers, employers have informed me several times that their security divisions are

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6. The Expungement of Adjudication Records of Juvenile and Adult Offenders: A Problem of Status. Inserted in the Congressional Record by Senator Quentin Burdick, October 20, 1971.

regularly able to secure access to those records for purposes of employment checking. Naturally, there are sources available to them even if LAPD enforced the policy in its own department. Officials of other police departments or law enforcement offices can readily secure the necessary information and "pass it along" to friendly employers, or the company personnel department possibly can get it from the files of the FBI or the Attorney General's Office. Many companies recruit ex-policemen or ex-FBI agents as their head security officers, partly because they are in an unusually good position to obtain this and similar information.

A recent court decision in the District of Columbia has ruled that the FBI files are not open to governmental units which seek them only for purposes of checking applications for employment or licenses. This decision, if not overturned, could have enormous implications for ex-offenders who apply for jobs in agencies where personnel departments have normally checked FBI records. In addition, a 1970 decision of the United States District Court in Los Angeles, in the case of Gregory vs. Litton Systems, Inc., applies the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to employers who require job applicants to list arrests not followed by convictions, on the grounds that Blacks are arrested more often than are Whites and that, in the absence of a showing that the hiring policy is actually a business necessity, the requirement constitutes de facto discrimination against Negroes within the meaning of the act. In this case, the applicant had been denied employment solely on the basis of the

number of his arrests, and had initiated a civil suit for damages. Litton Systems, however, has appealed this verdict.<sup>7</sup>

Professor Miller and his associates at Georgetown attribute much significance to the Litton decision and regard it as a highly useful precedent for public policy. They believe that it has potentially wide application, but recommend specific Federal legislation prohibiting the use of arrest records for employment purposes. The Georgetown Institute also proposes model statutes for the sealing and expungement of criminal records at the state level, where, of course, the greatest impact occurs. The American Bar Association has been granted a contract by the Manpower Administration to establish an information clearinghouse on job restrictions for ex-offenders.<sup>8</sup>

Senator Quentin Burdick of North Dakota has introduced legislation (S. 2732, known as the "Offender Rehabilitation Act") to expunge the records of rehabilitated offenders who have committed no more than one offense. This legislation, of course, would apply only to the convicted violators of Federal laws, but Senator Burdick is hopeful that it will serve as a useful precedent as well as meeting some substantive needs in the Federal Courts. Among the reasons for enactment of the law, he cites the favorable experience of the Department of Labor in securing bonding for former offenders who complete training programs.

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7. The final report of the Task Force on New Careers and Job Development, appointed by the Los Angeles County Commission on Crime and Delinquency, was introduced as evidence in that hearing. The report recommends that all employers eliminate questions relating to arrests not followed by convictions, and ask questions concerning convictions only where it has been demonstrated that the crimes are related to job performance. The author was chairman of that task force and testified in the Litton hearing.

8. Marshall, op. cit., p. 7.

During the four-year period over which I have had occasion to explore some aspects of this problem, I have consistently been told by representatives of licensing agencies and of personnel departments, public and private, that they consider each application on its merits, and except where required by law or administrative practice, employment is not automatically denied to the ex-offender. The statements of ex-offenders, and my own observations, dispute this contention. One young man from East Los Angeles told me that he had recently tested the policy of the Los Angeles Board of Education; he had submitted his application for a playground job, having been advised to apply and to include a full account of his record, and then was turned down because he had a record.

In an attempt to discover what guidelines (if any) are applied by public agencies in determining which applicants with records are acceptable and which ones are not, I have made inquiry on several occasions and have never ascertained what those guidelines may be or whether they exist at all. The implication is that the personnel officer makes a separate and subjective decision in each individual case, based on his judgment and experience. This would appear to be both administratively infeasible and highly arbitrary. It seems likely that the applicant with a felony record will be hired only when there are special circumstances in his favor, and that he always remains at a critical disadvantage in comparison with those applicants whose records are "clean." Jurisdictions such as the

County Government of Los Angeles have even required job applicants to list those adult offenses which have been "expunged" under the provision allowing petitions for the setting aside of guilty verdicts.

### Discrimination

Discrimination still is perceived as an obstacle by many, more so by Blacks than by Chicanos, but the perception is most directly related to educational and police practices and to housing segregation. The reason for this is apparent: the actual labor-market experience of many youngsters is limited, and they will rarely encounter overt signs of racial discrimination in hiring. On the other hand, they have had ample opportunity to observe and evaluate the impact of education and law enforcement, and the evidence of residential segregation is everywhere.

Each facet of discrimination is translated into a labor-market equivalent. Inequitable police policies give rise to criminal records, or mere arrest records, which in turn are used by employers to deny employment to the applicant (as noted in the previous section). Inadequate or ineffective education will bar the youngster from those jobs carrying rigid educational stipulations, or cause him to fail the standard pre-employment tests, or impair the quality of his job performance if he should reach that level. Housing segregation denies him a realistic chance to move closer to many of the centers of potential employment, and transportation is both costly and inefficient.

The question raised earlier is whether this pattern is different, in any fundamental way, from that experienced by earlier immigrant groups in the United States (the Blacks and Browns can also be regarded

as "immigrant" groups because they are migrants to large urban communities from the rural South or from Mexico, although the young men in our survey predominantly are non-migrants and urbanized). Professor Banfield and his cohorts have argued that American society has advanced to a point where racial discrimination is no longer a major problem and that minority youngsters themselves must be held responsible for whatever maladjustments they suffer in the labor market. Several of our interviewees would agree that the road ahead is clear and that they can travel as far as their own initiative and ability can carry them. My own estimation of their prospects is that, as of now, their future success or failure in economic terms is strongly correlated with their capacity to assimilate into the so-called "cultural mainstream," and that this process remains a great deal more difficult for Blacks (and for many Browns) than it has been for minorities such as the Irish, Italians, and Jews. Further, I suspect that the Blacks, in particular, have been allowed less independence and flexibility than have the ethnic immigrants; in a sense, the Negro has had to become "more white than the whites" as a minimum condition for economic and political acceptance.

This, generally, is confirmed by an examination of the history of minorities in New York City. There is little evidence that a bitter antagonism prevailed between police and minority community, as it now does in Watts and East Los Angeles (at least in the case of young men). The Irish, indeed, moved in large numbers into the police



department, and this became one of their earliest routes to economic security. While many of the East Side neighborhoods were characterized by petty crime and street hustling, the Jews were not excessively burdened by criminal records. According to Professor Handlin, the Jews moved up the economic ladder faster than did the Irish or the Italians, who were encumbered with strictly cultural impediments to interest in and entry into the professions and business. The Italian youngsters, to be sure, did sometimes come into conflict with the law (as we have seen earlier in this report), but often it was in the context of an economy and a community which tolerated their crime. Under any circumstances, historians seem to agree that their slower ascent in the labor market was due to cultural and educational factors and not primarily to difficulties with the law.

Questions of education and housing patterns must be viewed as a package, because the importance of the neighborhood school in American life means that one's ability to secure the highest available quality of education for himself or for his children is related in large part to his mobility. In the past, Jews have encountered discriminatory barriers at the college level, particularly at certain of the professional schools and departments, but their adjustment to the public school was relatively quick and successful and their mobility, occupationally and residentially, was reasonably unimpaired within the metropolitan New York area. In the cases of all minorities, however, neighborhood concentrations have persisted to this day, and a cultural pluralism has fundamentally modified and diluted the "melting" or assimilation

process. Thus, at best, these minorities have been permitted some freedom of choice with respect to their retention or abandonment of cultural ties and the degree of their ethnic uniqueness. The intensity of Anglo hostility to movements for community control and "cultural nationalism" in Black and Brown areas--often categorized as "separatist" in motivation--suggests to me that the same degree of independence has not been accorded to those whom Professor Handlin terms the newest immigrants.<sup>9</sup>

The most reasonable inference from this historical review, in my judgment, is that the young men in Watts and East Los Angeles suffer all of the problems endured by the immigrant minorities, but in the case of the Blacks, each problem has been exacerbated and supplemented by others endemic to their own experience. The issue as it affects Chicanos is less clear to me; the intensity of discrimination against them in the labor market does not appear quite as great, and their residential patterns in Los Angeles reflect more dispersion and mobility than is true in the case of the Blacks. Nevertheless, the problems in East Los Angeles are about as acute and complex as they are in Watts, notably in the educational and law enforcement fields. Also, in some respects the Spanish-speaking groups are often regarded as more "alien" than are the Blacks. The fact that the Spanish-speaking peoples long preceded the Anglos as residents of the Southwest does not seem to be given much weight.

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9. For a historical analysis of these patterns and experiences in New York, see Professor Oscar Handlin's The Newcomers, pp. 24-42.

This should not be viewed as a "counsel of despair." To the contrary, I am sanguine about the possibility of meaningful progress, if the Anglos are prepared to accept and implement the conditions for it. The pervasiveness of concentration upon these "problems" has too often obscured the real strengths in the Black and Brown communities of Los Angeles, few of which have been nurtured and developed by the largely unimaginative programs initiated so far. These communities are reservoirs of great talent and human resources of enormous potential. It is merely time that they were treated as such.

XI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is surely no exaggeration to suggest that the unemployment or misemployment of young men in the central-city ghettos constitutes a critical national problem with potential for social disaster unless it is solved. The results of our survey will surprise no one who has had first-hand knowledge of economic conditions in areas like Watts and East Los Angeles, and perhaps only the magnitude of our figures on unemployment will shock anyone who is aware of the grim statistics already available from Manpower Reports and other official sources. Statisticians, of course, can always argue about questions such as the precise measurement of "unemployment" or "labor force participation" or the representativeness of any given sampling of young men, but such debate is no longer very important or relevant. What we now know about the size and nature of the problem is sufficient to justify the conclusion that it is of massive dimensions and that drastic action is required.

The traditional approach, favored by economists and policymakers alike, has emphasized "investments in human capital" through education and training. Major governmental policy over the decade of the '60s has rested on a premise that labor supply is more malleable than labor demand, and that the quality of manpower ("human capital") can be changed so as to match more effectively the needs and requirements of employers. The nature of the labor market is viewed as a constant, and thus the only variable subject to social intervention is the laborer or jobseeker himself. He must somehow be reeducated or retrained or remolded or otherwise renovated to fit whatever requirement the "competitive" market imposes. To put it

bluntly, the orthodox economist believes that it is desirable and appropriate to change human beings to meet the needs of the labor market, but rarely or never permissible to change the market to meet the needs of human beings. The demand for labor, presumably, results from an interplay of competitive forces and productivity--a process not to be disturbed or upset by government.

Those few recent attempts to intervene in the area of labor demand tend to be marginal in scope and impact. The greatest emphasis, by far, has been given to legislative and administrative programs designed to eradicate racial discrimination and thereby expand opportunities for qualified job applicants from minority groups. This is a highly valuable and useful effort and, indeed, should be strengthened, but it seems to have only a peripheral relationship to the problems confronted by Watts and East Los Angeles youngsters. Much of the de facto discrimination from which they suffer is beyond the reach of FEP legislation. Furthermore, it is worthy of note that the sanctity of the market remains unchallenged: employers continue to establish their own "qualifications" for work, and the applicant must be "qualified" in order to be acceptable. As we have noted, many of those established qualifications reflect and implement the subtle processes of discrimination which young men endure in their communities.

More innovative efforts to generate effective demand for the services of minority young men have been limited indeed. "New Careers," "Public Service Careers," and other public service employment programs have had insufficient funding and, apparently, only a minimal impact

upon the usual hiring and promotional policies of state and local governments, which provide the greatest amount of potential employment for the target groups. This approach, naturally, runs counter to the preferences and predilections of most economists, because it implies deliberate job creation by government--a process which can interfere with the workings of a "competitive" market.

Many economists would prefer to emphasize the "income maintenance" approach, partly because it avoids any significant interference with the market. The orthodox economist regards the cash grant as much superior to minimum wages as a means of providing assistance to the poor; to the extent that there is a work requirement attached to the relief, the recipients would work at those jobs and under those conditions established in the labor market. If they are unemployable, they can be subsidized (at a low level of payment) while the market economy functions unimpaired and the remainder of society goes about its normal business.

It will be observed that the interests, aptitudes, and ambitions of the individual are largely irrelevant to this process. If he has an interest in and aptitude for art or music or writing, and the market currently demands aircraft assemblers, he is expected to educate and train himself for aircraft assembly. Unless that ideal circumstance arises in which there is a match between aspiration and market demand, the young man is required to obey the mandates of the market.

In practice, this is a complex process because future demand is more relevant and meaningful than current--a fact which introduces

the need for projections. The science of economic forecasting is considerably less than perfect, and the demand for labor in Southern California is subject not only to the vagaries of the competitive market but also to those of foreign policy, defense spending, environmental control, space research and development, and so forth. Such uncertainties have already caused difficulty for administrators and graduates of training programs, which have been rather heavily concentrated in those semi-skilled fields strongly affected by trends in large industries such as aerospace. Our survey confirms what others have found: that unemployment has risen in these occupational categories.

Aside from the inevitable imponderables introduced by the imperfections of labor-market predictions, there are important reasons for a reduction in emphasis upon training programs in the mechanical trades and similar efforts on the labor-supply side. Whatever value they may have in certain ways, the "investments in human capital" have not solved, or even seriously dented, the youth unemployment problem in mid-city ghettos and barrios. Programs which run counter to the major interests of the target group are always vulnerable and inadequate in vital respects. Both the Parnes study and our own show that the aspirations of young men, black and white alike, predominantly do not lie in the mechanical trades. Instead, they prefer fields such as professional and technical, government, business, esthetics and entertainment, and the higher levels of service occupations (correctional work, etc.). There will be tangible value in shifting

to programs and policies which are consistent with, rather than antagonistic to, the major interests and career goals of young men.

Certainly, as Professor Parnes has commented, at least some of those aspiring to professional and technical work are doomed to disappointment, because the most optimistic projections do not suggest a sufficiency of employment in that field to satisfy the hopes of all those aspiring to enter it. Nevertheless, the professional, technical, and service occupations will grow faster than any other group: the professional and technical category alone will expand by 50 percent by 1980, and the service occupations will grow by 45 percent. State and local governments will be important sources of employment, with a projected 52 percent increase in the '70s. It would seem feasible and desirable to augment those programs directed to the goal of employing much higher proportions of minority youngsters in the white-collar fields, notably in the governmental sector. This may well require substantial review of job standards and hiring policies in public employment, with the conscious generation of human-service jobs designed with the interests and needs of minority young men in mind. Such employment would be generally consonant with increasingly vocal public demands for environmental control, improved health services, more meaningful education, safer streets, a better ~~correctional~~ system, and elimination of drug abuse. It would have the beneficial consequence of expanding the effective demand for young men in a variety of fields, rather than merely in those traditional "vocational education" areas which have received far too much emphasis already.



For those whose present aspirations cannot be satisfied in the professional and/or human-service fields, obviously there must be an alternative. One clear conclusion from our survey is that all of these youngsters need and should receive more effective counseling and more comprehensive labor-market information than they now do. Undoubtedly they are now inclined to specify the professional and other white-collar fields because these are prestigious and carry with them the prospects of high income, but much of this tendency probably flows from a lack of awareness of alternatives which might be more attainable and equally satisfying. However, the very youngsters who need this information the most are the ones least likely to obtain it.

Neither the schools nor the public agencies fill the voids in the labor-market informational system. The minority youngster from a low-income community enters the market with minimal guidance from his home and very little from his school. The process is circular: adults who have been denied access to information and opportunities cannot then assist their children, who experience the same pattern as they begin their "careers." In many cases, their earliest "labor market" exposure will be in the sub-economy, and the available and visible income to be derived therefrom will distort their perceptions of work and careers. Government and the larger society are active agents in this process, tolerating and even encouraging the activities of the sub-economy (drug traffic, gambling, etc.) as long as the major risks are carried by the minorities and a substantial portion of the profit flows back into "respectable" Anglo coffers. The taxpayers are thereby relieved from any responsibility for income redistribution or fundamental reforms in the structure of regular employment.

What this analysis implies is that public attention must be paid to both the labor-supply and labor-demand sides of the market, with a vastly increased emphasis on demand. Improvements in the information process are desperately needed and will be of value, but these alone are insufficient. Indeed, better and more accessible information will only aggravate frustration unless training and employment opportunities are opened up in a diversity of fields corresponding both to the interests of jobseekers and potential trends in the market. To the extent that this may demand departures from conventional labor-market procedures, society should be willing to innovate.

With this in mind, we might consider a number of specific proposals for improvement in the system of labor-market information and job development, particularly as it might affect the aspirations and interests of young men in Watts and East Los Angeles:

#### Education and Counseling

Neither counseling nor aptitude testing is adequate in the public schools, especially when one realizes that these sources of guidance and information often must substitute for the alternative sources (such as parental advice and assistance) which exist to a far greater degree in other communities. Teacher and student awareness of career possibilities should begin in junior high school, and the demonstrated aptitudes and interests of the youngster should be integrated with his regular academic counseling throughout his entire school experience.

The existing instruments for testing and evaluation of aptitudes are insufficient. Tests should be constructed to measure both verbal and non-verbal skills, in a variety of fields which coincide with ranges of occupational possibilities. These should be designed to identify the "cognitive styles" of students, following the model of a successful program at Oakland Community College. The purpose of such innovation is not to pressure the student into making a definite career choice at an early age, which is unrealistic and probably quite undesirable, but simply to make him and his teachers aware of his already existing aptitudes or traits and the breadth of career opportunities to which they might relate.<sup>1</sup>

The schools should avoid any invidiousness, whether real or merely apparent, in the classification of students in terms of curriculum and goals. There is evidence that too sharp a distinction between "college preparatory" and "vocational" pupils, as one example, leads to perceptions of favoritism and feelings of frustration among many students who are convinced that education, at best, is directed to others and not to them. The volume and quality of counseling should be improved in ways designed to introduce maximum flexibility. So-called "vocational" courses should be more than just dumping grounds for

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1. The tests offered at Oakland Community College in Detroit are designed "not only to measure such standard items as reading and mathematical ability, but also to evaluate decision-making and such abstract ideas as 'the sixth sense' (proprioceptivity), staged behavior (histrionics), physical coordination (kinesthetics) and knowledge of oneself (synnotics)." UPI dispatch, Los Angeles Times, December 5, 1971, p. 9. Another article in the Times (November 14, 1971, section H, page 1) reports that a researcher in Princeton, New Jersey, estimates that about 80 percent of those in the work force are now in the wrong jobs, in terms of their interests and real aptitudes.

youngsters categorized as poor readers, and the government can contribute to improvement in this area by subsidizing experimental programs in vocational training in high school and by helping create trade-technical colleges which are educationally worthy.<sup>2</sup>

While it is probably useful in the absence of any alternatives, 10th Grade Guidance generally accomplishes little in the way of effective career counseling. Its placement in the tenth grade means that students are marginally interested in the subject matter which seems so remote from their immediate or imminent concerns. Testing should continue to be offered in the first year of high school, but on a broad and innovative basis and with the purpose of assisting in the subsequent academic counseling of students. Instructors in senior high school should have knowledge of comparable test results in junior high school, and counselors should constantly be aware of the general aptitudes and career interests of those students whom they counsel.

Programs to combine education and work experience should be vastly expanded. We have previously noted the dilemma created by the fact that an expanding economy and labor market tends to draw low-income students out of school and into the market, possibly to the detriment of their longer-run interests and goals. Work-study

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2. Newsweek (August 30, 1971, pp. 74-75) has reported that Atlanta Area Technical School is a model post-secondary vocational training institution, with emphasis on producing instantly marketable skills.

opportunities at all educational levels--from high school through graduate school--would increase the motivation of youngsters to stay in school and, at the same time, could provide a valuable introduction to work and the labor market.

### Entering the Labor Market

Agencies such as the Employment Service should greatly expand and improve their community outreach services. Broad use should be made of the media, such as TV and radio: regular announcements of job openings and qualifications, training programs, "New Careers" slots, and so forth should be offered on radio stations such as KGFJ, KBCA-FM, KALI, and on TV channel 34, as well as in community newspapers. In predominantly Chicano areas, of course, counselors and job development specialists should have equal fluency in Spanish and English. Employment Service personnel should work actively and continuously with representatives and members of community organizations--Teen Posts, boys' clubs, local centers, and even youth gangs. In a sense, the practical test of the effectiveness of a counselor or job developer in an ES office should be the amount of time he spends in direct contact with youngsters on the streets or (on the other side of the coin) with employers who might be sources of employment. There should be, of course, immediate liaison between job developers and the appropriate antidiscrimination agencies, in those cases where any evidence or suspicion of racial discrimination exists.<sup>3</sup>

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3. Some HRD offices already use radio stations and other media to communicate job information, a commendable innovation which should be vastly extended.

Obviously the improvement of labor-market information can lead only to a dead end unless there are job or training openings to report. As we have noted before, those openings increasingly will occur in the professional, technical, and service fields, and most notably in the governmental sector of the economy. This fact suggests the need for a reorientation of training toward the paraprofessional and human-service occupations, without necessarily abandoning those programs which have had success in the semi-skilled fields. A compromise is necessary between the present aspirations of minority young men and the corresponding requirements of the private "competitive" labor market, with some redirection of career goals through counseling and some deliberate job creation in those areas where a coincidence prevails between aspirations and social need.

To the degree that society can utilize the aptitudes and meet the personal goals of Black and Brown youngsters, a felicitous accommodation of interests is possible. The young men, deprived as they have been of material possessions, are potentially eager customers for the products of the goods-producing industries, where the (mainly Anglo) semi-skilled and skilled workers are now concentrated. In turn, the youngsters can offer unparalleled talent in a number of fields: drama, art, music, literature, and the creative occupations generally. By using their existing skills and strengths and thereby acquiring a regular income, they can help sustain those industries which produce cars, stereo sets, houses, boats, musical instruments, and so on. As a whole, the minority young men are probably more "consumption-oriented" than the Anglo kids, many of whom are rebelling against the "system" and materialistic values.

There are other quid pro quos which might be introduced into this socioeconomic calculus. In those sectors which are highly unionized, government could use a combination of carrot (subsidies) and stick (antidiscrimination policies) to induce union and employer alike to expand employment of minority youth, in the context of a general expansion of demand for the services of that industry. A useful precedent for this approach already exists in the trucking industry, where the Transportation Opportunity Program and concomitant agreements can generate jobs for Blacks and Chicanos in that same context.

Subsidies and non-competitive job creation horrify the conventional economists, but they have been an integral and consistent part of American economic development since the founding of the Republic. Millions of Americans, over the range of economic enterprises, benefit directly or indirectly from subsidies, tax privileges, favorable government contracts, and price supports. "Consumer sovereignty" can be exercised through the political as well as the market process. Much investment is speculative, and where both the risks and the possible social returns are great, it is appropriate that government "invest" in the future of young men and women who have much to offer and have received little.

#### Obstacles to Youth Employment

No program of job or general economic development should be framed in a form or context which ignores the impact of the sub-economy. This will not be an easy task, because many young men are cynical about the "conventional" programs and because the income produced

through the sub-economy, though irregular and usually unpredictable, is immediate and sometimes substantial. Furthermore, there are powerful forces which have a stake in the sub-economy, or at least prefer to retain it as an alternative to more fundamental reform.

Certainly the potential advancement opportunity and income promised by job development programs, at the minimum, must match whatever tangible benefits are now derived from the sale of marijuana, pills, etc. This requirement is not observed by many of the manpower programs now on the books.

Perhaps more to the point is the question of what should be done about the sub-economy itself. One obvious alternative is to destroy it completely by a vigorous and uniform enforcement of law, an approach which (in the absence of the creation of other sources of income) could only lead to disaster. Without the economic support provided through this source, however risky and unreliable it may be, many youngsters and their families would be reduced to a condition of desperation and hopelessness. Furthermore, the cost of the existing limited enforcement of laws against victimless crimes is already staggering, and a broader campaign could easily cause a breakdown in the entire law-enforcement process. According to the U.S. News and World Report of October 26, 1970, more than 20 billion dollars of the total 51 billion dollars in crime costs that year were attributable to nonvictim crimes, such as narcotics, gambling, alcohol, prostitution, and abortion. According to another estimate, over one-third of all law enforcement costs are related to nonvictim crimes. Efforts to enforce "morality" are not only abortive but unbearably costly.



A second alternative would be to legalize those offenses which do not involve injury to persons or property, and to treat such behavior as a health rather than a legal problem to the degree that it may have physical or emotional consequences. From a narrow economic viewpoint, it would seem logical to legalize the sale of marijuana under conditions similar to those now imposed on the sale of alcohol, and collect appropriate tax revenues from its distribution. A corollary proposal would involve the earmarking of revenues for exclusive use in community-improvement and job-creating projects run by indigenous non-profit development corporations. With a requirement that a majority of the corporation's board of directors be drawn from a defined local area, there would then be an influential group of community residents who have an immediate stake in enforcement of the laws governing distribution of marijuana and prevention of its illegal manufacture.

While proposals of this nature will not easily or readily come to fruition, it should be quickly possible to deal with at least the more pressing aspects of those problems connected with unequal or excessively punitive law enforcement. Constitutional and legal rights relative to "search and seizure," requirements of "probable cause," and an adequate defense in criminal cases should be equally respected and enforced throughout the metropolitan area. Ex-offenders should have meaningful recourse to liberalized procedures for sealing and expungement of records. In this field, the Offender Rehabilitation Act should be passed by Congress, and the model statute drafted by Professor Miller and his associates at Georgetown should be implemented in California and

other states. Both justice and common sense would seem to be served by an immediate provision that any arrest resulting from "mistaken identity" be automatically erased from the arrestee's record.<sup>4</sup>

These measures would give the ex-offender a "second chance" which, in most cases, he is now denied. By combining them with far-reaching programs to validate existing job stipulations and remove discrimination against applicants with records unrelated to performance, government can offer the young men of Watts and East Los Angeles a realistic alternative to perpetual residence in the underworld of crime and the sub-economy. Under prevailing conditions, many of them have little option.

The opportunity for real progress is at hand. The problems in Watts and East Los Angeles are formidable and complex, but hardly insoluble. The one essential precondition for their solution, and for our collective survival, is that we recognize the valuable resources already present in the community, and that we then act upon that knowledge.

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4. Police officers sometimes justify unnecessary detentions and/or arrests by claiming that they are searching for a suspect in a previous crime, or that the vehicle resembles one reported as stolen. There is reason to believe that these excuses are not always true. To deal with this problem, it might be useful to require every arresting officer to give the "suspect" his name, badge number, and the description of the real suspect or stolen vehicle as it is on file in the precinct station, should the arrestee request this information. The arrestee or his attorney would have the right to check those files quickly, and any failure to match descriptions, on the part of the police, would result in a quashing of the arrest.

## APPENDICES

TABLE I

Year	Gross National Product, in 1958 Prices (Billions)	Unemployment Rates (%)			
		Total	White	Nonwhite	Ages 16-19
1948	323.7	3.8	3.5	5.9	9.2
1949	324.1	5.9	5.6	8.9	13.4
1950	355.3	5.3	4.9	9.0	12.2
1951	383.4	3.3	3.1	5.3	8.2
1952	395.1	3.0	2.8	5.4	8.5
1953	412.8	2.9	2.7	4.5	7.6
1954	407.0	5.5	5.0	9.9	12.6
1955	438.0	4.4	3.9	8.7	11.0
1956	446.1	4.1	3.6	8.3	11.1
1957	452.5	4.3	3.8	7.9	11.6
1958	447.3	6.8	6.1	12.6	15.9
1959	475.9	5.5	4.8	10.7	14.6
1960	487.7	5.5	4.9	10.2	14.7
1961	497.2	6.7	6.0	12.4	16.8
1962	529.8	5.5	4.9	10.9	14.7
1963	551.0	5.7	5.0	10.8	17.2
1964	581.1	5.2	4.6	9.6	16.2
1965	617.8	4.5	4.1	8.1	14.8
1966	658.1	3.8	3.4	7.3	12.8
1967	675.2	3.8	3.4	7.4	12.8
1968	707.2	3.6	3.2	6.7	12.7
1969	727.1	3.5	3.1	6.4	12.2
1970	724.3	4.9	4.5	8.2	15.3

TABLE II

Selected Unemployment Rates of Persons 16 Years  
and Over, by Sex and Color, 1948-70  
(%)

<u>Year and Category</u>	<u>Total, 16 yrs. &amp; over</u>	<u>16 and 17 years</u>	<u>18 and 19 years</u>	<u>20 to 24 years</u>
<u>White Male</u>				
1948	3.4	10.2	9.4	6.4
1949	5.6	13.4	14.2	9.8
1950	4.7	13.4	11.7	7.7
1951	2.6	9.5	6.7	3.6
1952	2.5	10.9	7.0	4.3
1953	2.5	8.9	7.1	4.5
1954	4.8	14.0	13.0	9.8
1955	3.7	12.2	10.4	7.0
1956	3.4	11.2	9.7	6.1
1957	3.6	11.9	11.2	7.1
1958	6.1	14.9	16.5	11.7
1959	4.6	15.0	13.0	7.5
1960	4.8	14.6	13.5	8.3
1961	5.7	16.5	15.1	10.0
1962	4.6	15.1	12.7	8.0
1963	4.7	17.8	14.2	7.8
1964	4.1	16.1	13.4	7.4
1965	3.6	14.7	11.4	5.9
1966	2.8	12.5	8.9	4.1
1967	2.7	12.7	9.0	4.2
1968	2.6	12.3	8.2	4.6
1969	2.5	12.5	7.9	4.6
1970	4.0	15.7	12.0	7.8
<u>White Female</u>				
1948	3.8	9.7	6.8	4.2
1949	5.7	13.6	10.7	6.7
1950	5.3	13.8	9.4	6.1
1951	4.2	9.6	6.5	3.9
1952	3.3	9.3	6.2	3.8
1953	3.1	8.3	6.0	4.1
1954	5.6	12.0	9.4	6.4
1955	4.3	11.6	7.7	5.1
1956	4.2	12.1	8.3	5.1
1957	4.3	11.9	7.9	5.1
1958	6.2	15.6	11.0	7.4
1959	5.3	13.3	11.1	6.7
1960	5.3	14.5	11.5	7.2
1961	6.5	17.0	13.6	8.4
1962	5.5	15.6	11.3	7.7

TABLE II  
Selected Unemployment Rates of Persons 16 Years and Over, by Sex and Color,  
1943-70 (%) - continued

<u>Year and Category</u>	<u>Total, 16 yrs. &amp; over</u>	<u>16 and 17 years</u>	<u>18 and 19 years</u>	<u>20 to 24 years</u>
<u>White Female</u>				
1963	5.8	18.1	13.2	7.4
1964	5.5	17.1	13.2	7.1
1965	5.0	15.0	13.4	6.3
1966	4.3	14.5	10.7	5.3
1967	4.6	12.9	10.6	6.0
1968	4.3	13.9	11.0	5.9
1969	4.2	13.8	10.0	5.5
1970	5.4	15.3	11.9	6.9

Nonwhite Male

1948	5.8	9.4	10.5	11.7
1949	9.6	15.8	17.1	15.8
1950	9.4	12.1	17.7	12.6
1951	4.9	8.7	9.6	6.7
1952	5.2	8.0	10.0	7.9
1953	4.8	8.3	8.1	8.1
1954	10.3	13.4	14.7	16.9
1955	8.8	14.8	12.9	12.4
1956	7.9	15.7	14.9	12.0
1957	8.3	16.3	20.0	12.7
1958	13.8	27.1	26.7	19.5
1959	11.5	22.3	27.2	16.3
1960	10.7	22.7	25.1	13.1
1961	12.8	31.0	23.9	15.3
1962	10.9	21.9	21.8	14.6
1963	10.5	27.0	27.4	15.5
1964	8.9	25.9	23.1	12.6
1965	7.4	27.1	20.2	9.3
1966	6.3	22.5	20.5	7.9
1967	6.0	28.9	20.1	8.0
1968	5.6	26.6	19.0	8.3
1969	5.3	24.7	19.0	8.4
1970	7.3	27.8	23.1	12.6

Nonwhite Female

1948	6.1	11.8	14.6	10.2
1949	7.9	20.3	15.9	12.5
1950	8.4	17.6	14.1	13.0
1951	6.1	13.0	15.1	8.8
1952	5.7	6.3	16.8	10.7
1953	4.1	10.3	9.9	5.5
1954	9.3	19.1	21.6	13.2

TABLE II

Selected Unemployment Rates of Persons 16 Years and Over, by Sex and Color,  
1948-70 - continued

<u>Year and Category</u>	<u>Total, 16 yrs. &amp; over</u>	<u>16 and 17 years</u>	<u>18 and 19 years</u>	<u>20 to 24 years</u>
(continued)				
<u>Nonwhite Female</u>				
1955	8.4	15.4	21.4	13.0
1956	8.9	22.0	23.4	14.8
1957	7.3	18.3	21.3	12.2
1958	10.8	25.4	30.0	18.9
1959	9.4	25.8	29.9	14.9
1960	9.4	25.7	24.5	15.3
1961	11.8	31.1	28.2	19.5
1962	11.0	27.8	31.2	18.2
1963	11.2	40.1	31.9	18.7
1964	10.6	36.5	29.2	18.3
1965	9.2	37.8	27.8	13.7
1966	8.6	34.8	29.2	12.6
1967	9.1	32.0	28.3	13.8
1968	8.3	33.7	26.2	12.3
1969	7.8	31.2	25.7	12.0
1970	9.3	36.9	32.9	15.0

Sources for Tables I and II: Manpower Report, 1971.

TABLE III  
Enrollment Opportunities, First-Time Enrollments, and Federal Obligations  
for Work and Training Programs Administered by the  
Department of Labor, by Program, Fiscal Years 1963-70

(Thousands)

Program	Total	FY 1970	FY 1969	FY 1968	FY 1967
ENROLLMENT OPPORTUNITIES					
Total.....	5,018.7	971.7	910.7	823.8	808.4
Manpower Development and Training Act.....	1,598.6	201.4	198.5	229.9	270.9
Institutional Training.....	981.8	121.8	110.9	123.6	126.0
On-the-job training...	583.4	63.9	77.8	98.8	144.5
Part-time and other training.....	33.4	15.7	9.8	7.5	.4
Neighborhood Youth Corps...	2,888.4	492.1	539.7	537.7	512.8
In school.....	762.7	97.1	100.6	135.0	139.0
Out of school.....	397.7	45.4	50.0	62.7	79.3
Summer.....	1,725.0	1,349.6	1,387.2	1,339.1	294.3
Work Training in Industry.....	3.0	.....	1.9	.9	.2
Operation Mainstream.....	50.2	17.8	13.5	10.9	8.0
Public Service Careers <sup>2</sup> ....	46.6	33.6	5.9	2.7	4.4
Special Impact.....	36.5	.....	31.3	1.2	4.0
Concentrated Employment Program <sup>1</sup> .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
JOBS (federally financed)...	161.8	69.1	52.8	31.5	8.4
Work Incentive Program.....	244.9	136.0	99.0	9.9	.....
Job Corps.....	21.7	21.7	.....	.....	.....

Program	FY 1966	FY 1965	FY 1964	FY 1963
ENROLLMENT OPPORTUNITIES				
Total.....	808.8	510.2	125.8	59.2
Manpower Development and Training Act.....	281.1	231.8	125.8	59.2
Institutional training.	163.0	167.1	112.5	56.9
On-the-job training...	118.1	64.7	13.3	2.3
Part-time and other training.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Neighborhood Youth Corps...	527.7	278.4	.....	.....
In school.....	188.8	102.2	.....	.....
Out of school.....	98.6	61.7	.....	.....
Summer.....	240.3	114.5	.....	.....
Work Training in Industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Operation Mainstream.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Public Service Careers <sup>2</sup> ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Special Impact.....	.....	.....	.....	.....



TABLE III

Program	FY 1966	FY 1965	FY 1964	FY 1963	
Concentrated Employment Program <sup>4</sup>					
JOBS (federally financed).	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Work Incentive Program....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Job Corps.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
FIRST-TIME ENROLLMENTS <sup>5</sup>					
Total.....	4,731.4	1,051.4	1,000.7	780.8	833.3
Manpower Development and Training Act.....					
Institutional training.	978.4	130.0	135.0	140.0	150.0
On-the-job training.	473.0	91.0	85.0	101.0	115.0
Part-time and other training.....	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	.....
Neighborhood Youth Corps.					
In school.....	659.3	74.4	84.3	118.3	166.8
Out of school.....	578.6	46.2	74.5	93.8	161.6
Summer.....	1,332.7	361.5	345.3	255.2	227.9
Work Training in Industry.....	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)	(7)
Operation Mainstream.....	47.4	12.5	11.3	12.6	11.0
Public Service Careers <sup>2</sup> ..	12.7	3.6	3.8	4.3	1.0
Special Impact.....	5.3	.....	2.7	2.6	.....
Concentrated Employment Program.....					
JOBS (federally financed).	138.0	86.8	51.2	.....	.....
Work Incentive Program....	173.3	92.7	80.6	.....	.....
Job Corps.....	42.6	42.6	.....	.....	.....
Program					
FY 1966	FY 1965	FY 1964	FY 1963		
FIRST-TIME ENROLLMENTS <sup>5</sup>					
Total.....	658.7	294.8	77.6	34.1	
Manpower Development and Training Act.....					
Institutional Training.	177.5	145.3	68.6	32.0	
On-the-job training...	58.3	11.6	9.0	2.1	
Part-time and other training.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Neighborhood Youth Corps.					
In school.....	160.8	54.7	.....	.....	
Out of school.....	166.9	35.6	.....	.....	
Summer.....	95.2	47.6	.....	.....	
Work Training in Industry.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	

TABLE III

Program	FY 1966	FY 1965	FY 1964	FY 1963
FIRST-TIME ENROLLMENTS <sup>5</sup>				
Operation Mainstream....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Public Service Careers <sup>2</sup> .	.....	.....	.....	.....
Special Impact.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Concentrated Employment Program.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
JOBS (federally financed).	.....	.....	.....	.....
Work Incentive Program..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Job Corps.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

<sup>1</sup>Includes enrollment opportunities made available by MDTA supplemental funds; these were 64,500 in fiscal 1970, 36,200 in fiscal 1969, and 49,100 in fiscal 1968.

<sup>2</sup>Includes the New Careers Program.

<sup>3</sup>Estimated. This program was transferred to the Office of Economic Opportunity effective July 1, 1969.

<sup>4</sup>Enrollment opportunities (slots) are not meaningful for CEP because the CEP approach utilizes a variety of program components--orientation, basic education, work experience, and other types of job training. An individual may be enrolled in one or in several components.

<sup>5</sup>These are new enrollees. Their number per fiscal year is generally larger than the number of enrollment opportunities (slots) programed, as a slot may be used by more than one individual during the year because of turnover or short-term training. If openings are unfilled, the number of first-time enrollments may be smaller than the number of enrollment opportunities.

<sup>6</sup>Included in data for institutional training.

<sup>7</sup>Included in data for the out-of-school component of NYC.

Source: Manpower Report, 1971, p. 299.

### TABLES FOR CHAPTER III

# AGE

Ages	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
16	8.6	9.2	22.0	22.4
17	14.8	15.9	12.3	12.5
18	9.9	10.6	12.7	12.9
19	10.9	11.7	17.2	17.5
20	11.2	12.0	11.9	12.2
21	9.5	10.2	7.1	7.2
22	7.2	7.8	7.8	7.9
23	9.5	10.2	4.5	4.6
24	11.5	12.4	2.6	2.7
No Response or Uncodable	7.0		1.9	
Total Number	304	283	268	263

# ETHNIC ORIGIN

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Chicano	1.3		86.9	
Other Latin American	0		3.0	
Black	97.4		3.7	
All Other	1.0		6.3	
No Response or Uncodable	0.3		0	
Total Number	304	303	268	268

# MARITAL STATUS

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Married	9.2		10.8	
Separated	4.6		1.5	
Widowed	1.0		0	
Divorced	3.9		0.7	
Single	80.6		85.8	
No Response or Uncodable	0.7		1.1	
Total Number	304	302	268	265

# HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
The Person Answering	36.5		19.0	
Father	28.9		55.6	
Mother	27.0		19.4	
Sibling	1.6		1.5	
Other Relative	1.3		3.0	
Someone Else	3.6		1.5	
No Response or Uncodable	1.0		0	
Total Number	304		268	

How long have you lived in Los Angeles County?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Less Than 1 Year	5.3		1.1	
One Year or More	32.9		18.7	
All My Life	60.9		79.9	
No Response or Uncodable	1.0		0.4	
Total Number	304	301	268	267

Where did you live before you came to Los Angeles County?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
The South	10.5	36.4	0	0
Border States	1.3	4.5	0	0
Northeast	2.6	9.1	0.4	2.2
Midwest	3.6	12.5	0.7	4.3
West	1.0	3.4	0.4	2.2
Southwest	3.3	11.4	5.2	30.4
California	5.6	19.3	3.4	19.6
Any Foreign Country	1.0	3.4	7.1	41.3
No Response or Uncodable	71.1		82.8	
Total Number	304	88	268	46

Have you ever been in the military service?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	16.1	22.0	9.3	11.0
No	57.2	78.0	75.7	89.0
No Response or Uncodable	26.6		14.9	
Total Number	304	223	268	228

Estimate of Family Income

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Below \$4000 a year	30.3	35.5	9.0	15.3
Between \$4000 and \$6000	39.5	46.3	16.0	27.4
Above \$6000	14.1	16.6	28.0	47.8
Unknown or no idea at all	1.3	1.5	5.6	9.6
No Response or Uncodable	14.8		41.4	
Total Number	304	259	268	157

## TABLES FOR CHAPTER IV



Are you attending regular school?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	46.1	49.1	50.0	50.4
No	47.7	50.9	49.3	49.6
No Response or Uncodable	6.3		0.7	
Total Number	304	285	268	266

What grade?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
9th grade of high school (junior high school)	0.7	1.4	2.6	5.2
10th grade of high school (senior high school)	4.6	10.1	9.0	17.8
11th grade of high school (senior high school)	11.8	25.9	12.3	24.4
12th grade of high school (senior high school)	13.8	30.2	11.6	23.0
1st year (fresh- man) in college	4.6	10.1	7.1	14.0
2nd year (sophomore) in college	3.6	7.9	5.6	11.1

What grade? (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
3rd year (junior) in college	2.0	4.3	0.7	1.5
4th year (senior) in college	2.0	4.3	1.5	3.0
Post-Graduate in college	2.6	5.8	0	0
No Response or Not in School	54.3		49.7	
Total Number	304	139	268	135

What school?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Jordan High School	12.5	27.3	0	0
Locke High School	6.6	14.4	0	0
Fremont High School	2.6	5.8	0	0
Washington High School	2.0	4.3	0	0
Jefferson High School	1.0	2.2	0	0
Dorsey High School	0.7	1.4	0	0
Belmont High School	0	0	0.7	1.5
Roosevelt High School	0	0	3.4	6.8

What school? (cont'd)

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Garfield High School	0	0	7.1	14.3
Lincoln High School	0.7	1.4	0	0
Any other LA District high school or junior high	1.6	3.6	3.0	6.0
Any Compton District high school or junior high	1.0	2.2	0	0
Any high school or junior high in California, <u>not mentioned above</u>	0	0	19.0	38.3
Any high school or junior high, outside of California	0	0	0	0
Any junior college, in or out of California	6.9	15.1	7.5	15.0
Any 4-year college or university, in or out of California	10.2	22.3	9.0	18.1
No Response or Not in School	54.3		50.4	
Total Number	304	139	268	133

What is the highest year of regular school you completed?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
9th grade	1.6	3.1	0.4	0.8
10th grade	4.9	9.4	4.9	9.8
11th grade	12.2	23.3	11.2	22.7
12th grade	24.7	47.2	24.6	50.0
1st year of college	3.9	7.6	3.7	7.6
2nd year of college	2.3	4.4	3.4	6.8
3rd year of college	1.3	2.5	0.4	0.8
4th year of college	0.7	1.3	0.4	0.8
Any other	0.7	1.3	0.4	0.8
No Response or Still in School	47.7		50.7	
Total Number	304	159	268	132

In school, do you know to whom you would go (or have gone when you were in school) to get advice about jobs, careers, training, and so on?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	48.0	52.5	39.2	39.6
No	34.9	38.1	49.3	49.8
Not Sure	8.6	9.4	10.4	10.6
No Response or Uncodable	8.6		1.1	
Total Number	304	278	268	265

About how often have you talked (or did you talk) with this person since you have been, or when you were, in school?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Never	11.8	21.2	6.7	17.8
Less Than 5 Times	22.4	40.0	12.7	33.7
Frequently	16.4	29.4	11.2	29.7
Seldom, Not Often, Occa- sionally	3.9	7.1	3.7	9.9
Can't Recall	0.3	0.6	1.9	5.0
Unable to Code	1.0	1.8	1.5	4.0
No Response or Uncodable	44.1		62.3	
Total Number	304	170	268	101

Have you ever attended a class where jobs, careers,  
and similar things were discussed in class?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	32.2	33.1	19.0	19.6
No	64.8	66.6	77.6	80.0
Not Sure	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4
No Response or Uncodable	2.6		3.0	
Total Number	304	296	268	260

Have you ever participated in a Career Day Program?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	15.1	23.4	5.2	13.9
No	49.7	76.7	32.5	86.1
Not Sure	0	0	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	35.2		62.3	
Total Number	304	197	268	101

Have you ever, to your knowledge, taken a test to show  
what kind of career you would be best fitted for?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	28.6	29.4	26.5	27.3
No	61.2	62.8	63.4	65.4
Not Sure	7.6	7.8	7.1	7.3
No Response or Uncodable	2.6		3.0	
Total Number	304	296	268	260

Did anyone discuss the results of the test with you?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	21.7	45.8	15.3	54.7
No	23.7	50.0	10.8	38.7
Not Sure	2.0	4.2	1.9	6.7
No Response or Uncodable	52.6		72.0	
Total Number	304	144	268	75

Did the test and the discussion influence your thinking about a career?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	13.8	34.4	7.8	37.5
No	20.7	51.6	10.8	51.8
Not Sure	4.9	12.3	2.2	10.7
Other Answer	0.6	1.6	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	59.9		79.1	
Total Number	304	122	268	56

What sort of general major did you take in high school?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Vocational or industrial arts	39.5	44.3	31.7	37.4
College pre- paratory	30.9	34.7	36.2	42.7
Other	18.4	20.7	16.8	19.8
Unable	0.3	0.4	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	10.9		15.3	
Total Number	304	271	268	227



## TABLES FOR CHAPTER V

What were you doing most of last week?  
(Working or going to school or something else?)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Working	18.4	19.2	40.7	41.6
Had job but not at work	1.6	1.7	4.1	4.2
Looking for work	28.0	29.2	20.5	21.0
Going to school	36.2	37.8	12.3	12.6
Unable to work	4.3	4.5	4.9	5.0
Other	3.3	3.4	13.8	14.1
Both working and going to school	3.0	3.1	1.5	1.5
Both going to school and looking for work	1.0	1.0	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	4.3		2.2	
Total Number	304	291	268	262

What kind of work do you do?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
A job at a school	4.6	18.0	1.9	4.1
A job at a Teen Post or similar program	1.0	3.9	0	0
A service job outside of school or Teen Post or NYC (a few examples: service station attendant, waiter or waitress, janitor, policeman, lifeguard, elevator operator)	5.9	23.1	12.7	28.3
Clerical	2.0	7.7	7.5	16.6
Selling or retail trade	0.3	1.3	2.2	5.0
Production or semi-skilled work	2.0	7.7	3.7	8.3
Government work (e.g., Post Office)	2.6	10.3	0	0
Any Out-of-School NYC (inc. WLCAC)	1.3	5.1	0	0
Professional or administrative or supervisory	1.6	6.4	3.0	6.6
Unskilled labor	2.3	9.0	4.9	10.8
Skilled labor	1.6	6.4	3.4	7.5

What kind of work do you do? (cont'd)

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Any work not mentioned above	0.3	1.3	5.2	11.6
Unable		0	0.4	0.8
No Response or Not Working	74.3		55.3	
Total Number	304	78	268	120

What does it pay?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Below \$1.50 per hour or monthly equivalent	0	0	1.1	2.6
\$1.50 to \$1.74 per hour or monthly equivalent	2.3	8.3	9.3	22.1
\$1.75 to \$1.99 per hour or monthly equivalent	1.0	3.5	2.6	6.1
\$2.00 to \$2.24 per hour or monthly equivalent	3.3	11.9	6.7	15.9
\$2.25 to \$2.49 per hour	2.0	7.1	2.6	6.1
\$2.50 to \$2.74 per hour	3.6	13.0	3.4	7.9
\$2.75 to \$2.99 per hour	2.6	9.5	1.5	3.5

# What does it pay (cont'd)

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
\$3.00 an hour and above or monthly equivalent	11.2	40.4	12.7	30.0
Gives a figure which cannot be coded as above	1.6	5.9	2.2	5.3
No Response or Not Working	72.4		57.8	
Total Number	304	84	268	113

# How did you find that job?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
School employ- ment service (or counselor)	5.3	16.8	5.2	11.2
Public employ- ment agency	5.9	18.9	3.0	6.4
Private employ- ment agency	1.6	5.2	1.1	2.4
Employer (walk-in)	3.9	12.6	11.6	24.8
Newspaper ads	1.6	5.2	1.5	3.2
Friends or rela- tives	10.5	33.6	20.1	43.2
Other	2.0	6.3	4.1	8.8
Unable	0.3	1.0	0	0
No Response or Not Working	68.8		53.4	
Total Number	304	95	268	125

Previous Job #1  
What kind of work did you do?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
A job at school	8.2	12.8	2.2	3.5
A job at Teen Post or similar program	2.3	3.6	0	0
A service job outside of school or Teen Post or NYC (a few examples: service station attendant, waiter or waitress, janitor, policeman, lifeguard, elevator operator)	17.4	27.3	14.6	22.9
Clerical	3.0	4.6	6.3	10.0
Selling or retail trade	1.3	2.0	1.9	2.9
Production or semi-skilled work	6.9	10.8	10.1	15.8
Government work (e.g. Post Office)	3.9	6.1	0.7	1.1
Any Out-of-School NYC (inc. WLCAC)	4.9	7.7	3.7	5.8
Professional or administrative or supervisory	2.0	3.0	1.5	2.3
Unskilled labor	4.6	7.2	10.1	15.8

Previous Job #1 (cont'd)

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Skilled labor	3.6	5.6	6.7	10.5
Any work not mentioned above	5.3	8.2	5.6	8.8
Unable	0.3	0.5	0	0
No Response or Not Working	36.2		36.6	
Total Number	304	194	268	170

Previous Job #1  
What did it pay?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Below \$1.50 per hour or monthly equivalent	7.6	13.2	4.9	7.9
\$1.50 to \$1.74 per hour or monthly equivalent	10.2	17.8	10.4	17.1
\$1.75 to \$1.99 per hour or monthly equivalent	3.3	5.7	7.8	12.8
\$2.00 to \$2.24 per hour or monthly equivalent	4.9	8.6	10.4	17.1
\$2.25 to \$2.49 per hour	3.9	6.8	4.1	6.7
\$2.50 to \$2.74 per hour	4.3	7.4	3.7	6.1
\$2.75 to \$2.99 per hour	2.0	3.4	2.6	4.2

What did it pay? (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
\$3.00 an hour and above or monthly equivalent	16.8	29.3	13.4	22.0
Gives a figure which cannot be coded as above	4.3	7.4	3.4	5.5
No Response or Not Working	42.7		39.2	
Total Number	304	174	268	163

Previous Job #1  
How did you find that job?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
School employ- ment service (or counse- lor)	9.2	18.4	7.1	11.3
Public employ- ment agency	3.0	5.9	6.7	10.7
Private employ- ment agency	1.6	3.2	0	0
Employer (walk-in)	10.9	21.7	15.3	24.5
Newspaper ads	0.3	0.6	1.1	1.7
Friends or Relatives	16.4	32.8	28.0	44.9
Other	8.6	17.1	3.7	5.9
Unable	0	0	0.4	0.5
No Response or Uncodable	50.0		37.7	
Total Number	304	152	268	167



Previous Job #2  
What kind of work did you do?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
A job at a school	2.0	4.7	1.1	2.9
A job at a Teen Post or similar program	2.0	4.7	1.1	2.9
A service job outside of school or Teen Post or NYC (a few examples: service station attendant, waiter or waitress, janitor, policeman, lifeguard, elevator operator)	10.5	25.0	9.0	23.5
Clerical	4.3	10.2	6.3	16.6
Selling or retail trade	1.3	3.1	2.6	6.8
Production or semi-skilled work	5.6	13.3	8.6	22.5
Government work (e.g. Post Office)	2.0	4.7	0.7	1.9
Any Out-of-school NYC (inc. WLCAC)	3.3	7.9	1.1	2.9
Professional or administrative or supervisory	2.3	5.5	1.1	2.9
Unskilled labor	4.3	10.2	4.1	10.7
Skilled labor	1.6	3.9	1.1	2.9

What kind of work did you do? (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Any work not mentioned above	2.3	5.5	1.1	2.9
Unable	0.3	0.8	0	0
No Response or Not Working	57.9		61.9	
Total Number	304	128	268	102

Previous Job #2  
What did it pay?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Below \$1.50 per hour or monthly equivalent	3.0	8.1	4.9	13.0
\$1.50 to \$1.74 per hour or monthly equivalent	6.3	17.2	5.2	14.0
\$1.75 to \$1.99 per hour or monthly equivalent	0.7	1.8	6.0	16.0
\$2.00 to \$2.24 per hour or monthly equivalent	6.3	17.2	6.3	17.0
\$2.25 to \$2.49 per hour	2.6	7.2	2.2	6.0
\$2.50 to \$2.74 per hour	3.6	10.0	3.4	9.0
\$2.75 to \$2.99 per hour	3.0	8.1	1.5	4.0

What did it pay? (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
\$3.00 an hour and above or monthly equivalent	8.9	24.5	5.6	15.0
Gives a figure which cannot be coded as above	2.0	5.4	2.2	6.0
No Response or Not Working	63.9		62.7	
Total Number	304	110	268	100

Previous Job #2  
How did you find that job?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
School employ- ment service (or counselor)	4.3	13.5	3.4	9.1
Public employ- ment agency	4.3	13.5	3.0	8.1
Private employ- ment agency	0.7	2.0	0	0
Employer (walk-in)	7.6	23.9	14.6	39.7
Newspaper ads	1.3	4.1	0	0
Friends or relatives	9.5	30.2	12.7	34.6
Other	3.9	12.5	3.0	8.1
No Response or Uncodable	68.5		63.1	
Total Number	304	96	268	98

Previous Job #3  
What kind of work did you do?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
A job at a school	1.6	7.1	0	0
A job at a Teen Post or similar program	2.0	8.5	0.7	3.3
A service job outside of school or Teen Post or NYC (a few examples: service station attendant, waiter or waitress, janitor, policeman, lifeguard, elevator operator)	6.6	28.5	6.0	26.6
Clerical	2.0	8.5	3.0	13.3
Selling or retail trade	0.7	2.8	1.5	6.6
Production or semi-skilled work	3.0	12.8	3.4	15.0
Government work (e.g. Post Office)	1.3	5.7	1.1	5.0
Any Out-of-School NYC (inc. WLCAC)	2.0	8.5	0.7	3.3
Professional or administrative or supervisory	1.0	4.2	0	0
Unskilled labor	1.3	5.7	3.7	16.6
Skilled labor	1.0	4.2	0.7	3.3

What kind of work did you do? (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Any work not mentioned above	0.7	2.8	1.5	6.6
No Response or Not Working	76.9		77.6	
Total Number	304	70	268	60

Previous Job #3  
What did it pay?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Below \$1.50 per hour or monthly equivalent	2.3	11.2	2.6	12.0
\$1.50 to \$1.74 per hour or monthly equivalent	2.3	11.2	4.9	22.4
\$1.75 to \$1.99 per hour or monthly equivalent	1.6	8.0	2.6	12.0
\$2.00 to \$2.24 per hour or monthly equivalent	3.3	16.1	3.7	17.2
\$2.25 to \$2.49 per hour	1.3	6.4	1.1	5.1
\$2.50 to \$2.74 per hour	2.3	11.2	1.1	5.1
\$2.75 to \$2.99 per hour	2.6	12.9	1.5	6.8
\$3.00 an hour and above or monthly equivalent	3.9	19.3	2.2	10.3

What did it pay? (cont'd)

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Gives a figure which cannot be coded as above	0.7	3.2	1.9	8.6
No Response or Not Working	79.6		78.4	
Total Number	304	62	268	58

Previous Job #3  
How did you find that job?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
School employ- ment service (or counselor)	3.3	18.8	1.9	8.4
Public employ- ment agency	0.3	1.8	2.2	10.1
Private employ- ment agency	0.3	1.8	0	0
Employer (walk-in)	2.6	15.0	4.9	22.0
Newspaper ads	1.0	5.6	0.4	1.6
Friends or relatives	7.2	41.5	10.8	49.1
Other	2.6	15.0	1.9	8.4
No Response or Uncodable	82.6		77.9	
Total Number	304	53	268	59

Contacts with Public Employment Service or HRD

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Mentions coun- seling or test- ing <u>only</u>	11.8	14.4	5.2	5.8
Mentions refer- rals to jobs <u>only</u>	11.5	14.0	11.9	13.3
Mentions <u>both</u> of the above (that is, coun- seling or test- ing <u>and</u> refer- rals to jobs)	9.2	11.2	4.9	5.4
Mentions refer- ral to training program <u>only</u>	0.7	0.8	1.9	2.0
Mentions train- ing program and one of the above	0.3	0.4	1.9	2.0
Mentions <u>none</u> of the above (that is, never had a referral to any- thing)	48.4	58.8	61.2	68.6
Mentions all three (coun- seling, job referrals, training pro- gram)	0.3	0.4	2.2	2.5
No Response or Uncodable	17.8		10.8	
Total Number	304	250	268	239

# Contacts with School Counselor or Placement Office

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Mentions counseling or testing <u>only</u>	15.8	19.2	7.8	8.6
Mentions referrals to jobs <u>only</u>	13.2	16.0	11.2	12.3
Mentions <u>both</u> of the above (that is, counseling or testing and referrals to jobs)	7.2	8.8	4.9	5.3
Mentions referral to training program <u>only</u>	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.2
Mentions training program and one of the above	0	0	2.2	2.4
Mentions <u>none</u> of the above (that is, never had a referral to anything)	44.4	54.2	62.3	68.7
Mentions all three (counseling, job referrals, training program)	0.3	0.4	1.1	1.2
No Response or Uncodable	18.1		9.3	
Total Number	304	249	268	243



# Contacts with Private Employment Agency

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Mentions Counseling or testing <u>only</u>	2.6	3.3	1.9	2.1
Mentions referrals to jobs <u>only</u>	4.6	5.8	4.1	4.6
Mentions <u>both</u> of the above (that is, counseling or testing and referrals to jobs)	2.3	2.9	0.4	0.4
Mentions referral to training program <u>only</u>	0	0	0	0
Mentions training program and one of the above	0	0	0	0
Mentions <u>none</u> of the above (that is, never had a referral to anything)	68.8	87.4	81.7	92.4
Mentions all three (counseling, job referrals, training program)	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
No Response or Uncodable	21.4		11.6	
Total Number	304	239	268	237

# Contacts with a Friend or Relative

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Mentions counseling or testing <u>only</u>	4.3	5.3	6.7	7.2
Mentions referrals to jobs <u>only</u>	20.4	25.3	33.6	36.2
Mentions <u>both</u> of the above (that is, counseling or testing <u>and</u> referrals to jobs)	3.0	3.6	4.5	4.8
Mentions referral to training program <u>only</u>	1.0	1.2	0	0
Mentions training program and one of the above	0.3	0.4	4.5	4.8
Mentions <u>none</u> of the above (that is, never had a referral to anything)	51.3	63.6	42.2	45.5
Mentions all three (counseling, job referrals, training program)	0.3	0.4	1.1	1.2
No Response or Uncodable	19.4		7.5	
Total Number	304	245	268	248

# Contacts with Some Other Source

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Mentions coun- seling or testing <u>only</u>	2.0	2.6	2.6	3.2
Mentions refer- rals to jobs <u>only</u>	6.9	9.1	4.5	5.4
Mentions <u>both</u> of the above (that is, counseling or testing <u>and</u> referrals to jobs)	1.0	1.3	1.1	1.4
Mentions refer- ral to training program <u>only</u>	0.3	0.4	0	0
Mentions train- ing program and one of the above 0		0	0	0
Mentions <u>none</u> of the above (that is, never had a referral to anything)	65.5	86.5	74.6	90.0
Mentions all three (coun- seling, job referrals, training program)	0	0	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	24.3		17.2	
Total Number	304	230	268	222

# Jobs Obtained Through Specified Sources

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
One or more jobs obtained through the employment service <u>only</u>	2.6	3.0	4.5	4.7
One or more jobs obtained through the school <u>only</u>	7.2	8.3	6.7	7.1
Jobs obtained through both of the above <u>only</u> (no other source mentioned)	2.3	2.6	0	0
One or more jobs obtained through a private employment agency <u>only</u>	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.4
One or more jobs obtained through a private agency and the public employment service	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
One or more jobs obtained through advice from a friend or relative <u>only</u> (no other source mentioned anywhere)	13.5	15.5	26.1	27.5
One or more jobs obtained through advice from a friend or relative <u>and</u> a private employment agency	0.3	0.4	1.5	1.6

# Jobs Obtained Through Specified Sources (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
One or more jobs obtained through the employment service (public) and a friend or relative. (No other sources mentioned)	1.6	1.9	5.2	5.5
One or more jobs obtained through the school and a friend or relative (no other sources mentioned)	3.3	3.8	3.7	3.9
One or more jobs obtained through some other source not mentioned above	5.9	6.8	9.3	9.8
One or more jobs obtained through some other source plus one or more of the sources mentioned above	6.6	7.5	10.4	11.0
Jobs obtained through some combination of sources not coded above	3.3	3.8	2.6	2.7
<u>No</u> jobs obtained from <u>any</u> source mentioned (i.e., the Employment Service, school, private agency, or friend or relative)	38.5	44.2	24.3	25.5
Unable	1.0	1.1	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	12.9		4.9	
Total Number	304	265	268	255

## TABLES FOR CHAPTER VI

Have you ever been in a training program?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	16.4	21.5	8.6	10.6
No	59.5	77.7	72.4	89.4
Unable	0.7	0.9	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	23.4		19.0	
Total Number	304	233	268	217

Have you ever heard about any of these (specified) training programs?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
No	43.8	60.7	51.1	67.2
Yes	28.0	38.8	24.3	31.9
Unable	0.3	0.5	0.8	1.0
No Response or Uncodable	27.9		23.9	
Total Number	304	219	268	204

Which description best fits the job title?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Hospital Orderly				
1. Orders food and other supplies for hospital kitchens	16.8	28.2	19.8	20.5
2. Helps to take care of hospital patients	31.3	52.5	52.6	54.4
3. Works at hospital desk where patients check in	8.6	14.4	11.9	12.4
4. Don't Know	3.0	5.0	12.3	12.7
No Response or Uncodable	40.5		3.4	
Total Number	304	181	268	259
Machinist				
1. Makes adjustments on automobile, airplane, and tractor engines	16.8	28.2	11.9	12.4
2. Repairs electrical equipment	14.5	24.3	17.5	18.2
3. Sets up and operates metal lathes, shapers, grinders, buffers, etc.	25.0	42.0	60.8	63.2
4. Don't Know	3.3	5.5	6.0	6.2
No Response or Uncodable	40.5		3.7	
Total Number	304	181	268	258



Which description best fits the job title? (cont'd)

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Draftsman				
1. Mixes and serves drinks in a bar or tavern	5.9	9.9	2.2	2.3
2. Makes scale drawings of products or equipment for engineering or manufacturing purposes	45.4	75.8	84.7	87.6
3. Pushes or pulls a cart in a factory or warehouse	5.3	8.8	4.9	5.0
4. Don't Know	3.3	5.5	4.9	5.0
No Response or Uncodable	41.1		3.4	
Total Number	304	182	268	259
Social Worker				
1. Works for a welfare agency and helps people with various types of problems they may have	43.8	73.5	81.7	84.2
2. Conducts research on life in primitive societies	9.5	16.0	4.5	4.6
3. Writes newspaper stories on marriages, engagements, births, and similar events	2.0	3.3	4.1	4.2

Which description best fits the job title? (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Social Worker				
4. Don't Know	4.3	7.2	6.7	6.9
No Response or Uncodable	40.5		3.0	
Total Number	304	181	268	260

Who do you think earns more in a year?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
1. An auto mechanic	15.1	23.6	13.8	14.5
or				
2. An elec- trician	46.7	72.8	78.4	82.0
3. Don't Know	2.0	3.1	3.4	3.5
Unable	0.3	0.5	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	35.9		4.5	
Total Number	304	195	268	256
1. A truck driver	53.0	83.9	84.7	90.1
or				
2. A grocery store clerk	8.2	13.0	6.3	6.8
3. Don't Know	2.0	3.1	3.0	3.2
No Response or Uncodable	36.8		6.0	
Total Number	304	192	268	252

Who do you think earns more in a year? (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
1. A lawyer	55.9	85.9	91.8	95.3
or				
2. A high school teacher	6.6	10.1	3.4	3.5
3. Don't Know	2.0	3.0	1.1	1.2
Unable	0.7	1.0	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	34.9		3.7	
Total Number	304	198	268	258
1. A janitor	7.2	11.2	8.6	9.1
or				
2. A policeman	54.3	83.8	81.3	85.8
3. Don't Know	3.0	4.6	4.9	5.1
Unable	0.3	0.5	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	35.2		5.2	
Total Number	304	197	268	254

About how much, on the average, do you think an American family makes during a year?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Below \$4000 a year	11.8	12.9	9.0	10.0
\$4000 to \$5999	16.8	18.3	9.7	10.9
\$6000 to \$7999	17.8	19.4	14.9	16.7
\$8000 to \$9999	20.4	22.2	22.8	25.5
\$10,000 to \$11,999	10.9	11.8	19.4	21.8
\$12,000 to \$13,999	5.6	6.1	3.7	4.2
\$14,000 and above	6.6	7.2	7.5	8.4
No idea at all	2.0	2.2	2.2	2.5
No Response or Uncodable	8.2		10.8	
Total Number	304	279	268	239

About how much, on the average, do you think you should make in a permanent job to cover your basic needs and those of your family?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Below \$4000 a year	3.9	4.4	6.7	7.5
\$4000 to \$5999	13.8	15.4	7.5	8.3
\$6000 to \$7999	13.5	15.1	14.2	15.8

About how much, on the average, do you think you should make in a permanent job to cover your basic needs and those of your family? (cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
\$8000 to \$9999	20.1	22.4	11.6	12.9
\$10,000 to \$11,999	11.8	13.2	11.9	13.3
\$12,000 to \$13,999	6.6	7.4	13.8	15.4
\$14,000 and above	14.5	16.2	21.3	23.7
No idea at all	4.9	5.5	3.0	3.3
Unable	0.3	0.4	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	10.5		10.1	
Total Number	304	272	268	241

In terms of what you think is most realistic for you, which  
of the following possibilities most appeals to you?

<u>Preferences</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
High school to work	8.9	12.0	11.6	17.3
College to work	35.2	47.6	28.0	41.9
Training to work	9.2	12.4	6.3	9.5
Work	4.3	5.8	6.0	8.9
Work & school with time off	5.3	7.1	3.4	5.0
Work & school on own time	8.9	12.0	3.0	4.5
Combination of answers	2.3	3.1	8.6	12.9
No response or Uncodable	26.0		33.2	
Total Number	304	225	268	179

TABLES FOR CHAPTER VII

If you had a choice (regardless of whether you now think you would be accepted), what kind of career would you most like to have?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Unknown or no idea at all	11.2	12.0	21.6	24.4
Mentions college or other school	4.9	5.3	0	0
Professional, not elsewhere mentioned (inc. social work)	30.3	32.4	29.9	33.6
Skilled labor	13.8	14.8	10.8	12.1
Business career	6.9	7.4	2.6	2.9
Government work (e.g. police work, probation, military service, post office)	2.0	2.1	7.1	8.0
Music, art, or other cultural category	3.6	3.9	3.0	3.4
Entertainment	2.6	2.8	1.1	1.3
Unskilled work	3.0	3.2	0	0
Clerical work	2.6	2.8	0.4	0.4
Medical field (below professional such as Doctor or Registered Nurse)	2.3	2.5	0.7	0.8
Sports or recreation	1.6	1.7	2.6	2.9
Semi-skilled work not elsewhere mentioned	2.0	2.1	1.5	1.7



If you had a choice what kind of career would you most like to have?  
(Cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Service work not elsewhere mentioned	0.7	0.7	2.2	2.5
Mentions commu- nity service or political or ideological activity	1.3	1.4	1.1	1.3
Any definable category not mentioned above	0.7	0.7	1.5	1.7
A combination of the above	2.3	2.5	0.4	0.4
Unable to deter- mine career from answer given	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.5
No Response or Uncodable	6.6		11.2	
Total Number	304	284	268	238

What do you base that choice on?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Counseling or Testing	2.0	2.5	2.2	3.6
Experience	28.0	35.4	11.2	17.8
Interest	18.8	23.8	9.3	14.8
Observation	6.3	7.9	11.6	18.3
TV or other media	1.0	1.3	1.9	3.0
Any other source not mentioned above	4.6	5.8	9.7	15.4

What do you base that choice on? (Cont'd)

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Any combination of the above	9.2	11.7	14.6	23.1
Unable to code answer	7.2	9.2	2.2	3.6
No idea at all	2.0	2.5	0.4	0.6
No Response or Uncodable	21.0		36.9	
Total Number	304	240	268	169

What do you think your chances are of getting the kind of career you want?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Very good	26.6	31.2	14.2	19.9
Good	14.5	16.9	14.6	20.4
Fair	21.7	25.4	18.7	26.2
Poor	10.5	12.3	6.7	9.4
Impossible	1.3	1.5	4.9	6.8
No idea at all	10.9	12.7	11.9	16.8
Unable	0	0	0.4	0.5
No Response or Uncodable	14.5		28.7	
Total Number	304	260	268	191

About how much, on the average, do you think you  
could make per year in a career job?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Under \$4000 a year	4.3	6.3	4.5	7.1
\$4,000 to \$5,999	4.6	6.8	0.7	1.2
\$6,000 to \$7,999	4.6	6.8	4.9	7.7
\$8,000 to \$9,999	11.2	16.5	2.6	4.1
\$10,000 and above	30.9	45.6	31.3	49.4
No idea	12.2	18.0	19.4	30.6
No Response or Uncodable	32.3		36.6	
Total Number	304	206	268	170

To your knowledge, are any of the following things  
involved in getting or keeping a job like that?

<u>Category</u>	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
A high school diploma or GED	11.2	16.0	7.1	9.6
A college degree (BA) or (AA)	6.6	9.4	12.7	17.3
A postgraduate degree (Law degree, MD, MA, Ph.D., etc.)	3.0	4.2	4.1	5.6
Membership in a union	2.0	2.8	0.7	1.0

To your knowledge are any of the following things involved  
in getting or keeping a job like that? (cont'd)

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
A license or permit from the State or some other government unit	1.6	2.3	2.2	3.1
Special training program	7.6	10.8	10.1	13.7
Combination	38.2	54.5	36.6	49.8
No Response or Uncodable	29.9		26.5	
Total Number	304	213	268	197

Has your father discussed jobs with you?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	35.2	40.4	45.9	54.4
No	52.0	59.6	38.4	45.6
No Response or Uncodable	12.8		15.7	
Total Number	304	265	268	226

Would you be interested in following his same line of work?

Category	South Los Angeles		East Los Angeles	
	% of Total	% of Answers	% of Total	% of Answers
Yes	33.6	37.5	25.4	31.6
No	55.6	62.1	54.9	68.4
Unable	0.3	0.4	0	0
No Response or Uncodable	10.5		19.8	
Total Number	304	272	268	215

## TRANSCRIPTS OF INTERVIEWS

Tape #1  
March 9, 1971

WATTS

Hustling

PB: This is going to be basically on the Watts area. When we speak of the community we are going to be talking about the Watts community pretty much. When we say, "Money is in the community" or "Money is out of the community" we're pretty much going to be talking about Watts. How widespread is hustling in Watts as you see it? Hustling may mean people either buying grass, buying pills, selling grass, selling pills. Let's take grass, for instance--I mean would it be true to say that a few people do it, a lot of people do it, most of the young men do it but not other people? What sort of generalizations?

\* Everybody do it!! Eight to eighty. You'd actually be surprised 'cuz some of the people, you say "well he seems to me not to be getting high" and you turn around and that same John Doe is on his back, you know, with \_\_\_\_\_ on his head.

PB: Would you say this is one of the biggest businesses in the Watts area?

\* Right on, right on. That's where all the green flows.

\* With the pills you can do it too, but it takes a longer process.

PB: Oh, you were just talking about marijuana, then.

\* Like the pill process is longer, but you can still gain . . . no, not as many. You have the pill droppers, though, you'll know them, they separate the things, as a matter of fact, like a brother, between the pill heads and the pot heads. A person who smokes is entirely different from a person who pops pills, you know, you know the difference. If you get two of them together and don't nobody identify either one of them, you just know right on, right on.

\* Depending upon what a person been doing you can tell the difference.

\* Some of the "violence " is just plain ole fakin', brain wash, how they

cause fire, how their mind likes to work. You'll be loaded up on barbituates and some cat will stick a match to you, you know, you jump not as soon as you would if you wasn't high, you know, or if you were high off of marijuana.

\* You're more relaxed (with pills)?

\* Right, right, you're more out of it, you know. But, you know, all of a sudden off of marijuana, you wouldn't even let the match burn, you know it's constantly hot and you want to find out what's happening, you know you don't want to get burned, so I know if you see a cat going to put a fire to you, you're going to stand back . . .

\* In a sense it might seem as though from smoking grass or weed or whatever you want to call it, some people might say as though they observe more, but then again others would think different on that type of thing.

PB: Without naming names or anything, just describe how you're going to get this much of a commodity like grass; how it is sold, the marketing process.

\* How you get it in you, or what?

PB: You get it on the street, or what, house to house? The difference between marijuana and pills, pills have to be made, manufactured by somebody, where grass you can grow it, I don't know. I was thinking of the economic difference.

\* Because, I don't know, you have people who have second thoughts, you know in the first place, you know, use yourself for an example. How do they get pills over here, enough pills so even if it was cool, you know, to provide everybody else? You even have cats manufacturing their own. They get their own ingredients, the powder, and capsules.

PB: Actually, unfortunately, it's very easy to get the ingredients for LSD, which is the worst pill, the worst drug as far as I'm concerned, but it's



a relatively simple chemical formula. You could probably go over to the chemistry building right now and find the ingredients.. Anyway, so marijuana is big business, pills are not so big, but... Would you say that pills are still pretty big?

\* No, I wouldn't think so, because you have to think, people second thought, you know, you think, how did this cat get these pills over here? You know, a lot of these people take pills and line them up on a strip of tape about this long, man, no covering at all, no covering at all, just line them up on a piece of adhesive tape and put them between their legs and the cat who wants to sell shitty pills: "Well, what's the cat been putting in the pills," you know, maybe rat poison. It might even be baking soda - I just lost a dollar or something like that. You know you have second thought, that's why I don't buy barbituates no more. Do you want a \$5 bag (of marijuana) or 5 reds? Instead of red devils (seconal) you buy the weed first, you know a cat don't want to be all juiced up, laying up, reds slowing down your reactions, you know, you might as well be asleep.

\* With pills you can't control your high. With whites you take two, you know, it might not be enough, with three you're out of it. With alcohol you drink your way to where you want to be, with pills, you know, you have 1, 2, 3. Three may put you out, 3 may not even get you started again, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

PB: Can you tell me as much as you can, the price as of now, out on the street, of marijuana? Start with marijuana and then go to pills.

\* To start with marijuana you can get singles, bags...matchbox, "K's" (kilos)... But a single of marijuana is 50¢, you know, which is a cigarette, then there are \$5, \$10 bags. The size of the bags vary from 13 joints to about 26 joints, you know, depending on who you copped it from, who you got the shit from. 'Cause they're going to try to get you, you know, skimpy bags, switch

bags on you; you know it's just like going to a store and you see a tape on sale for \$149 and you go into another store where they did have it, where it's all gone in this other store where it was \$59.00, but you still go in to buy that tape then for \$149.00. Your friend got it for \$59, ok you still want the tape like your friends. Then when you start dealing with the "key" (kilos) it starts running up \$100 and up something like that.

PB: Kilos?

\* Yeah. There you're going on the pounds and stuff like that. Half pounds, three pounds, two pounds. For \$150 or better--three pound kilo unless you got the inside information or know the right man--who you working with, you know, what John Doe that's taking care of the business.

PB: The important thing...one important question. How much do you think you could make--I mean what's the profit? The retail...

\* You double your money mostly, then you'll make extra money too. If you pay \$130, \$140--you'll double that. Yeah, you'll at least double your money and still make some. You'll get about \$300 if you pay \$135, depending upon what size. But you are supposed to double your money. Get your money back and more. That's what you're looking for when you first go take care of the business. Right on. You know, if I say I'm going to do such and such a thing with so and so, I'm gonna want my money's worth. They will tell you that you will at least double your money and possibly you might make more. But at the most even if you don't double your money back, you will make your money back and plus just about double your money, but you'll come out ahead. But that's not including the risk--like you going to jail. Yeah. Yeah.

PB: Let's say that things are going pretty good and you've got kind of good connections. And I realize that it's somewhat, not speculative but maybe

within a range. But figuring the things together, how much can you make on the average a month?

\*Man, I'd say close to 1, 2, 3 thousand dollars.

PB: Are you talking about Watts?

\* Yeah, of course. For any individual it shouldn't take you no longer than a week--you got four weeks to get rid of a whole kilo. Well, you got four weeks in a month--let's say you go and cop two times, twice two weeks--the cat may put in an extra half pound for you coming back--taking care of the business for him by bringing your particular business to him. That's your money out there constantly stacking up on you. How frequently, how fast you'll be able to work for this certain person--it's not getting caught that's the point, not the marijuana really that you look at in the long run--the timing, the timing.

PB: What do you mean by that?

\* Let's say, the Watts Festival is coming and John Doe wants to sell what's his name--and you go up there and sell it at the festival and J. D. got his "key" too, doing his thing.

PB: When you say festival...well, say July or August?

\* I was using that as an example.

PB: Well, I mean, going back, how much could you make?

\* Well, it shouldn't take you very long. It should take at least two days--no longer than two or three days. During the whole Watts Festival you could make yourself at least about \$3000, \$4000. Normally, automatically, the first day you're going to make a lot of money because the Watts Festival is sort of like a big thing and everybody would like to get intoxicated.

\* Yeah, they want to be under the influence. A lot depends on location, too.

PB: Who are you really selling to? At the Watts Festival maybe you're

selling to a lot of outsiders?

\* No, no! It's not what you do-it's who you know. The people are sort of particular. See, if they don't know you, they don't do business with you.

\* Then, again, if your connections are very good, even the person that you, say, cop from, they can line you up with a little area and he may buy you up for about \$400, \$500 in one area. One area, one area in a small bit of time. You know, they can line you up like that--hey, man, you know, something's happening at a place at a certain time and this is where you go.

\* And a lot depends, you know, I know a cat he makes a living--he makes at least like a hundred dollars from like, you know, the weekend. That's when it really raises. Like during the week, like, you know--I'm talking about the location I live in, I could just throw it out the window \_\_\_\_\_. It depends \_\_\_\_\_. One knocks at the door, one leaving, one coming--man, that's money. I seen a cat make at the most, like on a Friday, \$130 for one day, no tax deducted money. Cash money, cash money.

\* But that doesn't include the risk.

PB: Well, that's true of all the businesses, you have a certain risk and a discount for the risk.

\* Just like the police.

\* The reason for that is that the majority is not working. So actually that's the way they make their living. Survival, right.

PB: I was thinking--you were talking up in the thousands of dollars and one question that comes into somebody's mind--in Watts, who has that kind of money?

\* \$5 adds up from everybody. Money, for instance, like one time there may be five or ten people dealing at the same time. But then...

PB: Sometimes, like the dude may be buying and other times he's selling.

\* That's how he starts off.

\* Like a cat that may have a kilo last week may come to you for a bag this week.

PB: One time, one month of the year somebody will have a kilo and so the buyers will go to him and pretty soon the buyers, they'll be selling it. So the money just keeps circulating around within the framework of the area.

\* The money's still in the area, but you don't benefit much. Them cats are buying cars and freaking off them pills and stuff, but it'll stay in the area for a time.

PB: If you're saying cats are buying cars and stuff, where would these cats live?

\* In the (housing) projects.

\* All they might do is fix themselves up and fix their living accommodations up.

\* They might live out here (West LA) and just work out there (Watts).

\* For economical investments, they may start some type of little business or something like that. You know, make sure they have some type of security or something like that. Foundation for something to fall on. A lot of young ones, man; lot of them getting into business and they do so good, you know. There are some old pros--like old John Doe.

\* But there are some that maybe stop and let everything cool off and then they might start back.

\* They play it cool; they use their heads.

PB: What would you think would be the risk factor in economic terms--the main risk factor, of course, is the investment. Of the people that you know who

do this as a business, you know, as a major source of income over a period of time--would you say that most of them, or almost all of them, or only 10 percent, get picked up by the cops?

\*It's just one of those rare cases. Well, it's not really that much. You don't really hear if someone pops--if somebody drops a dime.

\* Only if they got busted on the humbug--yeah, they were high while trying to take care of business. You see, the world of dealing or transmission of drugs around in the community is just like having a job right here. You don't come to work intoxicated unless you know that there are certain things that you don't have to do, that don't require you to use your brain; it's the same instance. This cat has an office, his office is the community.

\* You keep a clean head.

\* Right, your thinking ability has to be 100 percent all the time because if you don't, you look behind you and there will be a big white man in a blue uniform. One thing: all they have to do is really satisfy the customer. That's right, right. Cause that's like, you know, John Doe cross the way (in the project)--you gotta be on your job satisfying the customers.

PB: Are you saying, or at least implying then, that the really big operator probably doesn't get caught, or maybe just gets caught less?

\* Oh, no, no. The majority of them's not getting caught. Well, not too long ago one got picked up, but that was 'cause of him and his wife, or whatever, had a misunderstanding. And she turned him in. But the police didn't actually catch him.

\* She put the nickel (informed) on him. But, see, like John Doe he more or less is the type of person where if he keeps a clear-thinking mind and, like they say, pay your dues--you know, you been in a racket a little while, you know what

you're doing, you know. Especially as far as the females are concerned--you wouldn't bring your wife up here to work with you unless she is a skilled professional and she knows what she's doing--she would not be confused, if you could plainly explain to her.

\* 'Cuz she might get paranoid.

\* Right, right. If your hang-up is gonna be a female or--this is my personal opinion--I feel that she shouldn't have anything to do with it. She shouldn't because..well, I'm just using it like John Doe with Jane Doe, girlfriend or wife, where he was hung-up and she dropped the dime on him after they were separated. Well, she didn't have to know. She didn't have to find out. Because you know your wife just about as well as anybody and you know if she's going to spoil out on you.

\* So many of them got so many front-men.

\* You see, anything you do that deals with narcotics goes right back to your risk. Anything that's illegal goes to your risk. You can be hung-up by your front-man, you can be hung-up by your associates--people that come to take care of business with you. Like he said, if you're going to (?) confiscate the bag 'cuz this is the only one cat that be sitting on something right at the time--you automatically, man, the cat gonna give you some injustice like \_\_\_\_\_ man, 'cuz the bag ain't gonna get no fatter. This is what he's gonna tell you. The bag ~~not~~ gonna get any fatter, you know. You just have to buy this to be cool. Don't come back to my pad if you don't dig it, you know? Fronting him off like that, you know, shit. This cat may be a \_\_\_\_\_ mind. He'll blow your shit up just as fast and then he'll get you in a lot of trouble with the law and then get you in trouble with the big man. The big man--you get hurt. You get hurt--it's not just a little nickel and dime thing--it's thousands

of dollars.

\* Most of them that's in there--some of them might be doing it on their own, but not the majority--I mean they are doing it for somebody else.

\* Yeah, well, whatever John Doe, whoever, is doing their thing on the big man's side, well, like you know, in the first place, you got to go somewhere to get your large quantity. Marijuana--you have to go somewhere to...well, once you get up to that point, the man that has that, he has to purchase the supply. That's where you get in deeper; what you call organized crime. You see, it gets deeper and deeper and deeper. The more money that's invested, you'll find out that it's more organized 'cuz you'll even be confronted with these things. Say, you go cop 26, 27 kilos -- weed gets you about \$2000. Suppose that this makes you \$10,000-\$15,000 back.

\* The more you buy, if you buy quantity, it's gonna be cheaper.

\* But still, you don't even have to break it down into, even, teens, you don't even have to break it down. You can just sell right off--right off, like that. 'Cuz there are people looking for it, all the time. Right, all the time. Like I say, you always have that second thought, that's your risk. I say a cat that's more or less in the middle--let's say a cat in the middle, the cat that is dealing the "keys"--all right, he gets caught because a youngster dropped a dime on him. Policemen try to sweat it out of him. If he got a weak mind, you know, that's automatically his "contract"--it's like back off in the days of prohibition. And so he's left between two things: the establishment and organized crime.

PB: Do you think if the police wanted to take care of business, you think they could?

\* Not necessarily. Well, depending upon how they go about doing it; and



well, actually, if they had the right information.

PB: I was saying earlier about the police on the take in NYC and what you're saying is that it's a big business. And it goes on, literally, under the noses of the people and the police. Do you think that the police shine it on (ignore it) because, number one, (this sounds naive) because they really don't know what's going on? Or that they know what is going on, but don't care? And when they do bust somebody, why does that particular person get busted and the big dealers never get busted?

\* In the first place, the police is just like organized crime. When the person is put on bail and \_\_\_\_\_, they're gonna put the pressure on you. Now, this is my own personal feeling, I feel like this: I believe they let it slide--they know what's going on. They may not have it right on the pin head, not exactly, but they got a pretty good picture of what's happening. I feel that they let it happen like this because, actually, the people are asleep. Black people, in general, in Watts, are asleep. They're not aware of the fact that somebody has to supply this; they have to supply this. In order for a big man in organized crime--organized crime is just one small dot, just one small dot that has something to do with narcotics coming in. I'll tell you, I believe that the "establishment" is quite aware of this. I believe the tax payers realize the \_\_\_\_\_ keep the kids on the street, they take them off the street after 10:00, getting 'em high. They don't know; they don't realize this.

\* Reagan and Yorty did it.

\* You know, who gives a damn? Like they say, it's down in the ghetto. As long as they're down in Inglewood sitting on some Champale--whatever they're doing--they don't give a damn until they find out that their daughter been tripping off of weed or whatever. Now, if it's their daughter, "I'm mad, now--

they'll have to stop this shit." We have to bring this shit to the hole. Until about two years ago I believe that the shit was put on a stick like that. Man, the shit was stopped; the shit was stopped; the shit was stopped. Believe me, it was stopped, do you remember that? For two months straight.

\* I remember that, it was dry. For two months straight. I remember you could ride from where I live way out to the westside, on the other side of Los Angeles--way out to the westside and couldn't find nothing.

PB: Is that when they closed the border to Mexico?

\* Yes. Right along that time. It was a really big thing. But then later, about six months later, they closed again, but you see, then the traffic didn't slow up because organized crime, they thought of another means of getting it in. They just took Mexico off the map, you know. It wouldn't make that much difference, not now. Peoples got too much money invested--they couldn't let their money fall like that. Would you? Just because they were closing Mexico all of a sudden--just cry and sit while they bust you so you couldn't get over there--would you let that stop you? Could that stop you? You spend money to try to find out how to make more money. You know, do it like that.

PB: Okay. As far as we got, though, we've got a lot of information on marijuana but what are the prices and income that one might get from pills?

\* Well, that's an altogether slower process. Because I say one out of every three people...

\* For every bag of marijuana for \$5, is only \$1.00 for pills. They come in jars.

PB: This would be reds, yellows.

\* Yeah, rainbows. Anything they can get their hands on.

\* But when they come in jars and things, it's gonna be just one particular

thing. Yeah, not all mixed up, now.

PB: Oh, yeah, oh sure. Like when they come out of Wallace Laboratories or whatever...

\* Now, that's if you get it from somebody that righteously makes... That goes back to the point where you got this thing like where in the hell did they get this. I heard this thing where they got it strapped between your legs. I don't want the shit in my mouth. I heard--I can't verify this, but people will think of any kind of way to get it over here--like women will insert this into their vagina or whatever, you know--however--any type of way. If you actually knew somebody who did this shit, would you want anything like that in your mouth? That's how I feel, too. You don't know where the hell it's been. You don't know where the cat's hands have been--scratching his ass.

\* The capsule might be dirty or something.

\* Yeah, if you want a man's ass--that's really a trip, man.

\* Man, a long time ago, what I call a long time, say six months, it's nauseating, man, where the hell is this shit coming from?

PB: Do the same people who control the big supplies of marijuana also control the pills?

\* Not really, not necessarily. In some cases.

\* That will mess your business up like if you dealing with the two.

\* But it has happened where a cat deals reds and whites just to speed up his process, make an investment on his capital--he might want to get something, it works, it works, but it makes your business look sloppy. A cat comes there for one roll, he knows traffic comes in the front door and the back door, with all the money in the world. I say you can go to jail quicker for possession of drugs.

\* Shit, yeah, I'm not bullshitting with you, man. On a marijuana beef, man, you can get a little slack on that, man, the establishment goes easier. Everything--the judge is really acting their own decision. Where you have a case of marijuana, you know, when you go in there they actually do, you know they get on statistics, they lay it on your background. Yeah, check out your record, if you been busted before, you been busted for drugs, you know what I mean, heroin, cocaine, mescaline, all that strong stuff, man. In the United States you come in and get busted for a \$5 bag, man, cat gonna shoot some shit on you.

\* You go up for that pill thing, man, and there's no way out of it. You get a cat who just bought a roll of red devils and just staggered out there to where the cop...

\* The cat may have bought three rolls of red devils from you, which is nine red devils, nine seconds altogether. He may come back to your house and say the cat is dead on your doorstep and what are you going to do, what's going to happen to you.

\* Any kind of way a cat's gonna make it, be a risk, always a risk.

\* If you keep your nose clean, it's gonna be all right.

\* The red devil is like a spanish fly to a young lady. But a brother he can go try to kill somebody, trying to get down, all that jive. Young ladies, man, that's their thing. I believe you'll find...I've heard a lot of females say, you know, I've got the pill, you know, and weed and other things just makes me high. You see, when they look for weed \_\_\_\_\_ you know she looks for something that's gonna mess her around, you know. You notice when women drink, they will drink until their eyes fall out. You know they don't know how to control themselves, I'd say the majority have, especially a woman with a lot of kids. I know this lady, whom I will name Jane Doe, let me

tell you about her. She had eight kids, man. She had five boys and three girls, the girls were older. She'd send her son to the store and get her a big ole, this lady was real fat, you know, you know she'd visit every now and then, you know big and fat, she sent her son to get her a big ole bag of food one day, you know, do her grocery shopping and then she whispered to so and so and then they went and got her three rolls of whats-her-name (pills), you know...

\* "Gimme a red, man."

\* Yeah, and the fellow was a little older than ourselves, I'd say about 17. She had one 16 and one about 14. And I seen her hand out a roll like that, you know. She going on about the first, she got the little old "mother's day" (welfare) check and everything's gonna be all right, you know. It's gonna be cool, you know. The next day, there's this article talking 'bout this man molesting her. Say, well, mother's gonna get all excited, you know. So then, a Jane Doe simply explained to (the first) Jane Doe that she had righteously asked for it because she didn't really want it to happen to her children in the first place. If you had any children, would you actually do that? Would you approve of pills?

\* Booze is really worse than marijuana.

PB: Now on the pills, there is this problem, particularly those that really affect the mind, may have genetic effect too, on children.

\* Yeah, no arms, three arms, half a head.

PB: Now what's more important is, what is your opinion. I mean we've gotten the basic facts together, we know that it's big business; we also know, I think, that you can make a hell of a lot more, with a big risk factor, with heroin and any of that stuff. But back to the economics of the situation. At most, from an NYC job, you can make maybe \$1.45 (to \$1.65) an hour. A training

program has some training allowance, which is maybe \$60.00 a week.

\* You can't compare them.

PB: First of all, in your opinion, is this an important reason why a lot of people who might be eligible for a training program or eligible for NYC may not even be interested in going in that direction?

\* Right, 'cuz they're making money.

\* I believe marijuana would be legal right now if it was left up to the people. If everything was originally left up to the people, like the Bill of Rights, 'cuz the people are supposed to make the laws.

PB: What do you think it's going to do to the market?

\* You mean where's the money going to? They going to take all the goodies out of it! Would tax it, take all the goodies out of the shit! Better leave it like it is. That's a consideration.

PB: You've got the thing now that it is illegal and some people make some money out of it with a risk factor. Now, what would you do? You've said, so far as marijuana is concerned you think it should just be legalized. It would come in and be sold on the same basis as liquor is sold, that is probably on stipulation that...

\* They would charge much, much more money for it.

\* They would charge a little bit more money for it. They will tax the hell out of it. If you legalize marijuana, it's gonna go up.

PB: So what about an alternative? Are there going to be any alternatives to just legalizing marijuana, assuming that you could legalize marijuana, assuming that you did, aren't there other things that you might do also in order to make a legal income available to people who don't have it now?

\*If I had my way, you know, who actually makes the law, I know like the

President's cabinet has a lot to do with whether or not the law can be approved but if I were the one who made the decisions, I tell you right now the United States, I'd fix it so a person could have their own marijuana order, you know, in your own county, actually marijuana order in your check, have marijuana afterwards. But they'd tax the hell out of this shit.

\* You know, just 2¢ a joint.

\* In other words, if you turn against it they might stop and then nobody gonna make no money, 'cuz if that's the case...

\* Crime might increase because the brothers want to get high.

\* The police gets high, yeah! All of them get high.

\* They'll be tripping off, want to take you to jail. 18 year old want to legalize marijuana, not all of the aspects, but you know...

PB: In other words, you'd like a situation like in 1932 when they put the constitutional amendment on to legalize alcohol, right?

\* Right, right. I think they should go ahead and legalize weed and everybody get high and be happy.

\* But they'd make outrageous prices.

\* Man, I'd rather the shit stay just like it is. Uncle Sam he won't be cool, he's the one that's going to have all the weed.

\* You know, the police, the establishment, they are the ones with the best weed, right, they got the good stuff. Listen, man, the establishment. I'd like to make a proposition: even Nixon, even Nixon--I bet you he \_\_\_\_\_.

\* If it was legal, pot, if it was legal then we'd really have a real mass chaos.

PB: Suppose you make it legal, and you use the tax money within the neighborhood?

\* Shit, yes.

PB: What would you use it for?

\* You couldn't leave it up to just one person.

\* If I had my own way now, the money I'd make from marijuana, I'd set alongside the money you get and then I'd invest my money in cultural, mind, brain, you know brain exercises, school is what I call brain exercises, educational programs so that we can develop a stronger community. And if everyone had some weed, we'd all be happy.



WATTS

Economic and Social Aspects of the Legalization of Marijuana

PB: I am trying to get into the economic aspects of the marijuana trade. We are talking about this in terms of--you have to have a certain income from jobs in order to match the income that you could get just on the street. Remember we were talking about this before. And a couple of specific questions, again just interested in the economic and monetary aspects of it.

\* Are you saying dope?

PB: Oh, well, no--not that. I'm not talking about...(hard dope).

\* Like marijuana?

PB: Yes, marijuana and pills, but not the hard stuff. So when I say legalizing them--not talking about heroin or anything like that. This is actually what happened from the 1920's and into the early 1930's--it's before your time, as I said in the earlier session. Of course, there was national prohibition--it was illegal to sell or consume alcohol. One of the reasons why prohibition was ended was that a whole economy had built up in which everybody, from the President of the United States on down, participated, and of course, they called it "bootlegging", and the presence of bootlegging and the fact that a kind of a criminal empire had built up was one reason why prohibition was ended and the sale and consumption of alcohol was legalized. Now, I think there are certain similarities in that situation, between what happened then and what is happening today. Although, again, as I pointed out before, this has various aspects to it and that is that if it becomes legal, it is subject to taxation, of course. There are various ways you can look at this, but nobody really has considered the economic aspects of it. You say you've done basic research on marijuana?

\* That I have done on marijuana? Well, anyway, the first information that I got--well, this doctor he done--he took a driving test on people who have smoked marijuana excessively for the past couple of years, and some that have just tried it on and off. Well, anyway, they took a test on a driving basis--the driving influence of the marijuana and alcohol--and they found that marijuana was extremely less harmful than driving under the influence of alcohol. So the test on marijuana, driving under the influence, scored very highly. You know, it was extremely over (better than) the fact of driving under the influence of alcohol. That was a fact that was facing marijuana smoking and you know, why it should be legalized, because I had done a lot of research on it.

PB: Well, there is a new book in the bookstore by a Harvard professor that says marijuana should be legalized for a number of reasons, both clinical and others. I read the jacket cover and I noticed one thing that had been argued and that is that the present laws on marijuana build up a kind of general disrespect for the whole legal process. And the same thing happened in prohibition because everybody--I even have some slight memories--everybody from the President of the United States on down and I mean it literally--was violating that law. Yeah, they served booze in the White House. Harding was almost an alcoholic--he was the first President under this new law which was an amendment to the Constitution, which said there shall be no sale of intoxicating beverages. But this other argument leads to the conclusion that when you have the law which is so widely disobeyed or ignored--not just ignored by people in the community but applied very selectively by the police or other authorities, and that again goes back to the prohibition experience--this leads to a complete overall contempt for law which then may have bad aspects or bad results in other areas. But, summing up, my own concern is more with the economic side

of it right now, and one thing that I am curious about is whether the price over the years, say, per joint or per bag, has changed considerably up or down and whether there are changes in the market. Now the interesting thing is that we've been through several business cycles--we've had inflation and now we have the situation of both inflation and unemployment, generally, which means that a lot of people who have gotten into jobs that supposedly were steady or productive jobs--a lot of people particularly from aerospace--are now, instead, on the streets and this goes all the way up to engineers. I was thinking about the irony that, maybe the marijuana economy seems to be more stable, because, years ago when I first began to learn some of the facts, a joint was 50¢ and now for instance...

\* Well, when they do sell it that way, it's (still) 50¢.

PB: Of course, you can have change in different ways and that is you can maintain the same price of the item, but two things can happen--you can reduce the quantity of that item; like you sell a hamburger and a hamburger last year was 50¢--you still have a 50¢ hamburger this year, but the patty will be smaller. The other thing is the quality of the item...for marijuana, this may be the main question. But has it (the quality) generally changed--I'm thinking, gone down over time, particularly over the last couple of years?

\* Well, it's really hard to say, because some is better than others.

PB: But this has always been true, right? I mean this was true two years ago.

\* Well, the quality of it--there is the difference right there. But the quantity of it--that's where it's bad. Because it used to be larger.

\* Yeah, that's the true difference between the last couple of years. The difference is the quantity, because it's a lot skimpier and the quality, well,

I would say the quality...

PB: You mean you get less for 50¢?

\* Yes, for the bag, you know, you can buy a \$5 bag where...

PB: Is the bag supposed to contain so many ounces?

\* Yeah.

PB: Do you know how many ounces?

\* No, because it varies. Like, some cats when they sell it, if they don't have no means or measures, they just go by what they think it is, you know.

\* If they think it's worth \$5.

\* Right. Now, see, I know the change in quantity. Now you can see that their outlook on the bag is there has to be a change in quantity. Now you can see that their outlook on the bag is there has to be a change because you are not getting what you used to get. You can tell. Okay, a couple of years back you might buy this special quantity (to you) and you knew that it would be twice the size that you buy today. And a couple of years ago--that's why I know the quantity or something has to be happening to slow this process... you know, to make an income. You know, there's not as much marijuana coming in as there was a couple of years ago.

PB: So you really have a kind of inflation there, too.

\* As a matter of fact, there was one time, I think last year, when you couldn't hardly find any, when you couldn't even find any.

PB: That was when they were trying to close the border...

\* Yeah, and they was burning up a lot of warehouses. It's like every other year when they beginning to have the elections.

\* It was during election time.

PB: Any election, it gets scarcer?

\* I don't know what causes it, but it happens every (election) year.

\* About prohibition, did this occur in the same thing?

PB: Exactly the same thing. You got terrible alcohol--sometimes called "bathtub gin"--people making it in their bathtub, that sort of thing. Then, of course, you had homemade stills all over the country--the hills of Tennessee, full of these bootleggers. Rich people had their own bootleggers. A bootlegger was a real businessman. It got up into the higher echelons of crime, like Al Capone.

\* Yeah, a lot of gangsters...

PB: ...and of course, they were raking in a lot and of course, they had protection. In fact, I don't know whether you read about what is happening in New York recently, mobsters shot Colombo. That's kind of a repetition of what was happening all the time in prohibition. I have had the feeling, as it has come to me, how similar some of the facts are, of what is happening now and what was happening then.

\* Same thing, same thing.

\* It's a little different, but when you think...This is why a lot of the young people argue the facts with their parents, you know. Their parents say, "Why do you smoke marijuana?" And like half of their parents, the majority of them, drink. And they will say, "Well, why do you drink?" And yet and still, I don't know if their parents know they should--I know half of them know--they know that especially the students know because they are interested in finding out was marijuana more harmful than alcohol? See, that was basically what I was trying to find out in my research. And over and all, I came out where they said, so far they have found no fact, no physical, clinical fact where they could put marijuana in a critical fact (more dangerous) over alcohol.

\* There was only one thing that I have heard that was against that. R\_\_\_\_\_ told me that about three or four years ago, he read a book or something, but the professors at the different universities ran a test on marijuana and said something like maybe after 7 years of smoking, your eyesight might start giving out where--well, not exactly saying you might go blind or something like that, but I know like after about 6 or 7 years for me, I had to get some glasses. Well, they only for reading.

PB: Well, I haven't heard that in particular, but I have read several places that researchers are still not entirely sure about long-term effects of marijuana smoking, if marijuana smoking is done a lot. I'm not quite sure what they mean by "a lot"--you know, if you're smoking several times a week and doing it over a period of 7 or 10 years. The problem is people haven't been studying the effects long enough to give you a definite judgment on the long-run effects for someone that has been smoking it for a long period of time and taking pretty heavy dosages.

\* As a matter of fact, that's why I read this article, that is why they don't want to legalize it as of now until they study it some more. They are trying to wait and see what could they say, well, they figure they might come up with something after a long period of time of using marijuana.

PB: There is a curious contradiction here, because actually the one part of smoking that is proven to be harmful is just plain old cigarette smoking, which is legal now and has been legal and nobody has been talking about making it illegal. All they do is cut down on the advertising, they control the advertising...and put a little thing on the package. They could put the same thing on a bag of marijuana: "Marijuana smoking may be harmful to your health" which is the only thing they can say and they can only say that in the long run.

The short-run experiments and research, as you mentioned, they can't find any effects, especially no physical effects, where marijuana is worse than alcohol. The general finding had been that, if anything, alcohol physically is worse than marijuana. There may be long-run psychological effects; there might be long-run physical effects. But this proves that again it's a contradiction if you say "Well, this is a basis for still keeping it illegal" when in fact you are allowing plain cigarette smoking when all of the research on that clearly shows that there is a correlation between that and lung cancer and heart disease.

\* But they are still selling it.

PB: That's what I am saying; I'm just saying that's a contradiction. But let me get back to one point and that is the fact that prices themselves, like a "lid"--are you saying that the prices haven't changed all that much?

\* Just the quality and the quantity.

PB: Just as a matter of general observation, you think a consumer would buy less or does buy less?

\* In most cases, they don't really have a choice. If they really want to smoke--so they think--it's good and bad sometimes. See, they like marijuana just like people like alcohol, you know. They just didn't change all of a sudden--they know how the times is, right now. They can see why the people--why the pushers are selling marijuana like this because they know and the people know that buy it from them, it's pretty skimpy now.

\* But you know one thing, there's one they have got to realize. See, a lot of the people might get tired of that, because this is getting into \$5 which is pretty hard to get.

\* Yeah and that's another thing. They have been going for it, see, they have been going for that quantity (that) is a lot smaller than it used to be,

they been going for it so far, so far, but pretty soon it's going to have to open up. But pretty soon it's gonna have to open up. Everybody knows about this unemployment crisis we have and the money like \$5.00, for something that you knew you could get more of when you first started, plus the money is getting hard anyway.

PB: So this is one of the things I was trying to get at. What you are talking about is certain business-cycle relationships to the production, distribution and consumption of marijuana too. And you are saying that you can still get it--the quality (as) it is now. To what extent is there a cycle in the availability of it? In other words, you're saying at election time, there is a cycle there; well, what about other times? Are there certain weeks when it is just not available?

\* It's not available some times. Sometimes it's here and I'd say the least time you expect it, it comes up, you know. Like sometimes you might really feel like smoking some--and you looking for it and it might not be nowhere around. It runs off and on, because like sometimes things might tighten up on the way that it comes in. Therefore, there are just not any around to sell, so I would imagine there's that kind of cycle that goes on again and again.

\* Then again, there are times when somebody might ask or hold a note to it (?) and the reason they might do it, is that they haven't got any money.

\* Buy some, sell some to the people, you know, the marijuana users.

\* Then again there are times when there's not any. But usually every year, like last year, there are certain times, but mainly when election comes up. I don't know what the police is up to--if they trying to tighten up on everybody, see where...they just gonna try and stop every game...

PB: Does this happen just before an election, a couple weeks or a month



before?

\* During that time. Can I ask you one thing? Do you think that marijuana will open up--do you think that it will open up like in the '30s, like prohibition? Do you think it will ever be actually legal?

PB: Well, I think so. I don't think it is coming quickly--it is coming by steps. I think the first step will be to make it strictly a misdemeanor. For years it was entirely a felony, I mean the judge had no option even on the first offense. Possession of marijuana--not for sale, just possession was 1 to 5 years. And they finally got through the state legislature--this was only a couple of years ago--they got through the legislature a law giving the judge, every judge in the state, an option choice on how he wanted to handle it, as a misdemeanor or a felony. This only applies for first offense. And they got it across--very often these things get across for reasons that have nothing to do with the rightness or wrongness but some other reason involved. That's what I'm saying about prohibition. Prohibition was ended and repealed and you got the legalization of alcohol not entirely on the grounds that alcohol was not all that bad. Actually some of it went back to all the economic things--here you have all these racketeers supporting Al Capone and so on and so forth. Now they got through this new law on marijuana partly by arguing that this is going to make it easier for judges and, to some extent, juries to convict people. And here's the reason...

\* On people that use marijuana? That's pretty cold.

PB: And I'll tell you the reason--if the judge had no option, the jury had no option at all--they had to handle it as a felony or cut the guy loose completely, they would realize that this is too harsh, particularly to put a young guy in prison.

\* Just for smoking a cigarette...

PB: Just for smoking a joint. It was too harsh, so a lot of judges and juries were reluctant to convict anybody because it was mandatory felony. So the argument of the people who were pushing this legislation was "well, if we gave an option of at least making it a misdemeanor, more judges and more juries will convict and make it a misdemeanor, instead of cutting the guy loose completely." This is very often the way the changes come. They come for different reasons, reasons that we didn't even think about. And sometimes they are reasons that just make it easier to sell the argument to somebody who doesn't like to go along with the real argument but still wants to say that marijuana is bad. But if we do this or that, it makes some other situation more reasonable, more logical, makes it easier to deal with marijuana. So it comes by stages. Now, the next stage is to make it completely a misdemeanor. The stage after that would be to legalize it. I think that's the way it is coming.

\* But you know, I think it would be a lot of chaos if we legalize it, too, because for one thing,...

PB: That was what some of you were saying last time...

\* It would be a lot of chaos on that although I would like to see it legalized because it's better to legalize it, so when you do it you don't risk a chance.

\* I look at it just like alcohol. If you wanna drink and wanna get high, that's up to you. But then if anything happens to you you just go to the hospital, that's all.

PB: Just as long as it just happens to you! Actually, you're right, I agree with you. The law has a limited function in allegedly trying to protect somebody from himself. Like if I drink, to use an example that's very personal,

but the law does have a proper function when what you do can conceivably affect somebody else. If there's a possibility where you can get out there and get in back of a wheel and run over somebody, the law has a perfect right to say, no no. You have a right to do to yourself whatever you want to, as long as you know all the facts. That's what they do with cigarette smoking because on the package is that silly statement about "cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health," as if people didn't know it. But that gives me the choice as an individual because I think in terms of alternatives. It may be that this thing is bad in a certain way, but the alternative may be even worse. Like I get so much maybe out of drinking--relax and feel better. And maybe there are some things I do better when I am high than when I am sober.

\* You gonna concentrate on this because you're in the stage where "I feel I can do my best"--I'm really going to get involved and do it, I'm gonna do it and you put all your thought into it. Some things that you can do better.

PB: That has to be my choice and my decision, as long as what I do only affects only me. But it should be in my power to say yes or no. When what I do affects you, or anybody else, then the law has the right to step in. You have the right to swing your fist around, but the moment it comes in contact with somebody else's chin, it becomes more than just you involved. It's the same way with anything, whether it's marijuana, pills, or anything else. But the heart of the question is to ask "well, what about heroin?" And there I would have to say, (still I wouldn't treat as a prison situation--I don't think you should go to prison if it is just a user--maybe if he is a merchant in the business). There, I feel there is a legitimate, tremendous medical problem. Somebody who, in a sense, is really killing themselves.

\* Well, most of them know this, though.

PB: And there you have an interesting ethical, philosophical question--like suicide. Because technically, suicide is illegal, but we really don't treat it as crime. But when you get onto the hard drugs, as you know, you're on your way to destroying yourself. Does the law have the function of stepping in and saying, "no, you don't have a right to destroy yourself."?

\* Well, so many people is running around committing suicide...

\* See, they send people to jail who use marijuana and that's not going to help the fact of them using it or helping them. Like, I know a couple of fellows, you know, I don't really associate with them but like I know that they have been involved in drugs. As a matter of fact, they have been in jail for that and they have been for a couple of years, you know, 'cause they got busted on a heroin beef or whatever it was. Like when they come back they're still faced with the same old problems and therefore they go back to the drugs.

PB: This is just an opinion question, what do you think would be the effects on the consumption of marijuana if, let's say, it is made legal? Now, if it is going to be legal, it's going to be taxed. Probably the structure of the sales of it will change somewhat, just like the bootleggers, the alcohol bootleggers who disappeared; then you have respectable larger firms, usually, that handle the production and sale of liquor. So you can have all kinds of changes--the whole structure. Would a lot of people, do you think, consume it, use it, who don't use it now?

\* What, marijuana? More people would probably start using it because of the fact that there's nothing wrong with it. And that they aren't taking any chance or risk of going to jail because it is legalized.

PB: So you think the law has somewhat of a preventive effect.

\* Right.

\* I know a lot of people--as a matter of fact, I know a professor...he was a substitute for about a week. So we asked if the class could have a discussion, so this issue was brought up. So he said he don't think nothing is wrong with smoking marijuana, but as a matter of fact, the only reason he didn't was that he was scared of the law. He didn't want to get busted and that would mess up his background.

\* So those that do use it--those who smoke marijuana, you know, the experienced ones, they know that it is illegal in the fact that they could get busted and go to jail and therefore they are always ready for this; for if something comes up, they are ready to take persuasive (preventive?) measures when...Sometimes maybe they can--if you're not really overdoing it, it's cool. Just like, you're on the road with a drink in the car--you know, drinking and sipping--you're breaking the law, you know, drinking and driving. So that's just the same thing, you know.

\* You know something, even if they want to legalize marijuana the government is not going to make all the money off of it because a lot of the people might come to the conclusion that "why should we pay for it if we can grow our own."

\* Yet and still, they can get busted for it. Well, tell me this, was there a lot when there was legalization when prohibition came, on the legalization of whiskey--although the government was taxing the drinks, was bootlegging whiskey?

PB: Well, I'll tell you what happened. They still do it now in the South, but see, what they can get them for, of course, is not paying the tax on it. And as a matter of fact, that's how they got most of the bootleggers in the 1920's and 1930's. Al Capone went to jail not for anything that he did that

they caught him for, that was directly illegal; he went to jail for not paying his income tax. I am saying that, getting back to your original question, that the effect of repeal was to (eventually, not immediately, but over a two or three year period,) pretty much get rid of the bootleggers in the city. Like the Capones, the big racketeers in the city, they eventually went down the drain or, in some cases, they converted to some other kind of business.

\* See, this is what I was going to say--although it would be people that would say well, I'm going to grow it myself anyway instead of buying it because, like you said, why buy it if you can grow it. But it's going to be a law against--I don't think the government is still going to want you...

PB: That's true...

\* Just like the bootleggers...So they will let all the marijuana growers...

PB: You can only sell it if you are licensed--it will be like alcoholic beverages. There will be taxes and if you don't pay the tax, that will be illegal and they will probably try to enforce.

\* There will be a lot of people around when and if they do first legalize it--there will be a lot of people that's going to grow it themselves, but just like the bootleggers faded out--same thing is probably going to happen. That is, the people that produce it for their own satisfaction are not going to go to the store to buy it, you know. Because I think the bootleggers was still trying to be in process although it was legalized, at least for their own personal use instead of...even to make money too. Because like they probably could sell it cheaper than you could buy it at the store. So this is probably what was happening but just like that died down, I imagine the people that grew marijuana for themselves, it will probably die down. They will probably enforce a \_\_\_\_\_ law against that. If they caught somebody growing

marijuana although it is legalized, not under the government supervision, the government will have nothing to do with it--they will probably go to jail for it.

PB: Well, you're going to have somewhat of a more complicated system if you legalize it than right now. And as I was saying at the very beginning of our discussion, you can make arguments on all sides of the fence. Let me ask you one final question and that is, let's assume that there is really a complete 100% effective ban, no marijuana at all, no pills, no drugs of any kind. What would that do to the income, and the livelihood of people--would it have an important effect?

\* It would be an important effect, I'll tell you right now in my opinion, and I'm quite sure of a lot of people too, especially in older people that drink and especially on the tax thing. It would be a lower thing because they make a lot of money taxing whiskey now than the government so that would probably-- I wouldn't say a great loss, or maybe it would be a great loss. It would lower that income thing on the government.

\* Especially, the people too and the government.

\* I don't think they are going to like it at all.

\* No, they wouldn't like it. This is what I am saying. People that drink and smoke marijuana who really like it--like, a man comes home from his job and he's all tired--he comes home from his job and wants to relax and don't want to think about this and think about that; he's got all of his work done so he doesn't have nothing else to do except sit back and relax, you know. So he just goes home and whatever it is, smoke a joint, drink...

Tape #3

WATTS

Crime and Survival  
(Taped in Watts by Teenagers)

\* What's expressing it? Let your mind stutter. No, explain yourself-- I'm trying to explain for you. Brother M----, you've been up there (to UCLA) several times. What do you gather from the tour itself?

\* It's just something different, you know. It's better than being around the same environment everyday. Get away from yourself every now and then, when you go up there. It's a real trip.

\* What I mean--alright, alright--the issue is do we all realize why we're all going to UCLA. Not to eat, not to smoke what we smoke, not to do such and such a thing. Here, we can do all the same things.

\* We know that, but do you know.

\* I always get my mind to what it is.

\* You gotta realize a lot of things and when you're going up there, you're missing school--that's part of your education.

\* Then, again, this is counted in--like you say, this is my work. I'm programmed on a level. This is where I'm programmed--I'm actually not missing anything (by missing school).

\* I know I'm not missing nothing.

\* And another thing, if you feel like you've been discriminated against in any type of job and you feel like it's hard for you to go get a job--express yourself on this job issue 'cuz it's a big thing. 'Cuz economically, you got to have it to live in this society. You got to have it. If you know anybody else who feels like they been discriminated, any type of job having some type of problem, don't know about the unemployment and public and private employment offices and things like that, they'll know where to start to get this



help, go to night classes or learn how to pass civil service exams and things like that. This is what you should talk about and get all this information, so you could pass it, all your knowledge, with your other brothers.

\* Well, all I know is how to steal.

\* Why do you feel this way? Now, you're an 11th grader and 16 and just about to enter into your adolescence--your manlihood. Now, why do you feel that you definitely have to depend upon stealing?

\* Well, I ain't never had a job before. I ain't never been supported by nobody. That's why.

\* Well, have you ever gone to look for a job?

\* Well, I had it for a while but then L--- came in there.

\* Who?

\* L---

\* Do you plan on stealing for the rest of your life? You plan on thieving, huh?

\* No, I don't plan on thieving.

\* I believe at the time he was trying to get the job when he was too young. I remember when I was trying to get one at that age, everybody told me I was too young, you know.

\* Can I ask you a personal question? What would you need a job for? Did you have to buy your own clothes?

\* Yeah, I had to buy my own clothes, just for my extra needs. I didn't want to go to my mother all the time. "Let me have this" "Let me have that"--well, you don't want to go to your mother every day, man, and ask her all the time.

\* The thing you're gonna do is steal or make your hustle to the side just to "get over"...actually not realizing and this is from experience that

you're endangering your future...you know, not realizing this. You just gonna get deeper--why do you have to get down like that? Like I say, why don't you have a \_\_\_\_\_ now? You're tired of asking Mom. I want you to put yourself in the first man's position.

\* Well, you misunderstood me.

\* No, no. What I'm saying is that you follow up on what he had to say, and he said he had to steal, and then you said, "yeah, like me, I get tired of asking my mother for money."

\* Well, I do, don't you?

\* Well see I don't ask, I been on my own since I been 14, see, that's not a long time, I'm not claiming that's been a long time. Yes I stole, but why should I come in here and tell you whether you know right from wrong, when you can make a right decision and a wrong decision. Now what I want to know, I know why I did it, I know my example, if you want to hear my explanation for why I stole and things and carry on, I can give you mine, but see, look here, what is yours? See, I have sought the help that I needed; see, I'm trying to get over; see, what I'm trying to do is: I got it and realized that I cannot go on stealing, that I cannot go on trying to beat society, that is dead, what I want to know is why you feel that you can?

\* I don't feel that I can.

\* Why would you reply...He was the one confronted with the stealing thing, he's the one that's got the problem, and you say, "like me too,--I get tired of asking my mother." and I quote.

\* I didn't say "like me too."

\* Let me ask you one question, getting back to B----, you know, when you do it at these times, you do it....

\* Wait a minute, what you was saying is, you don't steal?!

\* Yeah, that's what I'm saying.

\* Oh, you don't steal...

\* Okay, okay, maybe you don't, well you go out to beat society, not to go out and plan to beat society, if I see something that I want I pick it up there on the spot and take it, what have I planned \_\_\_\_\_?

\* You just told me you depended on stealing to make it. You can just \_\_\_\_\_ sit back, or even relate to what I'm talking about.

\* You misunderstood me.

\* No, I understood you very plainly, the fact of the matter is the brother with the problem, this brother with the problem, now he wants to know have I ever stole? Definitely. And I would steal now, but not to do like you do, not to, I would steal on the spot, I would pick up something and split. I can enjoy smoking my weed, whatever, you know what I mean? Or therefore to buy my rags or get my shoes shined, even.

\* Oh, in other words, you said that he'd be planning.

\* What did he just confront me with? I'm saying that you confronted me with it and he confronted me with it.

\* Let B---- go over it again.

\* Not the part about \_\_\_\_\_ (a store). Still in part now, what I want to know, actually, is this type of information. We gonna general it up real quick, you know, and just rap (wrap?) it up together, so we could start building. Like if you feel it's not right we'll all debate on it and gather up statistics to build up some kind of thing to help you out. Okay, the first thing I want to know--like you say, you know how to do this I might not be correct in the way I'm saying your statement, but you're actually saying you know how to do your culture now, stealing. Okay, you trying to say you

haven't had really no kind of training.

\* No, let's say 3/4.

\* Okay, we know. I'm talking about as far as school. Far as school, which ain't shit, which ain't shit. I'm talking about Jordan. When you said you put criteria on stealing, so this is just one issue we're debating with right now. I'm trying to say, when you did do this kind of stealing what, I mean, stealing is a different thing. I got busted at the post office-- that was stealing, but okay, like penny-desk stealing--I just want an example. Some people would be in a different position; I was in good shape. I had the buck when I got busted. Now, I'm trying to say when he steals I mean what would be of really great value to him like if he got away with it, will it really help him? If I would have get away when he helped me, shit, 'cuz I was in good shape. I was in good shape, but I just still did it. I'm just saying maybe he had a different aspect to it. Like I said a lot of times, my mother will be asking, do B---- steal? Let me say this first; let me finish this. Like they always say, B----'s bad. Still, you got to realize a lot of them have jobs and B---- hasn't. Like I said, he gets 50¢ a day and he go around with people that is employed for somebody and we got to loan money, maybe three or four dollars run us a day, and he got 50¢ a day-- how in the hell is he gonna keep up with us if nobody giving him nothing? He gonna get it--he's gonna get it some kind of way. That's a side(?) prisoner (?) in that bag, really. I mean he could better himself, but would you give a child 50¢ a day to go out there on the street? And the street is hell and what do you think he's gonna do to rest and 50¢ ain't gonna last nowhere. I can't even get past women really with 50¢. And I need a bill when I walk down the curb.

\* How is he gonna live off of 50¢ a day? Them are the things you got to look at. I don't knock nobody off the world, shit, for stealing. Tell us, have you ever got busted stealing.

\* Oh, yeah.

\* Tell me an experience in one of those things and tell me the cause and why you was doing it. What was it you was stealing, or was it just something to be cool about? Was half of your stealing to be cool about it or just something to do? I mean, did it ever get you anywhere? Do you have a gold mine where you can advance and invest something, economical-wise. What was it?

\* It was a week before Christmas. Me, L---- and R---- on Broadway and Manchester. We went in this shop. They had everything and a lady's purse sitting right there. We got the purse and left.

\* Oh, man--was she black or white?

\* White.

\* Right on..."Power to the people!"

\* And we went out of the store and we got clean away. \$350.00 in that purse. We were gonna cop the key (kilo of marijuana) that night.

\* Who was using their head about the key? Who was thinking about it?

\* Me and R----. L----wanted to...

\* Who's the oldest?

\* Me.

\* How much younger was this other fellow?

\* Oh, shit. I was way ahead of him.

\* At this time, was you employed anywhere?

\* No, I wasn't employed anywhere.

\* Okay, well--did you really have to have it?

\* Yeah, I had to have it. At the time, yeah. We needed it...I needed it.

\* Need it at home or by yourself?

\* At the home and for myself and for the sake of living, period.

\* Survival, right?

\* In other words it's what you knew what you had to do with it.

\* Now, to me, in my opinion and I think that J---- and M----feel the same way, you know that was a good enough reason if any to risk going to jail for, 'cuz you will get fed in jail. You will reach your goal one way or another. And when you say about the pad, man, I know. Boy, when you're hungry that's the worst thing--that is sick. When you go to the pad and there ain't nothing in there. And that hurts, boy--that hurts more than anything, boy. And your pride is too high--you don't want to beg.

\* Your position, man, you ain't really got it too bad. You ain't got nobody under 12 in your family. Then you could probably look out for yourself, 'cuz you ain't got anybody else to look out for. Not really. See, like my position,... there's R---- and there's T----. You got to get out there and make something.

\* But have you ever thought of getting your mind together, just like W----? You know, he just uprised. Everybody at one time--I'm not trying to point nothing--at one time, I mean W---- had his ups and downs. A lot of niggers say W---- ain't gonna be shit--I heard it from a lot of people--parents, too. You know, they thought he wasn't gonna be nothing.

They thought he didn't have any intentions at all, which he had intentions about life more than anybody else before that, but he just got off in that bag that he wanted, you know, just to be free--just let everything hang back, you know. And everybody thought he just couldn't build up nothing, but do you see what I'm trying to say? Can you actually follow his guidelines? He set a token example for the family. When you see somebody doing this--actually getting back in school after a period that he delayed--man, you don't see many brothers doing that. Come back and just jumped back in school and employed at the same time and building up himself, too. That's hard; that is hard--that's a change, that's a change. He's in a different bag now than 2 or 3 months ago. You take a film on his day-to-day scene--walking or something like this, it can be nothing like this. This is something to be recognized, this is something for which you should give him a compliment, try to keep it up and force it on you. I know it makes you feel good when you see your brother, too, and when he had his little old bag thing, it kinda hurt you to see him in that position 'euz he was older than you too. It feels good to have your brother over you, boy.

\* Like I understand this point. Like me, like I had the problem of getting loaded, you know? I'm gonna tell you actually I felt like this and this is from my heart, like coming from the real side. How many brothers have been faced with the fact that you're in the home; you don't know how to righteously hustle. Still, carrying on ain't gonna put food in your mouth--you gonna be hungry, I know how it is to be hungry. I know how it is to be without a parent, I know how it is to be alone, in the darkness--no water, no light. I'm not using this (as an ethnic background) as an excuse for getting loaded....

WATTS

SCHOOL AND COUNSELING

Interview with  
Alfred Jackson

PB: This is an interview with Alfred Jackson. As a background, were you born in Los Angeles?

AJ: Yeah.

PB: And what schools did you attend? Did you always live in Los Angeles?

AJ: No, I lived in Compton, out there in kindergarten up to the seventh grade, and moved to Watts. Then I went to Markham and graduated from there.

PB: When did you go to Markham?

AJ: That would be around '63.

PB: When did you graduate from Jordan (high school)?

AJ: '67.

PB: And you took a guidance class at Jordan?

AJ: Yeah, in the tenth grade. This was a required class, at least it was then. I don't know if it is now, most likely it is. But it was a required class, then. They said I had to take that class (to get through) the twelfth grade...because it's just like some of the kids in the kindergarten...if you do your lessons real good, when you get to the sixth grade you go to junior high school. At that particular time, they're not worried about going to junior high school because they're just in kindergarten. Same way with that guidance class. What you going to do, worry about three years from that particular day? That they



talk about, three years from then, you don't even hardly remember what they said. The stereotype thing like "the good grade will get you a good job."

PB: Could you describe a typical day, as you remember it, when you would come in, would the teacher hand out materials and put things on the board? What is it, was it six weeks?

AJ: Yes, because you take "guidance" along with "health." And where it starts out, they pass out pamphlets and stuff for a few days and then you go to this routine with the newspaper. She was real good at it because most of the time we were looking at things that you didn't have to have a skill to do. Like she would say, this is a job that has such and such a thing, you could have got this job right here, because it doesn't say a thing about the type of thing that was required or any kind of special training, because it also said about the real thing. She didn't tell you about after you get to the job that you're doing training, but they're using a couple of hundred dollars training you when a person that is older than you has already had that experience. They said that what it amounts to is you're a good prospect, but they got a better one. You might get the job next time.

PB: Well, did you practice filling out application forms or anything like that?

AJ: Yeah, but at that particular time, she didn't even come close to anything that you actually do on a job. The application that they gave us, I only remember, put down on the application anything about previous experience. And they asked you about what kind of degree

in that particular field you had, how long on the job, and the police record. On the third application that they give you, the teacher goes and gets a mimeograph, the teacher passes it out to see how you fill it up, fill it out. What it amounts to, she's not checking to see what kind of information you put down or how you pass the test, she wanted to see if you passed the instructions well on the application. And if you don't have the background, well then, you can't put it down there. She didn't explain that to you. But she didn't tell you that, that it doesn't make any sense to be a head nurse, if you don't know anything about being a nurse. The way we got it, all you had to do was to learn how to read an application, just fill it out, and then you had two thousand people calling you to come in and work. No talk about experience, and when they did talk about experience, they didn't mention too much about vocational experience. At that particular time, it was always college for a good job and high school graduates for unskilled jobs. That was basically the thing. I will never forget that lady.

PB: Was she a regular teacher? I mean, did she teach something else besides?

AJ: Yeah, she was a gym teacher.

PB: Gym teacher?

AJ: Yeah, and at that particular time, a teacher as far as you were concerned, they got something in their head because if I were to know what I know now, first thing I would ask would be, "When was the last time you applied for a job besides as a teacher? And what

kind of routine did you have to go through?" And they tell you about personal appearance and stuff like that.

PB: What do they say about it?

AJ: You know, hair cut, clean shaven, and nice clothes, and don't bite your fingernails, that's a "no no," don't smoke and this and that. And I remember, first thing, they cut me down, I'll never forget that. And you're not supposed to smoke unless you ask a person. Why ask them at all? Just don't smoke, period. I think what she was trying to get over was not to be noticed. Because she said I could smoke if I asked him, and so naturally he's going to be dumb about it and so he says, "Okay." Right then and there, if it was me and I was this person, I'd be hung up on whether I was hiring him or not. That'd be one point against him right there. I might be a chain smoker myself. But because of the fact that the person asked to smoke, that would make me take a second look again, little things like that. I figure the employer, he'd be more tricky than that because what he's doing is making an investment in you, 'cause you're going to put out more than he has to pay. That's the way the job works. And if he has any doubt in his mind, he's got ten kids out there, he's going to pass you up until he gets exactly what he wants. There's so many that they can just about get what they want.

PB: Now, did you talk at all about the range of jobs that you might be able to get? I know she showed the paper and showed the jobs that you could get without any particular skill or experience, but what about, for example, professional jobs? The extent to which some

jobs did require more education or less? How about apprenticeships? Was there an explanation for that?

AJ: Yeah, every time I heard about an apprenticeship, it wasn't even in that particular class, the job preparation--I got that out of the metal shop, talking to my metal instructor. I had metal all the way from the tenth to twelfth grade, and he told me about apprenticeships. That's when I was first aware of it, 'cause I didn't know that people would train me on the job. And he took me and a few other guys over here to \_\_\_\_\_ Steel, and he told us about it. Even though he told us it would be better to go on to school, instead of going to a factory like this, use the steel skill when we got out of school as a hobby or as a last resort. He said about a high percentage was involved in it, especially in the particular line that we were using, foundry and working with hard metals and stuff.

Over there in the factory, when he took us over there, they let us go over everything real good, and we saw that they were doing the same basic thing that we were doing at school, except it was on a more complex level. When we got back to the school that evening, he told us that all of us qualified, you know. As far as working, there wouldn't be no problem in getting a job, a letter from him would do it. But there were six of us then, only three of us went down there. I wasn't one of them. He had talked to us and told us that it would be better to try something else. Just in that factory alone, there were about three guys killed that year. And from the level, sticking to the rules, hit the hot metal and caused an explosion,

and a whole lot of hot metal burned, and it started an accident. They gave no word about the minor accidents. They never gave a report, like the less dangerous stuff. And when I was going through the factory that day, I saw a guy that had one of his small fingers missing. I went to ask the guy, and you know, the guy said "I did it in an accident." And another thing, when we walked through there, everybody was, you know, especially the Negro guy, especially he'll say, "You don't want to work here," and stuff like that.

Especially during the lunch break, we was standing out front and so I walked back into the main part and I was standing behind the yellow line so I could watch them. One guy came over and told me, he said "Listen, if you can do anything better than this, go ahead and get it." What he said, he was doing it because that was the only means of immediate support for him and his family. He told me about the fights too, and that night about three or four fellows that work over there, they tell me they was always hiring and everything. But at the same time they always looking for a job; if anybody hire anybody, "Come on over." He said, "I been going out here to North American and out to the airport to see if I can get a job." But I don't know, that made me wonder if he was out there looking for a job, what's wrong with here? And everybody over there that I know personally is looking for a job or has another part-time job, trying to get away from that one.

And another thing, John T\_\_\_\_\_, he worked over there in metal inspection, and he got into an accident and stuff over the thing.

And he stayed in contact, he was a specialist in metal. He had some kind of oil or some kind of gook over his head. He said that every night he had to test the stuff and, what would happen, it would get on his clothes. And over a period of time, just a little bit of it would get on his skin, and he had burn marks coming up his arm. It didn't irritate him anyway, it just looked nasty, like open sores. And it came across his face. And so they laid him off for a few weeks and it cleared up, but it still left black patches. And when he went back to work, in about two months, he was laid off again. The same thing occurred again. And so finally he quit the job, and he got him another job doing the same thing too. And this time it was just as bad, so he got some kind of money out of it this time. And he could have, you know, he would have liked to go back to work over there. And they were trying to say that he was allergic to it. But everybody I see, even his cousin M\_\_\_\_\_, he got it but it wasn't as bad. He had skin coming off his arm. And the only thing that was required while they were working there, the only protection was gloves and eye glasses, that's called safety goggles. That was the only thing that was required. Like his cousin, he didn't have it on his hands but you could tell where the gloves stopped, like about right here (indicates).

PB: Is this the place right down toward the high school, the one that makes noise all the time?

AJ: Yes, that's all the same factory.

PB: So, you got that out of your metal shop?

AJ: Yeah, metal shop.

PB: And did they talk at all about careers, in guidance? Did you ever get tests, like, aptitude?

AJ: Yeah, they gave us a test. Very seldom, you would get your results. You know, you take all the tests and you never would get the results so I know I took one test. The whole school took this test. It's a vocational aptitude test. And I was considered mechanically inclined. In other words, I was supposed to wind up being like working in a factory. All the tests showed was like, putting things together and stuff like that. But that's not all; I mean, anybody would like to put things together. But that don't mean that's their ultimate. And so what happened, they put me in an industrial, I had an industrial major.

PB: What do you mean by...You mean both a vocational major and a major called industrial arts?

AJ: Yes. Industrial, industrial-technical, which is irrelevant as far as what you do with it. A person that has industrial-technical, he's supposed to be a guy that's able to go out there and get him a job, not actually doing metal work but how to make blueprints or setting up, you know, different kinds of things and putting them together to make a certain thing. And there was a guy up there, he got drafted the first semester he graduated. He graduated the year before I did. He had industrial-technical major. And he wasn't even capable of it, all he did, he got--just something he could write down, you know. And right now, I don't even know what he's doing. They don't even prepare you, you know, let you know what it's all about.

When I was in school, it was more common for a student to take what the teacher said verbatim, it's almost like the word of God. They go strictly by that. And then when you get out there and all the stuff is different, you know you're lost; 9 times out of 10 when you graduate you going to your parents and you can't really get help there. And maybe a family pull will get you a job similar to what your father had, something like that. And then they're not even satisfied with that because they know you can do better than that. And that's something that he's been doing, not that he is particularly proud of, and what might happen you might do the same thing your father did, not because your father decided to do it but because he knew somebody, like his boss or somebody had enough pity, you know, to hire you.

PB: Why do you think students (like your brother) who are going to high school now are more apt to challenge, to question? What's the cause of that?

AJ: I think it really amounts to rebellion, in a good sense, because their rebellion is not a destructive kind. It's the kind that, if it's possible, I think they would rather spend three hours in a classroom talking to a teacher that maybe made a mistake. And maybe get that teacher to admit to that mistake, admit that they were wrong. And see, most of the time that the teacher was wrong, (when I was there) you just accept it. They don't accept that now. And he's more aware. And the teachers, I think the teachers are starting to get kind of leery too, because I know of some of the teachers that was there when I was there that didn't stress too much black history,



and then they had to go get a book to tell you about it. And I think now, rather than them being aware of what's going on and what people are going to do, you know--take the time I was going to school, you might hear guys say, "That white man is putting us down twenty years." So far I never heard that anybody say that the white man is putting him down. I think they have enough sense now where he has come to the conclusion that it's usually the person that says the white man is putting him down that puts his ownself down, by thinking back and, you know, having self-pity for himself.

And he (my brother) takes sides in going to school, (which) is kind of rare. Like a whole lot of times, he couldn't wait to go to school because the teacher said something that day before and he might have come home and looked in the encyclopedia and found out that she was wrong or he was wrong. Sometimes they come home with eight or nine kids where they walk to the house arguing about what the teacher said. And then they walked into the library and get a book or something and try to get it down on paper. Then, I told them to get the copyright date and get the name of the author and if they have any kind of background, write it down. And ask the teacher, if she can't mouth it, to tell how she got to that conclusion. Today, the teachers--if he missed a day of school--they'll call the house to find out why. I think him and his close friends--they're all like that. They'll come home and argue about a hypothetical problem that aren't really relevant to what they're doing, but they have just enough interest and want to know something. 'Cause I think they're

trying to, you know, be almost exact in the knowledge they get from the teacher. Like if a teacher came out cool to them, besides word of mouth that a certain thing happened, well then, they don't usually accept it.

PB: That's interesting. So when you were in the twelfth grade, which would be in 1967, did you get any further guidance or counseling? And if so, what kind, was it related to jobs, related to going on to school, or both, or neither?

AJ: They gave us a class. It was something called Senior Composition. And they supposedly taught us how to write summations and how to go about--it was essentially the course that in tenth grade we had. Especially this particular teacher we had, I forgot his name, but he was a George Jackson, we got a little bit better information from him. But it still wasn't enough, they'd put you out and get you a job, because some of the kids, they said, "Well, I'm glad he can get me a job." But it was easier said than done, and 90 percent couldn't get a job with, you know, a program or something. But his program helped a whole lot of people out.

And then a lot of people went to college too, because at that particular time, it was easier to go to college than do anything else. If the student, he went to a counselor, money was always available, you know, to get you into a college or something. If you qualified and had good grades, you didn't have a problem because that's one thing--the counselors, they were, I would say, partial to the smarter students. You could tell that. From the tenth grade on up, it was

always people that I knew that always had a favorite teacher and, like, the smarter the student was and the less trouble he made, the more popular he was with the teacher. And all you had to do was to get a pass out of class in the middle of the period and see if he was outside, then you just about know who were the teacher's favorite. I remember they had this here three tardies at school, then you get suspended. I think they must have suspended me about once a week. But I can remember students that would be tardy all the time, but just because they were "A" and "B" students, they never were suspended. They'd get a talk from the counselor and stuff like that. Then they'd be right back in the class, like there wasn't nothing to it. Let me get suspended, I had to get my mother to come back up there with me and sit in the library and listen to the same ol' stereotyped speeches, like "you can't learn unless you're there." But usually, you see, one second after the bell ring, you could set a time, so "therefore you missed a little bit of knowledge." It takes the teacher more than one second to get herself together to start teaching. And then we were sent to home, to teach you that lesson. And nine times out of ten, all you do is resist. Like they say now, you're hurting yourself more because you say, "Well, I won't sit still. I'm going to be late again."

So what happens, maybe you miss three or four periods, that's half of school then. You'd be surprised, the teacher might get the spirit and really want to teach something, but you're gone. And when you come back and they give you that test, on Fridays usually-- I would say to myself I never heard it before.

And then they'd get up there and the thing about the grade. I think it was wrong too, you know, some kids have dropped out. After a test is over, the teacher would sit down at the desk and go over them daily.

PB: Individually?

AJ: Individually. The whole class is sitting there and she'll say, "John Doe, you got a A. That's real good. So and so, you got a fair," just like that. You know, right there now, the teacher knows he might make you uncomfortable by saying it out in front of the class like that and so he goes and takes one or two stretches. He going to say to the class, jokingly, well he could say I could have done better, blah blah this and that and ain't nothing to it. There could be those that don't like that ~~kind~~ of publicity and next time the test come up, he'll say, "Well, I'm not going to get into that kind of position so I won't be in that class." And after a while, he gets to the point where he's embarrassed to come to the class because of the test and then he can't go to the class period, because he missed all of the tests. And so the teacher's going to say something to him about it. And nine times out of ten, they do.

I think the hardest thing for a student, after he dropped out, is to go back to school, because he has a lot of catching up to do and the first thing, some of the teachers would do it, "Well so and so, I see you finally decided to come back and get some education. You know you're about ten years behind now, don't you? You'll have to do twice as much as last time." And far as he could say, he might

have been working as hard as he could (during) the time he dropped out. And I think the teachers ought to take that under consideration.

Very few of them, what they'll do, they'll talk to the better student after class, you know, after school--have the better student come in and give him a little guidance then. They could look out the window and see a student who is not doing too good and say, "Well, he's not going to amount to nothing." And then don't even try to help him or anything, unless he comes to them. And then usually, if you come to a teacher, first thing you got to get over is the remarks they're going to make, like, "You should have been doing this in class, but I'll try to help you," stuff like that. Like they're doing me a big personal favor, when sometimes it's strictly the teacher's fault. Not that the guy can't know the stuff, but he's not in a way to keep up with the class. And so that's why the teacher might have three outstanding students, and so she'll try to keep the class up there with them. As far as this other guy (who) is lagging behind, she don't bother with them. But I see the teachers sometime, they give tests. One test, they got three or four students they consider mis-adjusted and give them a different test, about four or five grade levels below what they're actually doing. And then if that guy gets an "A" on that test over there, and this guy gets a "D," well he's proud of his "A" over there, but then this guy over here with the "D" is going to say, "Well, but he's taking that third grade stuff." And so he gets the feeling that he hasn't really accomplished anything. And so I figure that makes the dropout rate.

PB: I was going to say that Jordan has the highest dropout rate of any school in the Los Angeles district, at least as of a few years ago.

AJ: I know when I was there, from my particular time, we graduated in Markham, there were 600 and some of us, we graduated from Jordan, I think there were 360 something. And that didn't include the transfers in the class and stuff, that was just the ones that dropped out, period. They didn't even stay, a few of them got killed and some of them, like in the G \_\_\_\_\_ case, they dropped out and get married. They drop out and start working or just doing the wrong way, instead of hacking at school.

PB: Is Senior English compulsory? Senior Composition?

AJ: Yeah.

PB: Everybody has to take that?

AJ: Everybody has to take it.

PB: They do, so in the last year they get a chance to do job resumes?

AJ: Right, but that's all. And it don't really help you any because if you haven't taken advantage of what you've learned and what you could have learned those past two years, by the time you get into twelfth grade, the writing summation don't mean nothing, 'cause you don't have nothing to base it on. You don't have no background to put down there. And then again, they were stressing summation so bad that they forgot to tell you that you got to write something on it.

PB: Did you ever get any part-time work?

AJ: Well, I got work from a neighbor. At that particular time, that's when Mr. P\_\_\_\_ became work coordinator. I think I was about in the eleventh grade then. And they had this thing where jobs still were just for the good students. And so there were two ways to get a job, and you hoped that Mr. P\_\_\_\_ and your counselor approved of it so you can get out of school early to work. And so what happened to me, I started working at American Businessmen's Club, me and J\_\_\_\_, and we went to our counselor and he said it was okay. It didn't interfere with our school. We worked from 11 at night to 7 in the morning. That means we would have to be at school an hour after we get off of work. So what we tried to do was to see if we could skip the first two periods and then come to school. And so we talked to the counselor and she said it was all right. So she said it was okay and we go to talk to Mr. P\_\_\_\_, he blows his stack. So I put the pressure on him then. I told him, "Well, you can't stop me." And so he said, "You can't do this. I don't approve of it at all." And that's what it amounted to, so he couldn't stop me. And if he decided he were going to stop me, then I'd just drop out of school. I mean I put the pressure on him then, so he had to think it over. So what it came down to he didn't really approve of it and he never signed the paper. But my counselor fixed it so we didn't have to go to the first two periods, and we'd just go the rest of the day.

And the next semester we weren't working for them. But we just came to those two periods and so we came and tried to get our other two periods and Mr. P\_\_\_\_ he's talking that stuff and everything.

Finally, you know, we got everything back together again. And then, I graduated and Randy, he was working for me, so I had to sign this paper. I didn't tell Mr. P\_\_\_\_\_ that he was my brother because I thought he might have thought that I was trying to pull the jive on him. And I didn't want to have to go down there to the school. Last time I seen him, he's not that way. But at the time he first started out, if he didn't like you, you didn't get no job. I think that after Randy is gone, I'd say that the ninth graders now, they're not going to go for that, just like Randy and our particular generation, next year they're going to do that, put Mr. P\_\_\_\_\_ out of business.

PB: Was Mr. P\_\_\_\_\_ a teacher? Did he do that full-time?

AJ: Yeah, he don't be in the office that much. I see him in the morning, then third period he go out. You know, he had a lot of leaves. These organizations call him for jobs. He had no students in there working. Anybody that had Mr. P\_\_\_\_\_ 's class got an "A" but that "A" didn't hardly mean nothing.

PB: What did he teach?

AJ: He was a social studies teacher. Then when he became work coordinator he had darn near every kid in school working for him. There wasn't nothing wrong with it. The young ladies, they were getting paid. He'd take special cases, like he was good at this, if a girl had a baby or something and she couldn't make it in school. And then when she did come back to school, you know, and she'd say she wanted to come back to work, he'd give them a job. That's the only decent thing he ever started to do, and hire kids for the summer because they



really needed the money. And in the school year, if you and Mr. P\_\_\_\_\_ were to be friends, okay, but if you might have talked to him in the tenth grade when he was a teacher and he knew about it, you can't get no job.

PB: So, in other words, you found your jobs by yourself and then it was just a matter of getting Mr. P\_\_\_\_\_ to approve?

AJ: It takes a lot of skill, you know, like if you participate in a lot of demonstrations and the dean would come and tell you to go to class and stuff like that, Mr. P\_\_\_\_\_ would use his title. 'Cause if you're working for him, a lot of time during the demonstration on campus or you try to boycott something he was on the side, you know, where you have to get the grade from him. You know, he make you go to class and stuff like that. You know, he scare you like that. He just had to be in power, in his program, you know, and I seen him when we're having a demonstration and staying out of class, I would get up and move 'cause I know that he would cut you off from the list quick. But I never was particularly on his paper, or anything like that.

PB: NYC? Who did the NYC jobs go to?

AJ: Another thing I found, you know, seniors supposed to get criteria over the others. But this year, I know it's not that way. Like in the summer, when I was out of work, I called him a month before I went to school, and he said "come into the office Monday," you know? And there was no sense coming back because I got into trouble with him, you know, for the grade thing. So he called the professor and after one year or something like that, he kept on calling and then

you say, "He's not working here any longer" or something like that. And so I wouldn't sign up for the work thing. I went in there to check up on my grades, you know, good standing for graduation. And so Mr. M\_\_\_\_\_, he saw it. So he went in and snuck in and called Mr. P\_\_\_\_\_. "I didn't never think it would be you" and stuff like that, because then I'd want to get another job and I'd say, "I want to get on your work experience program." But he'd say, "Since you did this, I got to think about it twice" and stuff like that. Later on, he'd talk to him and apologize, kiss up to him, then he'd let me back.

PB: Did you ever go into the Service Center?

AJ: I did. Somebody called my parents and told me to come down. And they just hired four of us, out of a whole bunch, and I was 15 at the time. I don't know how they did that, but that's how we got it, through there. They just had a list, like you'd start off in the summer, you'd apply in places. And so I applied and they sent us to the post office right there. They'd just say "103rd street."

Another voice: Did Mrs. Price have anything to do with it?

AJ: No.

Another voice: She was in the Teen Post. She used to work with everybody in the Hacienda Teen Post.

(Note: Students can get grades and credit for "work experience."

The Teen Post is part of a federally-funded recreational and cultural program for teenagers.)

Tape #4 - June 22, 1971

EAST LOS ANGELES

School and Jobs and Police

PB: We're going to ask, first of all, about your impressions of high school. Either you are going to school or have gone to school, almost everybody goes to Roosevelt (High School) or has gone to Roosevelt, and what I'd like to know first is, when you were going to Roosevelt, did you know who you could go to if you wanted to get some advice about preparing for a job or getting a job or a career or anything like that, or about a class or a teacher, who gave you any information or tests or anything like that?

\* The teachers that do that, they usually get rid of them. I knew of one teacher, man, a \_\_\_\_\_, and during the walkouts he got busted for trying to help people. They got rid of him, and like he was really together. He laid it on the line with us.

PB: How did he help you?

\* He gave me information so I could find out things, and like not only for jobs, but things like I wanted to learn about my culture and he gave me information. He gave books and things. He was really good with all the people who came to him.

PB: What subject did he teach?

\* He was a literature teacher, taught literature, English literature. He went back to school to get his PhD.

PB: I see, and did you have any other good teachers, like him?

\* Yeah, we had this hippie teacher, he was always taking these trips to Africa. He should be in Africa right now. He used to bring us slides about Africa and all kinds of stuff. He was pretty cool. We had this Mexico thing scheduled--he got on this part about the service, about the draft, how to dodge

the draft legally and he had legal information. But that didn't work out too cool because people stopped coming to the classes.

PB: Why did they get rid of him?

\* They didn't get rid of him. He split on his own. He's not coming back to school, though.

PB: Oh, I see, he just left on his own. How about the others; have you had any good experiences or good advice from particular teachers, or not? No, no advice at all? Didn't you all take something called "guidance"?

\* That was just about the school. Guidance, yeah, we had it for three weeks. It's required, yeah, in 10th grade. That was only about the school.

PB: An introduction to Roosevelt. In guidance they're supposed to give you some tests, and then discuss different kinds of jobs, different kinds of pay.

\* We went over a little of it, but not as much as I think we should have. Basically they tell you who's the Principal and V.P. and things like that, that's all it was about, it wasn't nothing.

PB: Do you plan on going back to school?

\* Yeah, well I plan on going to night school.

PB: You plan on finishing high school? How old are you?

\* 18.

PB: Have you thought about a particular kind of job that you might like to do, if you get a chance to do?

\* No, I haven't thought about that yet, really.

JR: Do counselors talk to you about what you want to do?

\* No, you know, I used to go to a counselor and ask him about graduation and about \_\_\_\_\_. And I would just sit there for an hour and then

the bell would ring for lunch and they would never call me back.

PB: You'd just sit there for a time and nothing would happen?

\* Til about next week, I'd still be there. Sometimes they tell you they're going to call you, but they never do.

PB: Now, who's this--who's supposed to call you?

\* You know, the building up there on Lorena (Street), you know that one, they put out applications at the end of summer, last year, and a lot of us went, and like "I'll call you," but nothing. You know they just throw it under the desk, forgot about it. Nobody, like me for instance, if they start a program I'll shine it on because they're going to give you the same old thing. Like when I go for a job I'll go on my own, but yet in school they don't let me know where the jobs are available, it could benefit me, you know, 'cause the jobs that I get are chicken shit, rinky dink things, you know. Like they refer me, like you know in this program, I was in this student training program, you know. I've been in it for a year--I'm still on it. Afterwards they're supposed to promote you to a clerical messenger clerk and you take a test, you know, but that test isn't relevant, you know, 'cause they come out with things they ask-- I don't know, weird things--math and things you never learn in school because the schools are messed up. And I thought first, I don't know, we have to do something out of the past, but all it is is they give you a little information about the job you're doing, you know, about three questions about the job you're doing and that's all.

PB: How many jobs and tests like this have you had to take?

\* They make you fill out all these papers, and sometimes, you know, yeah, that's the first time...that was a city job.

PB: Where did you learn about these jobs?

\* I just go around looking for jobs, that's all. I spoke to this one man, you know, and right then and there I told him what was my problem and he just started me working. It was all right because I had money in my pocket for after-school stuff, you know. It wasn't for 8 hours or anything like that.

PB: Have you thought about a particular line of work that you would like to get into? Are you thinking about going to college?

\* I was thinking about going to school after I get out of high school. But like they make you fill out these paper work stuff and so much paper, and in order to get into a program your family has to have an income of so much, you know. You don't hear it. Like I was still waiting to see what happened, I've never heard nothing.

PB: How about when you were going to high school, did anyone encourage you to, like for example, if you were interested in engineering, science, music, research. All the time that you've been going to school, has any one ever sat down with you and gone over, maybe, what programs are available?

\* No, man, that never happens, I mean, like it never happens to me, I don't know of anyone it ever happened to, you know, because you go in and fill out a form and then they call you. He just give you what he has, and you try to explain to him what you want, you just tell him, you know, he just listens to you but he just gives you what's on his sheet because he says, "Here, this is all we got," you know.

PB: Who is this dude? Is this through NYC?

\* Oh, a student coordinator for the city.

\* No, this has nothing to do with NYC.

PB: Student Training Program, it's through the city? And does he work through the schools or how does it work?

\* I don't know, you just go to him. He calls up some schools, you know, like before, I was going to Cathedral, you know, I looked at the bulletin board and I saw his name and where to go so I shot over there, that's when I started talking to him. And then when you go for the job the people check you out and see how you are, if they don't like the way you look, well you know, they'll harass you, like that's what's been happening to me a lot. They've just been giving me hours that really don't mean nothing, but they wanted me to work the way they wanted me to work, you know. And it just doesn't help you out, man, you know, you think about it, you know, this is a little bit money in your pocket, but then again it ain't worth it.

PB: How about some of the others--have you thought about a particular line of work that you might like to do in the long run? How about all these training programs, what sort of college course or training would you be interested in?

\* I want to do something constructive, would really be the main thing. Just something real constructive that the people could use, basically.

PB: You want something to be used in service to the people. In all the time you were going to school you never really found out about or participated in any of the programs or even thought about or known about any of the programs?... Model Cities is supposed to be a program which works on schools, works on better houses, supposedly better, and is supposed to have a community participation emphasis, a piece of legislation that says the community is supposed to participate.

\* Yeah, but like for example, the school system--I mean the school they only take the people that have good grades, who like are on the honor society, people who are in organizations in school, those are the only people they take.

They don't take people like us, who, for example, don't get involved in that, 'cause like really you can't relate to it. You know, like me and him one time I hit him up, you know he doesn't like to participate in school activities, I just hit him up, you know, about this teen club, so we went over there, you know, to one of their meetings, they was talking about the war, you know, Uncle Tom shit, you know a lot of buddaheads talking in there. Buddaheads run the campus, and it's a Chicano school, they're in all the high-class organizations, I mean what they consider high class. I don't know but to me it ain't nothing 'cause grades, I consider myself just as intelligent as those punks are, they're intelligent in their way about the government; you know, they're puppets, but so therefore I consider everybody in this room intelligent, you know, "you're a dumb drop-out." That is all the school system is, you know, wow, these dudes, like the people who drop out of school you know that they righteously have the guts, the balls to do it 'cause how it happens they drop out--I guess they realize that this is a bunch of bull, they're going to say "fuck it," hey, daddy, go.

PB: Why would you drop out?

\* Hell, what's the use of staying in, I graduate for my mother, man, 'cause it made my mother more happy, you know, not that I'm a momma's boy; I didn't learn shit. I'm just out with a high school diploma and I ain't got nothing yet. Not learning, I didn't learn, I didn't learn nothing from (nil?) but I learned more from him and his brother and other people in the community than I did in school, so the education I have I got from the community, not from school.

JR: The information on a lot of these programs, you know, they were supposed to start in January, but they haven't started.



PB: They got a lot of money.

JR: Yeah, a lot of money, but none of these programs have started. So if these people are going to wait for a Model Cities job to get a job, you know they won't get it.

PB: What is the dropout rate at, say, Roosevelt?

\* The dropout rate, it's a lot, I don't know, you mean all together? It was 51 $\frac{1}{2}$ % last year, but then it went down--46% or something. Our graduating class itself, our principal said, only about 10% dropped out since, all the way since, the 10th grade of the seniors.

PB: What happens to, particularly to, the dudes who drop out?

\* I mean the first reason why they drop out, because in school, I mean, they're in dumps, nothing to relate to, you know, they give you the classes that they want to give you, you know, like they put you in college prep, or general business and all that, you know. Like they take you, you come out of junior high, you know, they just get you and put you in the course they want you to take, they say you take this 'cause it's going to be better for you later on in life, and then they give it to the other people who have better grades than you. They just put you on a level, they categorize you on a level of pure grades, but then again a person, like for example him, like anyone here and someone else who has better grades in school, I mean we would know how to handle it more eloquently (?) because they just categorize you, you know. In the schools, you know, you're categorized, I mean they put you in different classes and all this. And then the teachers they got to teach classes, like he was in my Black Studies class, and you know I thought that would be a righteous class, that was the first time we were going to have a Black Studies class. You know when you actually get down to it, you know the Mexican American class

like theirs, it's all Chicanos in there and that's beautiful because you know if you could, you know, if people could establish the point and then all minority people could get together and rap with no conflict between, but the way things are now, we have to still be apart, work among ourselves; up in the class we couldn't rap good, and the jive-time Uncle Tom teacher we had, his wife (?) and she's Black, she ain't nothing but a carbon copy, we read about The Negroes to Freedom, some Uncle Tom shit like that. We didn't talk about nothing revolutionary, we just talked about Uncle Tom Negroes, so we didn't establish nothing.

PB: Did you talk about George Washington Carver?

\* There you go, all them dudes. We read about one brother, just a bunch of bull shit, you know, saying "look at Uncle Tom," you know. A couple of righteous people, but you know, a whole year. We stayed in there really two periods combined into one, 80 minutes, we had to read these old boring books, I heard they had to read these books in college. And the words, the vocabulary, you know, just figure it out man if you're not used to these big old words, you know, it gets you confused and like I know I lost interest in the class, I got a "D" and I'm Black, and other people got higher grades than me.

\* I got a "C" and I wasn't even there.

\* No shit, no shit, man, and I went there everyday and I got a "D", she wasn't nothing but a Tom. We had to fight for a Black Studies, shit, but then they put a Tom on top of it. You know like whenever the brothers get together, though, you know, they've been having quite a feud at school with the Chicanos, when some of the brothers get together, go down on the Chicanos, they send old \_\_\_\_\_, a science teacher, "all right, all right, you young brothers cool down, go back to class, I'm going to sit down with the man," Uncle Tom punk! You know, we don't need anybody like that, we might as well have the V.P.,

out there, directing out there.

That \_\_\_\_\_ (an administrator), he was burned there. And then like most of the guys now when they go, yeah, he was at Roosevelt then, we would go to school and he would ask me questions, like not about school, he would ask me "where was I involved in the community?" You know, he asked me about the organization Carnalismo and what were we doing, and then again, I was wondering, I would ask him something about school, you know, and he would tell me, "we're doing you a favor by accepting you here at school." Like I was checking him out a lot, and other guys from my neighborhood that would go and he would tell them not to associate with the guys from "flats", not to associate with them or else he would kick them out of school. And he would tell us not to associate with people that he thought were no good. That's the way a lot of teachers are, they look at you, you know, a lot of racism. Even like in your classes, man, you know, they just put you down, and like if you tell them something, they mess you up on your grade because of your absentness, you're late, you know, if you're late so many times your grade drops.

They don't grade you on your education, they grade you on how often you come to school. If you come to school everyday and don't do nothing, they'll pass you along. If you come to school, you'll pass, you know.

PB: Years ago when \_\_\_\_\_ was at Belvedere I think it was, he was arguing against Chicano history, he was saying that you've got to learn this culture, this country.

\* He talked to me one time, I was talking to this brother, I picked up a piece of cheese off the ground and threw it at this brother, the brother threw it back at me, we don't need a security guard, a pig on campus to watch over us, he saw me throw it back at this brother and then he tells me to pick it up and

throw it in the trash can. I told him if I pick it up I'll put it back on the ground, 'cause that's where I got it from, you know. He told me to go back to your class and I may have \_\_\_\_\_ to call you in, so I said all right. And I got walking in and \_\_\_\_\_, he slapped like a dog. He said go and pick it up, like he's some great god, oh, oh, the god has spoken, so I'd better jump, and so you know I said, "I ain't going to pick it up, if I put it anywhere, you know, I'll put it back," and he said, "Well, what were you doing?" I said, "I was playing." And he said, "Quit your playing and put it back in the trash." And I said, "Man, you told me not to play, therefore I'm not going to play." So then he said, "Don't be getting smart or I'll call your mother and you'll get suspended." And I said, "Over a cheese toast, man"--just like that, yeah. "I'll call your mother and you won't be getting smart with me." He was getting all snotty and then here comes old Uncle Tom \_\_\_\_\_. "Well, what's the situation?" Old Uncle Tom, old punk! That's all he is, he isn't even bright, man. I wouldn't even consider him as a Negro.

PB: Is he a teacher?

\* He thinks he's a teacher. He thinks in order to be a man you got to have two cars and dress real neat, with his high water pants and his sissy talking self.

PB: You made a point earlier that the administration plays favorites, like if you just go on, go through the regular routine, don't make any trouble and that sort of thing, and if you have Black Studies class, you don't for example demand to study Malcolm or Eldridge Cleaver.

\* When I asked my teacher about that, she said, "We'll get into that when the time comes." She had her whole schedule pointed out for her. They told her, "well you teach them this." She had some old Uncle Tom literature, Negroes

in the 20th Century. All of the good stuff was way in the back and there was only a couple of pages of that.

PB: Have any of you heard about a program like the Upward Bound program?

\* Yeah, but they cut that out, though, I wasn't too familiar with that. You have to get in it from the 10th grade, though.

PB: Yeah, I think so. How many students...it's a program where you come over and during the summer you live on campus, and then go to classes. I'm wondering how many students can get in and must they get in through the high school administration? For example, first of all, how would you find out about it?

\* You'd have to have damn good connections, you have to have to know some righteous people, that's the only way you can make it through the system. If you don't know nobody, nobody's going to come say "do you know about this right here," you have to have connections. If you have connections, then he'll probably pass it along.

PB: So you've maybe heard about Upward Bound. In these programs, like Upward Bound, do you know many of the students who get into them from Roosevelt? Let's see, I don't want to lead you on this. Who would choose the students, how do they get in, do you know?

\* I don't know, this guy was talking. I asked how he first got in, he told me he first got in the 10th grade, I think they interviewed, I don't know who interviews them, after so many they think, all right, they just pick them out.

PB: If any of you guys had a chance to get into the Upward Bound program, do you think you'd be interested?

\* I wouldn't. Depending on how, the kind of what they would have planned

for you, if it could relate to us, then we could, but if they give us the stuff they give us in school, then it doesn't make any difference.

PB: Suppose you really had a chance to change what's happening in the schools. What would you do? Suppose you were made V.P.?

\* Well, I tell you I believe after I get up to there I'd probably forget everything, 'cause basically I'd hit up the people from the community, the ones who are still down there struggling, 'cause I know my head is just switched completely. So I'd hit up these people, I'd ask them, and I wouldn't just say "I'll do it," and then rinky dink stuff just for the hell of it because I'm up there; I'd make sure that they get the equal stuff that they're supposed to have, not just rinky dink stuff. I tell you what we got now, all that would be gone, like the security, you know, I'd just let the students run the campus, basically, to an extent, 'cause it's their school. That's what the teachers tell us, this is your school--keep it clean, but you're ready to do something, it ain't your school no more. This is your class; we could do what we want, we told her we didn't want to learn this, and she says like, man...Oh, yeah, oh yeah, there was this one teacher named \_\_\_\_\_, there was this one teacher, you know, ever since I went there, you know, I thought he was a cool teacher, he wasn't nothing but a fart and I blew it to him. Like him and me, you know, two different minorities, you know we be rapping to each other, you know, we call each other dogs, you know. Like wow, just like any guy, we be walking down the hall and I say, "Hey, dog, come here." So one day we tripped out like that in class, and we got down on these people, we got to rapping about something, this Chicana wearing all this make-up, I got to talking something about Angela, we got down on a heavy subject. So they got to talking like, wow, their minds been exploited, they said that I tried to convince them into a revolutionary movement. They

said we tried to brainwash them. They don't realize they been brainwashed all their lives to do what they're doing now, all I want them to do is realize, to be aware of what's happening. 'Cause when it comes down they're going to be too late. We were rapping to them about the police, we were telling them how the people in the community are going to run it, you know, but they come out with "you can't--you need police" and all that. We don't need no police, we need the people in the community, you know, if you have the unity in the community you can do what you want, you know. They told me I was "Communist." You know, Communist is a different thing, then the teacher comes out saying about the Communists in Czechoslovakia and come out talking that shit. What tripped me out, he was rapping some things and we had taken over the class for the last 20 minutes, we started rapping about 12:15 and we started coming down on the class heavy, so I had a whole session and he had a session, so I started rapping to the people "we don't need the pig," so then she said, "Who's going to run the community?" And I said, "People like him and me, other people in this room who know that we're gonna, but they're too scared to speak up," you know. Then they try to get us on all this Uncle Tom bull ride. We don't need them pigs; they're bringing pigs in from Glendale, Pasadena, come over here, kick us around, don't give a damn, they get mad and say "I'm going over there and kick some nigger's ass"--"Hey, Bob, how many did you get, I got me six Mex's," they be bragging; like when I got busted at Hollenbeck Police Station, about something that happened in the community, they got mad at me, two Chicano dudes they're out there rapping, yeah, the dude that got busted had a Viva La Raza button on, yeah, they say, "Viva La Raza," yeah, like that. They got to rapping, so they said, the cops are actually scared 'cause they blew on me, they said, you know, it was only me and my partner that was down there and there was a lot

of people, looked like the whole community was out, and they was scared until I saw Metro (police division) come down, until Metro came down they was scared, I heard them talking. The cops are nothing but a bunch of punks but the people are too scared to realize it. Like if all the people would have got together right then and just knock those two cops, they only come into the community anyway in the daytime, that's the only time they come down, they think they're real cool, and they're scared then. And so you know it's just a bunch of shit, these people were talking about, she trying to say, she's trying to blow, he told her after class, "if your mind isn't blown, why the hell do you wear all that make-up, those long eye lashes?" I said Chicano people in their long history, they never wore all those cosmetics shit, you know, that's what those white people brought over and so she just looked, and the whole class started laughing, and she had on those hot pants, she had the whole bit, you know, I can dig, we wear the stuff that the white man made up but those are certain things that you can't get away from; now the things that you can and can shine on more, do it, man. But what she was doing with all that make-up and all that shit, and get to be like white people. Like when they get to wearing straight hair, now I can dig a sister, she can be ugly, anything, you know, what the white folk, people, say is ugly, but she have a natural I dig it, you know; I'd rather date an ugly sister with a beautiful natural than a beautiful sister with her hair all straight or a wig on, "oh she's cute," that's what I don't dig about my people. And so since I'm in a Chicano community, I can realize more about them, and then I can go on the other side of town. I dig my people, too, but I grew up with these people, and I know what they're doing and I know my people are doing the same things. All this shit is irrelevant, she trying to tell me I'm trying to brainwash her, she's sitting up there, eyelashes out to about here, about three



or four pairs on, got so much make-up on make her look like a clown, I'm not jiving, man, and she talking about how her mind hasn't been indoctrinated. I said "looky here," we haven't seen her back in class since.

JR: What about you, \_\_\_\_\_, you've been out of school, have you gone to the service center and the employment office you know and those places?

\* They sent me down there, and there was this teacher...

PB: Did you find any kind of job either through the center like the service center or the school, besides the NYC jobs?

\* School is the only one.

PB: Do the schools have a placement service?

\* That's just working at school though, that's only about eight hours a week. Keep your mind lowered, you know, just keep sweeping a broom, you know, you might even be head custodian.

PB: Did anybody that you know get information on jobs or anything like that?

I don't know whether we should get into this bag this time. You made a point about what's happening on the streets and the fact that a lot of the so-called jobs that are there in the community are whatever you can pick up on the street itself, but that might be a whole subject in itself, so unless anyone has anything else to say about the service center or anything like that, let's cut it off now.

Tape #5

EAST LOS ANGELES

Schools and Police

PB: Well, what are you going to do after you graduate? Did you have any counseling or guidance?

\* I had guidance, but it's hard to get a job.

PB: Everybody had guidance in 10th grade (in L.A.). Is that true in Montebello, too--what you call guidance class in Montebello?

\* I went to Montebello and Bell.

PB: You went to Montebello and Bell? What school were you attending in the 10th grade?

\* Montebello, Bell, and Garfield. They kicked me out of Garfield, so I went to Montebello, and they kicked me out of Montebello, so I went to Bell.

PB: Now, you went to different school districts. Let's see, Garfield is in the L.A. School District; Bell, is that in the L.A. district?

\* Maywood Bell--no, not Bell Gardens.

PB: Maywood Bell--was that L.A. School district?

\* No.

PB: Well, how come you went to...

\* Because they didn't want me in an East L.A. school. I tried to get into Roosevelt and they wouldn't accept me and I tried to get into Wilson and they didn't accept me at that school. I was an "opportunity" transfer.

PB: What do you mean by "opportunity"?

\* They just didn't want me in East L.A. schools.

PB: Now, who told you they didn't want you?

\* The Principal of Garfield High School.

PB: I see.

\* 'Cause I don't dig on school. So he gave me a choice of Jackson ("adjustment" school) or Bell, so Bell.

PB: He gave you a choice of going to Jackson or going to Bell on an opportunity transfer. What was the idea of transferring to another school on an opportunity transfer? Were you supposed to be adjusted better at Bell?

\* If I go to another school they thought I was going to change, like I was going to study harder at some other school. It don't matter what school I go to, I just don't dig on school, period.

PB: You chose Bell instead of Jackson. So what happened at Bell--did you find Bell any better, any worse? Did Bell do anything for you that Garfield didn't do? What difference did one school make as against another? Why would an opportunity transfer help anybody?

\* It didn't help me.

PB: Do you know anybody where the opportunity transfer has helped?

\* No.

PB: You don't? How many students, say, out of Garfield or Roosevelt would go on an opportunity transfer? Does it mean 100 or 200, or would you say a lot, that transfer around?

\* I don't know from Roosevelt, but from Garfield--like people from Bell come to Garfield and people from Garfield go to Bell. I don't know about Roosevelt, though.

PB: Now, let's see--people from Bell are, say, going to Roosevelt or Garfield on an opportunity transfer. Students from Roosevelt and Garfield are going to Bell on opportunity transfers. What sense does an opportunity transfer make? If you can't make it at Bell, why would you make it at Roosevelt--according to them; I'm just trying to look at the reasoning behind

this. Are they really doing anything for you, transferring you around like that?

\* They just say "opportunity", but it's just going to another school. You know, to make it sound better to parents they'll say it's "opportunity", but they don't want to come out and say it.

PB: Yeah, a couple of years ago, they called it the "social adjustment" transfer. Do we have anything in the Montebello schools like this? Do you transfer out from one school to another? Well, when they kick you out or they transfer you around, who does it and what rights do you have--do your parents have any right to have anything to say about this?

\* If your parents want you to stay there, you can't even though they want you to.

\* It's just like kicking you out, but they just say it's opportunity. Say, you're going to Garfield and you mess up there, then they send you to this school on "opportunity" and if you do good there you can come back and if you don't you have to stay there.

PB: Were you not going to school, or...

\* I was ditching.

PB: Why were you doing that?

\* 'Cause I don't like school.

PB: Why can't you dig school? You don't dig school at all--no matter what school you go to? What is it about school that you can't dig?

\* I don't like to do work, I don't like to do homework, I don't like to sit in class.

\* He's lazy.

\* Yeah I'm lazy.

PB: Do you think you could make it without school?

\* No, I know I can't--that's the only reason I'm going, for the future. I'm going to have to think ahead. If I don't go to school later on, I'll regret it. See, that's why I'm going.

PB: Well, what in school interests you? What sort of class, or some sort of program that you might have had. So you don't have any plans at this point about going on into college or majoring in anything?

\* I'm going to East L.A. but right now...

PB: Do you get any counseling? Does counseling make any difference at all in going to school? Did you ever go to a counselor? Does anybody ever talk to you about something that you might be especially fitted for as a career or an occupation or something like that?

\* No.

\* Nobody's ever talked to you about that? You went to the 10th grade-- now what school did you go to?

\* Garfield.

PB: So in 10th grade I guess everybody had guidance. I don't know whether that's true at Montebello or not. In the 10th grade did you have anything called Guidance? What do they do in a class called Guidance?

\* They just talk to you and tell you..they just talk to you. All they do is talk.

PB: They must talk about something.

\* They tell you about shops and taking it as a career.

\* It's called career training and...

EP: Do they call you in? When they call you in, what are the first things that they tell you?

\* That you were going good in that class.

PB: They tell you that you would do good in a particular field, or particular subject. Then when they fill out your programs--like, for example, what did they tell you?

\* You get to pick your own programs.

PB: Yeah, well what do they tell you for your particular field?

\* They give you shop, electrical, and you usually take math.

PB: So you're taking shop in order to get into a particular line of work? What line of work?

\* Electronics.

PB: Electronics--so they told you that you'd be good in electronics and you're taking a shop program in high school. When you get out of high school, do you plan to go directly into work?

\* No, go to college.

PB: You're going to go on to college. And what grade are you in now?

\* Going into the 10th.

PB: You're going into the 10th...so that's a little bit early to specialize, but..

\* I'm supposed to be going into the 11th, but I got put back in the second grade.

PB: I see. Was it largely through the counseling that they gave you in the Guidance class that you decided that you would specialize in electronics?

\* I like electronics.

PB: So you made up your mind before. Have you had any experience, like have you had a part-time job working in that field?

\* Just shops in school--electric shops, metal shops.

PB: Maybe you haven't thought of this, but--you do plan to go to junior college, or... Have all of you had guidance?

\* In East L.A. you have to have guidance at least one semester before you graduate. You usually get it in the 10th grade.

PB: Well, what happened at Garfield in Guidance? Did they do anything at all in Guidance that helped you?

\* Oh, you're talking about special training programs and things like that? Well, for some people it does; for other people they just take it 'cause they have to.

PB: How do you feel about it--did you take it because..

\* Because I had to--that's to get credit in order to graduate.

PB: Of all the people that you knew who went to Guidance the same time that you did--do you think that very many of them were helped or improved by guidance?

\* A few of them.

PB: How about the majority of them?

\* Not too much of them.

PB: Now what would it take in school to really get you interested? You were saying that you can't dig schools--you just can't dig going to classes and the whole routine of school. But what sort of education could you dig?

\* It's screwed up now because they put you--if you goof off you're in a goof-off class and you don't learn nothing.

\* They put you in the lower classes--lower people.

PB: Quite a bit of students get put into the lower...

\* yeah, they always do because all the smart people are up in the smart

classes.

PB: Would you say quite a few of the students get put into the goof-off class? And you don't learn anything in there?

\* In science we goof off--all of us.

\* Then the teacher teaches for  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour and then for the rest of the time we just talk.

PB: Whose fault is it that so many people get put into the goof-off class?

\* It's the teachers' fault 'cause they don't do nothing. Well, if you talk some of them get mad and they just kick you out.

\* Like the teacher we have, we could do a lot of stuff and he won't kick you out. Kids would be smoking in class while we have films--he never used to say nothing. We used to lock ourselves in the closet and won't look at the films, we used to write all over the tables.

PB: Do you think that teachers that you did have are too strict or not strict enough in the sense that..

\* Well, some classes, yeah--in gym, Mr. Allen, but other classes you could goof off a lot.

\* At Garfield it's different--if you want to do it--the teachers try to help you. In other words, if you want to go to school, you go; if you don't want to, you don't go. It's up to you.

PB: But if you don't go to school after a certain period of time then what happens--they put you on opportunity transfer or something like this? Now, are you on a regular program at Garfield?

\* Yeah, I'm just taking the classes I have to take.

PB: When the counselor makes out your program, are you taking a program



that will get you into a junior college? College?

\* Well, just college prep.

PB: You are taking college prep.

\* But some people are majoring in something, like they're taking auto-- they take it from the 10th grade all the way until they graduate.

PB: Would there be anything different that they might do, either in Guidance or in regular classes, that would be helpful to you, to make school better for you?

\* Well, I already took Guidance and it didn't help. You have to take it; if you don't take it in the 10th grade and you don't want to take it-- you won't graduate until you take it. You'll have to go to summer school, night school, or whatever. It's just a required class.

PB: About how many students at Garfield will actually--take a percentage-- go on to some sort of college?

\* Majority.

PB: Well, what happens to the students that don't go on to college?

\* They just go to work or they get married.

PB: What sort of work do most of them get into?

\* I don't know.

PB: Do you find that any of them just hustle? I'm trying to think of how people make it.

\* A lot of them go in the Army.

\* They get out of school; they bum around or else they go to work if they find a job or they get drafted. They come back and get married.

PB: You are how old?

\* 17

PB: So you'll be subject to the military...

\* I just turned 17.

PB: Well, have any of you had contact with programs like NYC?

\* I worked for NYC--I was in maintenance.

PB: Oh yeah, how much do you get paid for that?

\* \$1.65

PB: Who selects people for NYC jobs?

\* The Opportunity Center.

PB: Well, who gets NYC jobs? How do they determine, out of the people who apply, who gets them?

\* You just fill out applications, you go for an interview, and you get a job.

PB: You were doing maintenance?

\* For General Hospital.

\* You get NYC jobs in East LA, not in Monterey Park.

\* It is too.

\* It is not.

\* It is too.

\* In Montebello there is, but not in Monterey Park.

\* I got a job in this office through the Service Center.

\* You can't live in Monterey Park and get a job over there.

\* But you can work there.

\* I did, I can't. . .

\* Many people have, 'cause we got a job.

PB: For an NYC job maybe you've got to fake your address, make your address in ELA before you can get an NYC job. That's what they call a "concentrated employment program" area, that would be East LA, but not in Monterey Park.

\* I know a lot of people in Monterey Park who are on food stamps, but they live there, so they say they're rich.

PB: I've never heard of an NYC job except one that was in maintenance, or something like that. What other kinds of NYC jobs, especially with the dudes, not especially with girls, but with the dudes?

\* I was working at parks, and some work at \_\_\_\_\_, you know, Boy's Club.

PB: What sort of supervision do you get at your NYC jobs? Are they real jobs?

\* They just give you the job, you go, you get paid, that's all, you know. I tried to go back this year, but they said it was closed and that they didn't have any openings. I just had it for a summer job.

PB: \_\_\_\_\_, how did you decide on police science?

\* How did I decide? I was always interested in law, with the law.

PB: I'm interested in knowing what you think about the way the police handle things now, say, in the East Los Angeles area? You are going to study police science in order to serve the community better, in a different kind of way, I guess. What would you do, using your knowledge of police science, that the police departments and other law enforcement agencies don't do now? What do you think in general about the way the police handle things in East Los Angeles?

\* They don't seem to talk enough with the people.

PB: They don't? Is that mostly the Sheriff's department?

\* It's mostly the Sheriff's department. They try to relate, you try to talk to them, communication with one another, the only communication you get is with, that you're getting roped in, things you never done before.

PB: Do you think that the police in East LA would treat you differently, let's just take young people from 16 to say 25 or so, do you think that the policeman in East LA would treat you differently, just on the streets, than a policeman would in, say, Montebello?

\* The same thing. They ain't as bad in Monterey Park. Like one time we started riding. He could have took him in for destroying public property, but he just talked to him. In East LA and Montebello, right away they want to step on you.

PB: Step on you where? I don't understand. In which areas? I wasn't quite sure which areas.

\* In Montebello and East LA, they both treat you the same way.

PB: What do you mean they treat you the same way, do they stop you when they shouldn't stop you. What do they do, give me an example.

\* Like one time they stopped us and they were abusing us, yet they didn't make a report on it to the police department.

PB: How did they abuse you?

\* Well, you know, \_\_\_\_\_ they stepped on him, threw him against the car, you know, abused him.

PB: They stopped the car and told you to get out of the car.

\* There were only 6 or 7 of us, there was 6 cop cars that stopped us, they threw us against everything.

PB: Were you driving?

\* No! We were walking.

PB: Oh, you were walking.

\* That's the time they stepped on us, they stepped on me and threw me against the car.

PB: Well now, when they came to you, what did they say?

\* Ah, that we were loitering.

PB: You were loitering. What time was this?

\* After school.

PB: This is the afternoon.

\* Yeah.

PB: How many police cars were there?

\* About 5 or 6.

PB: Montebello police?

\* Yeah.

\* When I went to Montebello, the first thing, I was at a hot dog stand, in Montebello, called Cardillos, and some cop named Johnson came and he told me, you know, I was with one of my buddies, so like I was with him and he got us and threw us against the car and frisked us. They took our names and said if we were at Cardillos again they were going to bust us.

PB: They were going to bust you for what?

\* Loitering. And yet they didn't make a report on us.

\* Yeah one time we went to eat at lunch in Montebello, we were there at Cisco's, he didn't dig on \_\_\_\_\_, he frisked him, and I was with him, so me too.

PB: Now is this Sheriff's deputies?

\* No, City of Montebello.

\* Yeah like in parties, they just bust every party. In East LA they don't bust parties. But in Montebello, Pico Rivera, Monterey Park they bust all the parties. East LA is supposed to be the rowdiest but they never come.

PB: What do they get you on, "disturbing the peace"?

\* Nobody makes any complaints or anything.

PB: So it's not just a matter of coming in answer to a complaint. They just come.

\* They just come. Remember \_\_\_\_\_'s party.

\* They took my girlfriend's husband away, they just took him out of the room, they handcuffed him, but then they let him go real fast, though. They jumped the fence and they were searching us. They didn't search me because I was a girl and they can't do that. But they searched all the guys that were sitting right there, then they went in the house, and then the lady told them not to search unless they had to, without a warrant or anything, but they kept on searching and they just got everybody, they took two of my friends and they put them in the car because they said, I don't know what they said.

PB: Did they tell you what they were supposed to be searching you for?

\* No, they never did say.

\* If you're riding a ten-speed bicycle they'll stop you and search you for no reason at all. They'll call in and like they'll describe the bike to the lady or whatever and they'll stop you and ask if it was made in England, what the serial number is and all that crap even if it's not stolen.

PB: How would you do things differently, just from the way you've seen the police function over in East LA? Do you think that you can establish a relationship with, particularly the younger people in the community that are resisting police?

\* It's better to do that instead of bullying them.

PB: From your observation, do the police pretty much function the same way regardless of who they are. In other words, do you get the idea that this is the way that the police department of a certain area operates all the time or does it differ from one policeman to another?

\* No, it's mostly Chicanos that they stop. You know, there's a bunch of Anglos up there, they can get out but we can't, you know, one lawyer...

PB: Have you seen that actually yourself, in other words, they would stop a group of Chicanos but they would not stop a group of Anglos.

\* They would stop a group of Chicanos first because they think we're trouble-makers, I guess. There's a lot of them like that.

PB: Do you know of any people, especially around your age, that might actually be arrested, and this might just be just a misdemeanor? Do you know, a lot of people your age who get arrested at one time or another by the police, that have an arrest record?

\* Yes, of course.

PB: And you have observed that this has happened more to Chicanos than to Anglos, just in your personal observation. Does anybody, to your knowledge, ever mention the fact that you can get a record erased? (Yes) Who had mentioned that? Nobody? You just happened to know? Who told you that, 'cause it's correct.

\* Most of the guys think that they won't erase it for you, if it's on your record too bad, but they just won't.

\* No matter even if it's a felony?

PB: Well, it depends on the age, you see, apparently from what I understand, for a juvenile arrest, they don't divide them into felonies and misdemeanors.

\* If you are a juvenile and you have two felonies on you...

PB: If they were committed, even if they were offenses that would be treated as felony offenses if done by adults, they can be not just erased, but sealed if they were committed under the age of 18.

\* They told me that I had to wait until I was 23.

PB: Well, you have to wait a certain period of time and your record has to be clean for a certain period of time, that's true.

\* How long?

PB: I don't know exactly, but I can find out quite easily and let you know.

EP: How long do you have to be clean before you're erased? That's important for the guys.

PB: I don't know exactly, it's something like 5 years, something like that.

EP: They told him it couldn't be erased until he was 23 or something...

\* I'd have to be sealed by the age of 23, see if I look for a job with the Board of Education, they're discriminating against me.

PB: What sort of job at the Board of Education were you going for?

\* Playground director.

PB: Playground director, you made out an application and did they ask you on the application whether you'd been arrested and so on, and what did you put down?

\* I put it in. They told me that I should.

PB: You put it in and then they told you you couldn't get the job because you had a record.

\* But I did it for the reason that I wanted to find out what they'd do.

PB: But how did you find out about getting the record sealed, did you know about that before or not?

\* Well I spoke to my Probation Officer because he recommended that I get on.

PB: Had your Probation Officer mentioned that before?

\* Earlier?

PB: Because, you see, my understanding is that the Probation Officers are supposed to tell everybody about their rights, because everybody has a right to get their record sealed, if it's juvenile, to get it sealed. If it's an adult record under certain conditions you can get it what they call "expunged," that isn't quite as good as getting it sealed. When they seal a record, that means literally they have to seal it and nobody can have access to it. There's one little problem, and that is that the sealing is done under



state law and state law doesn't cover FBI records, which means that they will seal every record except that they can't seal the FBI ones. Generally the sealing works. Now let's say that you've got a record, and the record you got over the age of 21, then they have something called "expunging" which isn't quite as good. Where they don't actually seal the record but they will write across the record, through a certain court action--go back to court--and write across it "expunged." And that means that certain of your rights are restored. But it's not really sealed and even though the Board of Police Commissioners of the City of Los Angeles has passed a regulation that no one is to have access to those records except police officials, they violate the law by giving certain employers, private employers, information which is a violation of their own regulation, and I've been trying to get information on this availability. But the thing is, everybody should know from their Probation Officer of their rights, especially if the arrests were done under the age of 18. If it's over 18, you should know at least of the right to expunge. But my experience has been that the Probation Officers very often won't give out this information unless you ask for it yourself and then very often they're discouraging about it, so that even though you can get it without a lawyer a lot of people think that you've got to get a lawyer in order to get a record sealed or expunged. Of course, that's a big thing in itself. So they told you at the school they wouldn't hire you because of your record, is that what they said, did they tell you that?

\* I had a record, see, and they didn't want me working with the kids.

PB: How many offenses do you have on you?

\* I had, well, they erased one already. I had one for attempted murder; I had one for a deadly weapon, assault and battery. What they did was drop my two felonies to two misdemeanors.

PB: They dropped it to a misdemeanor. At school did they mention anything about what they call a New Careers Program?

\* Not really.

PB: Did they mention New Careers at all? They just said you couldn't get the job because you had a record. They didn't mention the possibility of becoming a playground aide or anything like that?

\* No. They think that because he's been busted he's going to encourage the other kids to do the same thing. You know that when we'll tell them about when we got busted, you know they use it against you.

PB: When you reach 23, will they erase your whole record?

\* No, I actually don't, I don't know how.

PB: You just go down and make out an application for the erasing? Have you ever encountered anything like that (To someone else)?

\* Once they caught me with a deadly weapon. You know, carrying a knife, but they just warned me.

PB: They didn't bust you. Is this in East LA?

\* Montebello.

PB: This guy Johnson, he's been over there a long time?

\* Yeah, everyone knows him, you get...

PB: You don't like him?

\* He got me once too. And I told him, I told \_\_\_\_\_ that I was going to some party and they got me, kicked me, threw me on the ground and started kicking me and he told me to go down somewhere and see...I didn't go down anyway, I mean I didn't want to make a big case out of it, you know, they did it before...he started kicking me on the ground, you know, it was just that they were busting parties, they were telling everyone to go home, but you know, if you start running they'll get you, if you start walking fast they'll hit you in the legs and all this.

\* Why didn't you shoot them?

\* We didn't have a gun.

\* So they got me there. You know they have fun, busting parties, they just go and start beating up everybody. You know the pigs, they push, if you start running they think you're running for a reason. If you walk fast, they'll get you; if you walk slow, they'll push you.

PB: Why do you think they're out to get you? Just because they're out to get kicks themselves, or because of the problems, they say "we've got to pressure things in the community?"

\* Well, usually in the neighborhood, sometimes they disturb the peace, like sometimes they have bands or records and they say it's too loud, so they call the pigs, but you know all kinds of cars come, you know, patrol cars, they don't warn you, you know, "well you ought to put it a little lower," they just bust you.

PB: In South Los Angeles there's a lot of complaints about the rookie police. Do you find any difference in East LA?

\* The rookie pig is just trying to get a reputation. They don't know what they're doing, they don't even know what's going on, they're just trying to get a reputation for the pigs that have been there longer, you know, they do the same things as the veterans.

PB: Do you know of any good cops? Ones that try to give you a break.

\* There's this one cop that everyone knows that if he catches you under the influence he'll let you slide twice, if you behave yourself, and like there was once a couple of brothers were walking down the street and they had a case and instead of busting them they took the case and said, "you better not do that again." Usually they pour it out, or throw it away or something, but this case they just got it, it was an Anglo and a Chicano. They didn't bust us, they just took one of the cases away from us. I've

known a lot that take advantage of you, that I know of. They don't hassle you, if you're loaded, you know, you got pills or something, as long as you give them, it's okay. He says, "how much you got?" or "what do you have in there?" you know, and then he says, "well, give it to me," you know, it's really weird, man.

PB: That's interesting because in Watts they say the police have the best stuff or can get the best stuff.

\* They do. They get the best stuff away from you. The dirty rats.

\* The pigs don't bust you if you have just one joint, they can't use that.

\* By the time you go to court, you know, they're through with it, you know, so they've got to get 5 joints out of you.

PB: You know I was involved in a case, a friend of mine got busted, he had a joint in his hair. He was outside in his car in a carport, and he was tripping out to sounds from the car and a couple of policemen came up and forced him out of the car and really gave him a bad time, so anyway they arrested him. And he went before the judge, a tough judge, out in West LA. I stood bail, and for the preliminary hearing the judge got up there and went through the hearing and the cop went up there and testified how the joint was in his hair, and our lawyer he was arguing reasonable, probable cause, no probable cause, to go to the car in the first place and get him out of the car. My friend was legally parked, parked along the street, he was just, you know he was high, and so he was tripping off to sounds. Anyway, he was pleading this and that, finally the judge calls the attorneys, the prosecuting attorney and the defense and there's whispering conversation, which I can't hear, and then they go back to continue arguing the case and in the end the judge says, "I do not doubt that the officers had a perfect right to go and take him out of the car and they acted properly and they had probable cause and there's no

question of the fact that this is a marijuana cigarette." And I'm going "oh oh, oh oh," and this is a preliminary hearing, and then he says, "But it seems to me that the de minimis rule applies here. Since there's only one cigarette found in his possession, I don't think that this justifies carrying this case to trial, case dismissed." The attorney afterwards told me when he called the attorneys up to the bench the Judge said, "Can't we reduce this to a misdemeanor and he'll get probation," and fortunately our attorney said, "No, no," he was going for dismissal and that's what happened. But that's the first time that I had ever seen the application of that rule. But what you were saying is that the cops pretty much do this anyway if it's just one joint or something like that.

\* Well, they'll take it away from you and they'll let you go.

\* Even if you have two, they'll take one and say, "you better go home and if I see you around here again, I'll take you in." It's what happens.

WATTS

School Counseling and Teaching

PB: There are two kinds of counselors at school--there is usually one person called a counselor and he or she usually concentrates on academic things like the courses you take to get to college; the other kind of counselor I guess is most often called the work experience coordinator. I'm not sure if this is true in schools like Dorsey.

\* We have both.

PB: Do you have just one counselor--this is Dorsey that we're talking about. You have one counselor and one work experience coordinator?

\* Well, there are several counselors.

PB: One for each grade?

\* Yes. But there is only one work experience coordinator.

PB: And who are the counselors--are they teachers?

\* No, full time at counseling.

PB: Like you go to a counselor--say, there's one for each grade? And is there a head counselor, too?

\* I think that it's like when you come to Dorsey, you're assigned to a certain counselor and then, you know, all through your grades--it's like, it's more...what do you mean?

PB: Well, you have the counselor for the 10th grade, counselor for the 11th grade, 12th grade and when you go to them you are usually talking about what classes you should take or how well you are doing in class and that sort of thing.

\* When I came to Dorsey in the 10th grade, my counselor then is the one I have now--I keep it all through...

PB: Oh, you keep one counselor, okay. Who is that--I don't mean name, but is it a teacher?

\* A lady counselor.

PB: And how often do you go to her?

\* Every semester; at the end of every semester when she's filling out your program for the next...

PB: Well, what she does is help you fill out the program for your next semester.

\* That's about it. She tells you the classes that you have to have to graduate.

PB: Now for planning out what sort of classes you should take for a particular kind of career--choosing a particular kind of job you want to do in the future, who would you go to?

\* Probably the college coordinator, most likely, but sometimes she doesn't know--like I've been there before and she'll tell you to send out to a certain college.

PB: Of the graduates of Dorsey, how many go on to college? A rough percentage...

\* Maybe about 30%.

PB: Maybe about a third. So two-thirds don't go on to college. Where will they go then for advice on how to plan for jobs, or careers, or what classes to take, or testing so you can tell what you are best suited for?

\* I think the majority who don't--they go on to maybe the Telephone Company to get a job, postal work, you know, service.

PB: What about the drop-outs? Do you have many drop-outs?

\* Yes, and I think they just drift around from school to school, visiting;

living off their parents, I guess.

PB: You mean eventually sometimes they do graduate but maybe they will start at Dorsey...

\* I'm going to stay at Dorsey. They won't just let you graduate, you know, just to get you out. You do have to have a balance of credits under your major before you graduate. The majority of them don't get a high school diploma and get a job, go on to maybe junior college without a diploma.

PB: Yeah, you could do that at L.A.C.C. or something..Now, what grade are you in?

\* 11th.

PB: Have you had a class in guidance?

\* Yes, when I first came over here.

PB: That was in the 10th grade?

\* Yes, it was guidance and learning about Dorsey, the different things that Dorsey had.

PB: Is that what they call guidance?

\* I mean they give you an aptitude test finding out different fields-- I remember that. But as far as guidance, I learned more about Dorsey than anything else.

PB: Did you talk about different careers and what it takes to get into a particular career? For example, you might have to have a high school diploma, one you might have to pass a Bar Examination for or something like that.

\* Well, when I remember going through that--that was in junior high school; my English teacher, she would do all that as far as guidance was concerned.

PB: Well, what about the test? You took a test, an aptitude test--then what happened after you took the test?



\* Well, they had this sum (?) that showed the different fields that you were good in--it would give you an idea of what you would want to go into.

PB: What did you decide you might want to go into?

\* Medical.

PB: Medical field? Did the discussions you had with the teachers about the test have any influence on you about that?

\* It wasn't a discussion--the test was handed back, for you to read, and it tells you.

PB: Who was the teacher who taught guidance--was it a regular teacher at the school who taught other subjects, a coach or what?

\* I'm not sure, but guidance was the only class that he taught, but I know that guidance is like only half of a semester, then you go on to Drivers Education--it wasn't that long.

PB: So you were talking mostly about Dorsey High School--clubs that you can belong to, group activities, organizations...

\* Founder of the school and learning about the customs.

PB: What about Locke--let's see, you are now in the 11th grade, aren't you? So you took guidance last year?

\* Yes.

PB: What did you do in guidance class?

\* We usually fill out forms like the interview thing, and taking a little quiz--maybe on what field you want to take up.

PB: Do you find that useful to you--did you get anything out of it?

\* Yeah, 'cuz I didn't know you had to go through all that.

PB: Who teaches guidance at Locke? Well, name doesn't make any difference, but he's a teacher. You took some tests and you talked about different jobs,

different fields that you might go into. Did you decide on the basis of that that maybe there is one particular kind of job that you would like?

\* Yeah, engineer.

PB: Engineering? Did you talk that over with the teacher in the class?

\* Yeah, he said you have to get a lot of schooling.

PB: So engineering will require going to college. Have you talked to your counselor at Locke about what college you're going to?

\* No, I haven't talked to him about what college.

PB: But you're taking a college prep, college entrance type courses at Locke?

\* No, not right now.

PB: You're not? What kind of curriculum are you taking?

\* You mean, occupational?

PB: Yeah, are you taking courses that are going to get you into UCLA or some other university or college?

\* No.

PB: Did your counselor suggest you take...well, what courses are you taking now?

\* They gave me English, U.S. History, Occupational...

PB: What's occupational?

\* Occupational auto shop.

PB: That's auto shop, auto mechanics? So you would like to get into engineering, which you should go on to college for. Is your grade counselor-- you have grade counselors at Locke just like at Dorsey--like you have an 11th grade counselor,...And when she makes out your program, does she know that you're interested in becoming an engineer?

\* I don't know because he don't ever ask me. We just sit down; you know, the school doesn't have the staff, only just a certain amount.

PB: When you took guidance and you took all of these tests, did the teacher talk to you about the test results?--showing you that engineering is a good field for you to go into? He took care of the business--you really got something out of it? (Yes) He did his part.

But when you go to the counselor, the counselor never uses this information because, to me, it would be an important part of good counseling. I'm not saying your counselor is good or bad; I'm just saying, to me, here you took a test which showed you that you have an interest in and an aptitude for engineering, which is a very good field, but you've never talked to a regular grade counselor when you make out your program about taking a class so you can get into college and major in pre-engineering. Now, \_\_\_\_\_, are you at Locke or at Jordan?

\* Jordan.

PB: Okay, we have a third school, now. You're in which grade? In the 11th grade of Jordan. Well, you've had guidance classes at Jordan last year and what happened in guidance at Jordan?

\* We talked about how hard it is to get a job when you drop out of school, how hard it is to get a diploma without a high school education.

PB: And who taught guidance?

\* Mr. Jones.

PB: I see, he's a teacher?

\* Well, he's a work experience teacher, too. He also helps you get to college.

PB: Work experience...

\* I don't know what you call him, but he helps the college applicants.

PB: Well, isn't Mr. Fay work experience coordinator, too?

\* Yeah.

PB: Who is Mr. Jones?

\* EOP. He's behind the EOP thing.

PB: Did you take some tests when you were in guidance? I don't mean a test where you are graded, like A, B, C, D--but any sort of test to show you that you are particularly good in one particular field. You don't remember if you--are you pretty sure you didn't?

\* That was what guidance was mostly about--tests.

PB: Do you know Mr. Jones?

\* I had him for senior English. But last time I talked to him he explained to me, he would get an E.O.P. contact--so I don't know if that's what he's doing or not.

PB: So have you thought about the particular field that you would like to go into?

\* Carpentry.

PB: Yeah, that's a good field. How did you decide on being a carpenter?

\* I like to do things with my hands. I took wood shop and did good.

PB: Do you know all about what they call apprenticeship programs? Have you heard about that through guidance?

\* No, through my wood shop teacher.

PB: Oh, your workshop teacher told you about that. So your workshop teacher told you about getting into apprenticeship; what about when you graduate?

\* In the 12th grade you going to have a test--a carpenters test(?). They give you a class specialized in that program.

PB: Did anyone ever tell you about some programs where you can actually get into and like, they have examples of the kind of tests that you would take in order to become a carpenter later on.

\* Not yet.

PB: Okay, so we have three different schools and three different kinds of guidance classes. I'm not saying this is necessarily wrong, but it is kind of interesting--you have one where they really didn't talk too much about careers and that sort of thing but they talked more about what was happening at Dorsey. And at Locke, you have one where they did exactly what a guidance class is supposed to do--you talked about the different fields, you have different tests and the instructor took care of business and you decided on a field and the counselor doesn't seem to be...

\* Do you think the counselor will speak to the guidance teacher because it doesn't work that way.

\* That was just a classroom. Like all your counselor sees is your grade--he doesn't know maybe if you do take a test. I don't think he even knows about it.

PB: Well, that's an interesting point--that's what I'm trying to bring out because it seems to me that if you really have a together school and you have somebody who is teaching guidance or somebody who is counseling on what classes to take, and there's a student here who is going to be an engineer--which means that he should be taking certain classes qualifying for college, I mean...

\* At Dorsey, what type of work-experience coordinator do you have there?

\* Well, you go in there and you fill out this card and like if the job comes in she'll notify you if you qualify for something you applied for. That's about all--like they have the NYC program if your family is under that income; if you get under that and that's about all. That's EYOA program, right?

PB: It's the same thing--NYC is administered by EYOA.

\* If you look at your work experience coordinator as an individual work experience coordinator, you know--would you find that he or she is more or less trying to help students find jobs?

\* No, she's not really helping us find jobs, you know, I'm not against her because there really aren't that many jobs out there to do.

\* So actually, a work experience coordinator at Dorsey--you could change for a better work experience coordinator, really, you know, to make a long story short.

\* Oh, no, no. She's the type that she'll put it in the bulletin if there is a job opening or if there's something you can fill out an application for--she's that type. Well, she doesn't go out really and try and dig for jobs.

PB: At Dorsey, who gets the NYC jobs--suppose you have a dozen NYC jobs and I guess most of them would be on campus or at the gym or something like that...

\* Well, actually, you fill out the application and she sends it to the head of program and those kids whose families are of low income get the jobs. It's based on that. She really doesn't decide, she sends it in to those people like the head of the NYC program--they decide--they call (outside).

\* The way I had interpreted it is that mainly not on the counselors that we have, not on what the counselor does, they sort of leave it up to the individual themselves. They don't explain it to them; in other words, they are out to find out the hard way. Well, this might be different with some counselors, but all of them don't do the same thing.

PB: Well, that's what I'm trying to find out here because you are all from different schools, you graduated in...

\* '68.

PB: ...and did you notice any change for better or worse when you were going through Jordan?

\* Well, it's not that much different, now. Then, they wasn't explaining that type of thing to you.

PB: They were not.

\* They was not. No.

PB: So it's better, then.

\* I don't know. I'm not going there now. What do you mean by better?

PB: I was just going to...well, you heard the explanation before of what's goin' on at Jordan.

\* They got the counselors explaining the different information instead of the students.

PB: Then to that degree if they are explaining information now that they weren't explaining before...

\* Well, I can't say whether or not they have changed their ways of doing things since then, but that's the way I interpret it. You see, they leave it up to the individuals themselves.

PB: You started a semester at Compton?

\* That's where I'm at now. I was thinking of transferring because of the way their programs are set up. In other words, I don't like the school.

PB: You don't like Compton?

\* No, I don't like the school. Now, with the financial aid department--the way they run that is that maybe they will have some individual that has work for us and they are sorta particular about who they give a job. More or less, it's not what you do, it's who you know.

PB: Would you explain that a little bit more? What you're saying is that they play favorites?

\* In a sense, yes, but then again--well, I don't know--maybe, it might depend upon the individual, but the way I saw it, it wasn't too likeable. In the school maybe, more or less, who was getting all the chances about most things, are the athletes. It's a whole different thing if you were to play

some kind of physical activity, but you get tired of doing that. They are sorta particular about who they give jobs to. More or less if you're at Compton College, if you don't have a job when you get there--the people there might not try too hard to help you--see, as far as they might go, is trying to get you in school.

PB: Unless you're an athlete.

\* Right.

PB: Do they give out more athletic scholarships than academic scholarships? Did you ever talk to anybody about scholarships?

\* Well a college coordinator told...like in the 9th grade, there are certain things that they will ask you, like they tell you how many credits you have, what is required to go to a certain college--well have you ever been interviewed by any of these college representatives at all?

PB: It's pretty much what W \_\_\_\_\_ was saying. It's pretty much left up to the individual student to go up front and take the initiative and other than that, (they) just make out your program year after year without any particular consideration of the field that you are interested in. Fair statement or unfair statement?? I mean experiences are different--it seems to me that if you really go out in front and ask a lot of questions and bug them, they might do something.

\* That's true, like my counselor as long as I've had her, she has never asked me what field I wanted to go into.

\* The majority of the people don't understand this. Say like, for instance, they are not able to begin to understand what's taking place until they're older; I guess it depends upon how well a person understands because like me during the time when I was in school, I was used to my parents taking care of me and when I was going to high school I didn't have to work. Once



I got out of high school then I found out--but in high school they didn't explain that kind of thing to me.

\* What if a person applying or whatever you do to become a student of UCLA--do you have to be going to a direct field?

PB: If you go into UCLA the first year or two you're taking just required classes. You don't really major until later, but the problem is that in order to qualify to get into UCLA at all, you've got to have so many units of science, so many units of English, so many units of like a language..or you don't get in at all. In addition, if you are going to be an engineer, if you have some electives in high school, it would have been a heck of a lot better to take...

\* Electronics

PB: Right, or advanced algebra. It's going to help you in college when you do start majoring in the college instead of maybe shop--and that's the shop that you are interested in and one problem is that in college--and it depends what college you go to--a lot of the shop classes they will not credit, here at UCLA, probably wouldn't. Now, I'm not saying that the counselor is necessarily wrong for giving you a shop class. For one thing, you never know; you may have to wait a couple of years to go to college, you may have to work or you might work while you're in college. You could be working as a carpenter's helper, or a television repairman, or something like that. But the thing that I was wondering about, though, is how can a counselor really make that kind of decision intelligently unless he or she has talked to you, looked at your test scores in guidance, what you're interested in and what you are interested in means you have got to go to college. So maybe next year you have a choice of taking algebra or taking a shop class--you said you'll take shop. Instead of taking..you should have taken algebra. There is another thing. For example, when I went to high school in South Pasadena

we actually got a lot of information outside the school. For example, at home you get information about jobs and careers and this sort of thing.

\* It's different.

PB: I gathered that because probably for me--well, strangely enough, for me in a sense, good counseling maybe wasn't always important.

\* Most of my information comes from the home or friends; my friends at school.

PB: And if you don't get that information and look at it systematically--and particularly I think a range of different kinds of jobs and not just one particular field. Electronics, going all the way up through electrical engineering; but you may just get the information about the lowest level of a particular series where actually you could go up into electrical engineering, mechanical engineering or something like that. So that is one consideration.

\* Once you get to college--I was thinking, you know, in high school you have a person like the Boys Vice Principal to handle problems on campus like fights, dice games, you know. Well, once you get here, are you in the same problem? Like a teacher notices and puts a referral in on you.

PB: At a university or college?

\* Yeah, any university, any college.

PB: At a university it's much different.

\* Well, it's a whole different thing because in high school people might be laughing and lollygaggin' all the time. As soon as you go to college you have to pay attention to what you are doing because the teachers will fail you. See, the teacher in high school--well, they might tell you something, they are not going to explain it out to you. You have to figure it out for yourself. Like I was saying earlier, it depends on how well the individual understands.

PB: Are you saying when you're in high school that you get passed along?

\* No, what I was saying was that in high school they take things different than they do in college. In college, you might see people kidding or whatever or playing around in some kind of way, but in high school it would be a whole different thing. They might be doing it a great deal more in high school than they will in college. But I was trying to explain to him that it's a whole lot different.

PB: You are very much on your own when you're in college. You have to learn from the git-go really what kind of courses you want to take and what is a good school. Some schools are better than others, like some state colleges give better courses in particular subjects than the university does. Like let's say you wanted to take up police science, criminology. Cal State Long Beach has one of the best police science courses in the country. This is the sad thing that a counselor--whether it be an academic counselor or a job career counselor--would not know that; for criminology Cal State Long Beach would be a great school and it's a better school than the school we have here at UCLA--much better, even though the university is supposed to be on a higher level than the state college, 4-year college, junior college. But in some cases you can get better classes in a four-year college, and in some cases in a junior college--they are pretty good in a particular field. Don't ask me why, I don't know why. But this is the sort of thing--the kind of information you should be getting and you say you don't.

\* You find it out through friends, like maybe we would have to find it out through you.

PB: Okay, let's see. There are just a couple more things and then I think we can quit this session. That is, that I would like to get your feelings about the general kind of education that you are getting at the various

schools that you are going to. What do you think makes the difference between a good teacher and a bad teacher at your school? You are all at least--actually you are all in the 11th grade. Well, all of you have experienced different kinds of teachers. I would like you to think about this a minute and get your impressions. There are some teachers, obviously, that really get across to students and do a good job and there are teachers that don't do it at all. I mean, teachers that you have that are good teachers, which may or may not mean you like them personally. I don't know how important that is. Some people think it is important and some people think it isn't important. The only thing a good teacher really has to do is to know his field and make sure you take care of business and learn even though it might mean you have to be slapped down, which might mean that he [meaning, teacher] might not be nearly as popular as someone else who wasn't doing perhaps as good a job.

\* Maybe it depends upon how good a teacher explains herself. Some people turn against the teacher because, like, they might say that the teacher tries to be hard or something like that. In other words, they have to bring it down to where they can understand.

PB: Would you rather have a teacher who is very strict and whenever anybody starts acting up in class--kicks him out, or a teacher who is more tolerant which means that maybe the class doesn't run as smoothly?

\* Well, you see.

PB: I'm just saying you can make either kind of teaching work. "This is a class where you have got to learn certain things. You only have a certain amount of time where you can learn things and so everybody must be in here to learn. Now, if there is anybody here who is not going to take care of business--well, out you go." Then there is another different approach that says that "maybe a lot of the people are coming to that classroom and you

know that it takes a certain period of time to get yourself adjusted and get together. If you make a judgment about things too quick, a lot of the people will have a lot of tension who may be very creative and just have never had a challenge before where they had to get themselves together, and maybe the whole routine is strange and maybe we should be more tolerant and give more leeway and maybe allow for a little more fooling around at least in the beginning and let everyone know what is expected." There are all kinds of ways. Now you've had many different kinds of teachers in many different schools. I guess there are just the three (high) schools represented here. Do you have any feelings, any of you, as to which are the best kind of teachers that you have had and which are the worst kind of teachers and why is a good teacher good and a bad teacher bad? Does it have anything to do with, like, making you take care of business..

\* If the teacher shows more interest in the student as an individual, to me that would play a great role in today's educational world because of the fact that the student obviously is more or less like a child compared to the teacher, because a teacher with enough interest will coax a child or whatever you want to call it to do what he or she wants him to do. Like a baby--you can give a baby a sucker and then it will go to sleep or you can give a baby a bottle to make it go to sleep, you know; all you need is psychology, I believe, because if a teacher sees that you are not learning and something went wrong, like your tension broke loose and you thought out loud and you said, "Damn" and the teacher heard it and comes down there and pop you in the head, kick you out of class and gives you a referral--they will jack you up altogether, really. Then some of them throw the students off into a bag that they start thinking "to hell with school," you know. They would be degrading you down and embarrassing you and things. Then you start thinking, well, why should I

be breaking my back just for the hell of it--I could easily get paddled on the ass and get kicked out, you know. I feel that as an individual if the teachers should show interest in the students I think you would get a lot better work, lot better interest; as a matter of fact, you would develop a lot better readers, your mind would be better.

PB: How would you show interest as a teacher. I think you could make a very good teacher.

\* I feel that--say, I was the teacher--see, the thing is not to overload him (the student) and pressure him so that he's pressed for time. Like if it's the 15th week of school and say the student needs some more work to get a passing grade. Now like myself, I wouldn't pile a whole bunch of work on the student like until you get this done or have this done, you won't pass. It all depends upon the situation of the student themselves, his background in school. I would give one or two assignments and make it where he can express himself regardless to whatever class. Regardless, all the way back to--man, just to express exactly what you feel, not like on a test, you know. If I was giving you a report or essay, something to turn into me in writing that would be a class in English or something, you know, where you turn in something to show his writing ability or something--speech--how much he knows about himself, how much he knows about reality, actually what is his main goal. Then, you know, it couldn't be no error like the book said this--that's why it's down there.

PB: Have you had teachers like this?

\* I had a few teachers like that but it's not nothing to brag about because most of these kind of teachers are kind of hard to find unless they know you, know your big sister, your big brother..or if they do know your big brother and maybe he didn't always go to class, then they take it out on you. Yeah, it happens--in fact, it has happened in my family. This teacher in

Markham--she's a counselor--I used to give her a whole lot of hell all the time when I was there--the whole three years. I was thinking 'cuz I have a smaller sister and they were going to come up there later on, so I left, my brother left and my other sister left. Now, I have another sister there by name of \_\_\_\_\_-- I mean, they have been giving her hell just because she's my sister. I gave it to everybody else and they gonna take it out on my sister. And the teacher actually told her, yeah, I'm prejudiced--I am very prejudiced, because she was my sister. And I just tripped out the way--cuss out--anything that be mean to a teacher, I did it.

PB: If you were a teacher, and you had a dude like you--what would you do?

\* Keep him after class and beat the hell out of him. Actually at first I'd treat him like a stepchild--like I'd keep him after class--I'd try not to get in touch with his parents until...I would try to work out smething so he would have to do what I say, you know, where I could work out a situation where I could psych him out. He thinks I'm going to call his parents, and then say, "Look, man, there ain't gonna be no more chance because I don't play it that way." Or write a thousand times, "I will not play in class." If you don't, they take you down to the principal's office for the paddle(?). Won't let the parents know because around graduation time, going to the Boys Vice Principal that would hurt you bad. Anybody else?

PB: Do the rest of you have the same opinion or a different opinion of the teachers? What makes a good teacher and what makes a bad teacher?

\* I just want to make this little statement--about the, well, you were talking about some of the good and bad teachers--just as students see them, well, I think it all takes place going back to the counselor's office. The office down there where they have to program you into the classes. At the

beginning of the semester, they just jam everybody in there in a certain class--slow students, fast students, stuff like that; then they strike you down. Like we depend upon certain individuals.

\* The counselor just sticks you in a certain program and you just accept it because you probably get discouraged from the program or maybe somebody just stays in there you know, the slowest student of the class, you know, stuff like that. Then they will have a conflict in classwork--teacher has to stop paying attention to the ones that are dropping in, that bad students (??).

PB: Should the good students and the bad students as you define it be separated into different classes?

\* No, not just separated. They should be a way of going in to see the counselor. Like a lot of times when I went to Locke and I went to Jordan a lot of times you go there and they just give you a program and if you are just going to accept it and stuff like that it will just be like that. But all the time my program has been made out by me, all of them. Every class I wanted--the required courses. I just talk to the counselor and find out if it's my speed level and kind of compare it with the teachers. Because you know there are some slow teachers like \_\_\_\_\_. But then you get some heavy ones like Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ or Miss Van Winkle. He knows all the good teachers; I know them too. Some of them in a particular major just get a lot of slow teachers--some are really slow and if you get programmed in there that's the way, they teach it in that style. So all of this goes back to the counselor. That's where it all starts from, really. That's where you start getting your program and develop your career goals.

\* Another problem--not only programming a slow student with a fast, but programming a fast student with a slow teacher. Such as Mr. \_\_\_\_\_. For instance, I had driver's training in the 10th grade. All right, now, using



my personal background, that's where I started ditching--I got off into this heavy bag of not going to school. I still passed his class. English, failed; math, failed; anything failed. But Driver's Training, I passed that class--I wouldn't even be in class. \_\_\_\_\_.

\* They would even talk about stuff that you weren't even interested in.

\* Right. It seemed like all the stuff he was talking about, I knew it already. Then again this cat used to ball up a spitball and throw them all over the room and like Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ he got a really big nose like W. C. Fields--I felt like hitting him in the nose. All the time Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ would pick up the phone and call his wife and he don't do nothing; he's too timid, you know. Like one time he got a haircut--a real close haircut--and he got warts on the back of his head and they talked about the cat's bag, man, he didn't even call anybody. If he was that weak he should have sent for some help--that's the way I see it. The standing fact is that the teacher is more or less slowing the student because the student wants to learn more, but the student can't tell the teacher what to teach him--then he wouldn't need a teacher. Like I could just go up and say "look, teacher, I want you to teach me or I would rather work on this particular subject." It would be cool if this could be done. I wouldn't know the material that I would be given, but for me to tell the teacher what to do--that would be weird. I am there to learn. How can I learn from a teacher that won't say anything? Then if I misunderstand a question, a straight teacher, a strict teacher, I say, "Would you repeat that question?" "Was your ears cleaned out--didn't you hear me the first time? Do you understand American English?" some kind of smart remark--they will say something to you like "Oh, you didn't hear me the first time--well, maybe you ought to go down to the Boys VP and see if he can clean your ears out for you." Like that, and that's referring to the swat.

PB: You're saying that turns you off.

\* Turns you off right quick. Right fast. I would rather be in a class where the teacher is adequate--what I mean is it's a teacher, exactly just like that. The teacher is a teacher, not where the students are the teacher. The teacher teaches me--later I'll try and teach the teacher.

PB: Well, what about the rest of you? Maybe you can just explain some of the problems that you have with teachers, or particular classes, but would you rather have a strict teacher? Let's just decide that the teacher knows the subject--maybe that's a wild assumption; if he doesn't know the subject...

\* The main problem is that, well, does the teacher know the subject well enough to teach it to you so that it is interesting. Because, like, every teacher, they know their subjects but they could sit up there and really bore you; you want to leave and everything. And not every teacher knows how to teach in a way that she can interest you and hold your attention all through class. Maybe the reason why you would ditch those classes is because those teachers were boring--he couldn't enjoy it.

\* Like sometimes a teacher will even teach the same thing three or four times a day. Now if the class is interesting enough and she taught good enough, I could pay attention better. Everything she said that whole period like what I was supposed to do. If she's going to stand and take time to say "oh, we have slow students"--she's supposed to take her individual time and go over there and take care of the student herself. Sometimes she teaches the thing--like Monday she will be giving us things about World War II and why not something black, Africa--not white. We're around black people everyday and she wants me to ask \_\_\_\_\_ and I don't think that's actually true because the book gives several different versions of how it goes. France, Germany, middle of Europe, middle of Germany somewhere--Hamburg, maybe. Then

again the book comes back and says Germany went through England and wiped out whoever and so on and so forth.

\* Like what he was saying, maybe it would be a whole lot better maybe if people as they come up--say like, for instance, if they was to find out something about themselves before they find out something about somebody else.

PB: Don't schools have Black History now?

\* When I got that class, the counselor, he told me he's \_\_\_\_\_(?) of just this course, Black studies. Now, I don't know if it's a conflict with rumors, but the only reason I got that class was because the counselor said this is the only thing we have left. This is the only thing we have left for election. And that's the way it is--those cats, none of them like to particularly to read all that stuff like that, but you can get into those courses. If you as an individual try to get into what you want, you can do it, but those counselors tell you, so all this is reflecting back to the counselor's office. (?)

\* Seems like the individual's mind is not made up before they get started doing anything. In other words, a lot of female students, well, a lot of them don't know exactly what they want to do.

PB: I wanted to ask--are you getting credit for that Black History class?

\* Yes, that's an elective.

\* Like, you're required to take government, U.S. History, and other things..and I haven't taken that, like Afro-American History, because it's not going to, well, it's an elective. And actually I won't get any credits into a college or anything for it, like for me now it would be a waste of time.

PB: Taking all the students from Jordan, how many are going to have Black History?

\* We got three periods; there are 13 in my class..

PB: Is he a good teacher?

\* Yeah, he admits it. (?)

\* Well, 13 in the first period, I think he does have 2 periods--there's about 47 students in the whole class for this year.

PB: Out of 1100, 1200 students. How many students at Dorsey High School? Do you have any idea? Jordan is one of the smallest schools--Jordan and Jefferson are small schools relatively; Fremont is a big school; Manual Arts is a big school--Dorsey is pretty big; Los Angeles is pretty big; Fairfax--of course, Los Angeles and Fairfax are together now.

\* Like I was saying before--maybe they don't know what they want to do. For instance, the counselors have you do what they want you to do, instead of having the individual make their minds up--go into what they want to do. I'm not saying this is to go on the whole school period--like do what they want to do, I'm not speaking like that. But, for what they want to do in life. See, they don't take time out to explain it to them.

PB: I'd better put in my point which is partly something that I believe and which is partly an argument, that you don't necessarily have to believe in. It's unrealistic for students to expect that all classes or even most classes are going to be interesting or can be made interesting to a certain extent. It's true that one teacher can take English composition and make it a lot more interesting than another teacher, but there is just a certain amount of learning English composition which goes to the grammar and sentence structure and so on--that's work, you know, regardless of how much you play around with it and dramatize it, a lot of it is just work. And aren't you really expecting too much of a class and a teacher when you say, "I'm not going to go to that class because it isn't interesting or it wasn't made interesting" because

there's a lot of stuff you have just got to learn, it's just not intrinsically or inherently interesting--it's just something that requires memory, a lot of work. It's just like taking a survey--you can try to make up questions that are interesting--but 90% of them are just drudgery. What do you think about that?

\* Well, don't you think it would be better if the people were taught these things when they were a little younger? Well, the reason I said that was that a teacher was telling me how the teachers have the same degrees but not all of them have had the same schooling. Like he was telling us about an international phonetic alphabet, how they have this nation-to-nation thing. In other words, he said this is why the Russians are ahead of the United States right now--on the way school is being taught.

PB: In fact, there was a big hassle some years ago--an Admiral Rickover claimed the Russians are way ahead of us in a great many areas. They teach at a much younger age--A great many people think we start too late and that was the point that you were making. A lot of the best learning takes place when you are very young, about 4, 5, 6, and there rather than when you get up into the teens.

\* When you said you would be expecting too much out of the class, teacher, what I mean is that \_\_\_\_\_ This is Donald Duck--What I mean is that I don't want to make a special effort unless she's a real mean person--I'd rather she make an effort to make it sweet for me. For one thing, teachers, you can tell right off hand like if a teacher is wow, really up tight, man. You come in with your eyes tight and you're already shooting dope, all night, got to be--Got to be heavy drugs, dope addict. When you come to her mind, this is what she's going to think, automatically. But the teacher who tries to just put little interest in you, just trying to teach, it would be, I

believe, altogether different. Unless the child has..power to relate...

PB: Well, what about Dorsey?

\* Unless the child starts at an early age to cope with strict teachers and personally I haven't. \_\_\_\_\_ in elementary school where the teacher is interesting as far as I am concerned. It's like when you were in junior high and high school--the problems started. Really not in junior high but in high school--faced with a few problems, you know.

PB: Why do you think that schools, like the Los Angeles schools, haven't done more than they have, like introducing classes that are academically good, like Black History classes? And making them more a part of the regular curriculum instead of just kind of building an addition to the house but the main house goes on as before.

\* It's because, I'm gonna put it this way, our parents--I am gonna have to put it like that because when they go to the polls they are not supposed to so on and so forth. They feel that when they see a t.v. commercial on the television about "yes on proposition 2" or "yes on 3" or "no on 4" or whatever they can just \_\_\_\_\_ half of them(??) That's dead because the Board of Education is running everything.

PB: That's an interesting question because right now there is a tremendous fight over a bill in the legislature to break up the Los Angeles School District into a number of smaller districts. Now, it's very, very controversial for even the people who are on the liberal side or right down the middle position. For example, the south central area would have its own separate school board. Now there are various ways, so actually that's this is kind of an extreme. There is a proposal that is being developed now where each area has its own separate superintendent and he has a lot of power. And I'll tell you one of the arguments against this: some people think that the only thing you're doing, man, is just creating through all time a segregated school

system. You'll have an all Black school district in the south central area, and an all Chicano school district in East Los Angeles; you'll have an all-white district here in the west side and what you want is not segregation but you want integration in the schools; if you decentralize, you are just going to have segregation for all time. And the argument on the other side, I think, has a lot of merit, but that I will let you give your own opinions on.

\* Well, did you say integrated or what..

PB: Well, this would give the community greater control over the teachers that are hired and the classes that are taught and so on. Where, now, you have one Board of Education for the whole city of Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Board of Education even includes some cities outside of Los Angeles, like San Fernando (high school), Huntington Park. But it all comes under one Board of Education and a fantastic bureaucracy. But see, here are two different arguments. Now, you've gone to different schools--where would you stand on this?

\* I like the splitting of the district better because I think with just one Board the minority schools are the ones that get deprived. Like I have noticed at Hamilton, they offer some courses that are medical. Dorsey and other schools--they don't have this. I think you'll probably have better schools.

PB: Do you think that you lose anything important by going to a school that is almost all of one race?

\* Do I lose anything?

PB: Yeah. Do you think that the white students who might go to an all white school might also lose?

\* Well, looking at, you know, when they had that big thing in the newspaper about reading scores, you'll notice the difference in all white schools and minority schools--I guess I am losing. Looking at this education.

PB: Is this just because white schools now get the advantage of a Board of Education that's all white? A school system that is mainly controlled by the local community--then would this make it better for you? You're at Dorsey and you were saying Hamilton--is that one example..Okay, they have some classes that you don't have at Dorsey. Let's say that Dorsey was in one school district and Hamilton was in another. What you're saying is that then it would be possible to get the same classes at Dorsey as at Hamilton. The reason why Hamilton has the classes now and Dorsey doesn't have is one big Board of Education that isn't too responsive to what the people just in the Dorsey area want.

\* Minority schools when they get kind of tight, they might need equipment for their athletic teams and everything. They have to go through fund-raising campaigns. The Board, you know, very seldom just dishes it out. Then you don't find it with all-white schools; you never hear about them going through any big thing.

PB: Well, I might make what seems to be a strange statement and actually isn't all that weird. Suppose that the Los Angeles Board of Education did something that has been talked about, being talked about all the time, about closing down Jordan. And a lot of the students that have gone to Jordan would go to South Gate. Do you think that would be a good idea?

\* Yeah, I do.

PB: Close down Jordan and have the students go to South Gate?

\* I do, I do. I would just demolish it.

\* I don't think so; I don't think they should.

PB: You don't think they should. We have two different viewpoints. Well, why do you think..

\* I think it probably is better.

PB: Better to do what?



\* It's probably better to go to South Gate or \_\_\_\_\_ (?)

\* Man, it's so far from home, man. Shit.

PB: Why is it so impossible to have just a better program at Jordan instead of having to close down Jordan and go to South Gate? Why can't you just have a better program?

\* I'm just saying since you said what would be a good idea. To me, it would be a better thing to make a better change--a real needed change.

PB: What you're saying now, then, take Jordan as it is right now..

\* How are Black people going to have anything staying there? I'm just talking about the schooling--the way it is. It ain't nothing but a playground. You know what I'm talking about--help me out. You going there, you know what's happening.

\* \_\_\_\_\_, can I ask you...Jordan, people at Jordan--do they really want to learn--are they really interested in learning or would they rather sit around? Act like a playground? Okay, so you send them to South Gate--Are they really going to want to learn there?

PB: That's a very good question.

\* The teachers are not playing..I mean the part that they are playing at Jordan--they okay, you can learn only a certain amount. It's different--I mean that's true that maybe not all of them will go to South Gate. It's true, I mean I doubt if the ones that don't want to learn would really go. But the teachers make it just that way, just like if you really get bored with laying around and stuff like that, you just don't go.

PB: Could you get a better education at Locke?

\* Yeah, shit, yes. (factory or project around Jordan) Just like a job where you go to attend school on the weekend. (???) You just look at the location. I went to Locke, too.

PB: Well, if you had a choice would you go to South Gate rather than Jordan?

\* I don't know..It's hard. I probably would--I mean if I had to (lose) anything I mean someone would have told me well, maybe \_\_\_\_\_ (?) Well, they are going to accept it as a challenge.

PB: If they close Jordan, probably some of the students will go to Locke and some will go to South Gate. Which, if you had a choice, from what you know about the three or four schools..

\* I would go to Locke.

\* I think they should close it (Jordan) down.

\* It's all a lot of talk, man, that's all you ever see. They say a whole bunch be graduating, man--I passed..just tear it down and come right back.

PB: Is Locke a better school because it's farther from the parking lot? ..or (housing) project..?

\* There is a greater length of material and interest in the teachers there. I remember all my teachers were good over there, Jack. The people there were striving for more.

\* See, that's the difference. The people at Locke, the majority want to learn.

\* Right on.

\* It's location. Like the parking lots, for instance, you take those kind of different things, boy, that's a lot of education. A young lady \_\_\_\_\_ (?) It's the location.

\* Yeah, it is, okay.

PB: What you're saying is that at Jordan, both the students and the teachers have really given up on education.

\* The teacher thinks that the student is not interested, so, automatically, you know.

PB: Well, that's very interesting.

NOTE: David Starr Jordan High School is an all-Black school in Watts, adjacent to the Jordan Downs public housing project and some noisy manufacturing plants and not far from a "parking lot" area which is regarded as a center for delinquency, dope peddling, etc. South Gate High School is overwhelmingly white, but it is only a few blocks northeast of Watts, within walking distance. Alain Locke High School is a relatively new school, close to Watts on the west, and is (like Jordan) all-Black.

WATTS

Jobs and Community Programs

PB: What's happening right now in summertime with jobs? It's now summertime and everybody is out of school, so what's the job situation?

\* Can I comment? Well, before the graduation, jobs were very scarce, you know. Now that they've let so many people out of school, it's gonna be harder because there really aren't any jobs. None whatsoever, not unless you want to employ your own self if you know what I'm talking about--course you're doing something against the law, you know. But as far as that deal when you get a check every week--that's dead, man. Like who want to go to Job Corps? That's dead, too. Like there really aren't any jobs.

\* I can dig driving for the Greyhound--it might be what I want to do for the black people because, man, they just go. They know we're on the way to take over the establishment, man, you know, so they give you only so much--No, but they're no jobs, man. Really what there should be is a lot of programs throughout the community. You know, to keep you interested in doing something, because like the summer is gonna be hot, it's gonna be long and it's gonna be real restless. And like if there's nothing to do, people just gonna make things happen.

PB: Well, let's look at all the programs in the community that are already there.

\* But there are other things that can be done.

PB: WLCAC...they have several million dollars, they have training camps...

\* For a dollar and a quarter an hour??? You carry a rake and get a dollar and a quarter an hour; you walk up and down the street...

\* WLCAC, see, what they're for--their establishment really means beautifying

the community, you know, like little rocks and things--like on the tracks, for instance, man.

PB: You can't dig it?

\* That's not my stick, you know. I'm educated, man.

PB: Aren't you in favor of beautifying the community?

\* Yeah, but in another way, man.

\* You still working but you don't get paid for what you work.

\* Yeah, that's hard labor, man. That's really hard labor, man. I figure a cat should get paid at least \$3.00 and up, you know, for getting out there breaking his back in the sun, man. They don't want to pay no money.

\* Yes, thinking they was doing something for the community, man--it's really a trip, man. All these festivals and shit we be having, man; that money is supposed to come to the community to better the community, man. Nobody knows where that money goes. Don't nobody know where that money go.

\* Paid for \_\_\_\_\_'s (a community leader) El Dorado.

\* Dig it. Don't nobody know where that money go, man. They should have left it in the hands of the Sons of Watts.

\* Some of the bull shit, he's trying to play slick there. Putting nothing into it, just always trying to play slick then.

\* Spokesman.

PB: Well, don't you know anything, any part of the community that is better off because, for example, WLCAC is...

\* Yeah, the park...

\* Really there aren't too many programs that's really helped the black people for jobs...like if you figure how many black people that's belongs in South Los Angeles that's unemployed, you know, the programs just not gonna

accommodate everybody for a job. That goes back to crime rate--you know, they find out they can't get no money 'cause they unemployed and they break a law and that also produces the crime rate.

\* Dig it. Increases...especially for black people. You know you go in County Jail now, walk in there---nothing but black, couple of Mexicans, you know.

PB: Well, what about other programs? You have the Watts Skills Center, something called the Community Skills Center...

\*That program--they do not exactly say that they gonna give you a job, you know. Like there are a lot of people are skilled, you know, and still they have that unemployment problem--job crisis really is what it is.

\* People want to work, man.

\* How else can they make money; they might have a family. That's why I'm not ready to get--I'd like a couple of years from now, but I still don't want to get married or raise no family, you know, not if I don't have nothing going for me.

\* And it's really a trip. See like when you get to a certain age--I'm talking about a male, now--when you reach a certain age, man, you got to split (from home). See, that's how they do it over there, man. I mean you can't be too old and still living with your Mama and your Daddy--they'll make you leave, man. I got a partner named \_\_\_\_\_, he had to split, you know, leave his mama, 'cuz that's the way it is. It's cold, but it's fact.

\* Well, you see, actually man, somebody righteously want to walk in the streets with a rake in their hand, man, you know, in the hot sun--well, march the streets, man; and you get paid a dollar and a quarter an hour--what's happening on that--would you do it? Would you walk the streets, I mean march

the streets?

\* Maybe back in '51--but this is '71.

\* ...two decades ago.

\* And they had the girls working out in the fields, marching...

\* Still doin' it.

PB: They still do that marching, drill team kind of thing?

\* About how many students do you think they let out of school this year?

\* There are quite a number of students they let out of school this year, man. So all those children, they just come into a world of Hell, because there's no jobs, man, nothing to do, man.

PB: You mean the graduates for this school year?

\* I think they should set up another Teen Post program again, really.

PB: What good is that going to do?

\* Teen Post is the best program there is on employment, man, because I have known Teen Post to go and pay you at least \$2.65 an hour and maybe even \$3.00--this is not "I heard," this is experience, you understand? It's supposed to be like \$1.65 or \$1.85 is the lowest you can pay a person, well, they're still paying \$1.45, man.

\* Well, a law was passed that \$1.75 was the lowest you can pay.

PB: Well, yes, that's the federal minimum wage, but I think like the NYC is something like \$1.45.

\* Well, like when they was talking about the Teen Post--well, when we don't have nothing else to do, you can come on down to the Teen Post and they would have a lot of things to do, like going on trips, help the teens do better things, we have a program going for child care, some of the young men help the younger boys, some of the girls are helping the younger girls dress, groom,

and teach younger ones how to read and write and then we had some in charge of it.

\* So in other words, that's good for the Teen Post program. Now if we had a lot of more programs, open up, you know, so you figure if there's more programs, there's more that's gonna help us anyway. So if we can get one thing in the Teen Post program back in circulation, that would be essential.

\* Dig it.

PB: Well, again, raising this point just to provoke reactions from you-- you already have a lot of programs and somewhere along the line you make a choice between one kind of program and another kind of program. What is it about one program that makes it good from your viewpoint?

\* Communication.

PB: What do you mean by that?

\* Well, like, okay, you might feel free doing something, man, more free than you would doing something else--like it all depends on people that you're around; that has a lot to do with it. I mean like, okay, let's say half of us in this room didn't know each other, man. Now we're gonna get together and have a little picnic, you know--we just gonna go out and have a nice time. Now that would work out all right; I'm not saying it wouldn't--but like it wouldn't work as good as it could, man, because you feel safer. You feel safer around people that you know, people that you been knowing for quite some time.

\* Did you say how the program helped?

PB: Well, I'm wondering what makes a good program as opposed to a bad program. You know, you're saying that some programs are just jive programs.

\* Government don't want to give up the money.

\* They got the funds.



PB: That's a problem of political power.

\* Yeah, that's a long line--that's a chain of command.

\* You know, you got the real power that you need behind it is to put money in your pocket--not no \$1.65. Yeah, you know, something to put in your pocket, you know, feeling at least proud of yourself to a certain extent when you're saying I'm trying to make it--you know, I know things are bad now.

\* Also getting to know about some of the programs, like there's some I did get a job and I'll be working there in 2 weeks, but there's a program called Task Force and I never even heard of it. This teacher told me about it... yes, at school. She told me about it and she got me the job and everything-- I never even heard about this program.

PB: What kind of work will you be doing?

\* Working at Jordan. Clerical, yeah, and office.

\* And like you know, you specified WLCAC, man, that's on 114th, and I have known WLCAC to walk from 114th to Manchester just to get a lot no bigger than this room and clean it up. It be how many of those, \_\_\_\_\_?

\* About 30.

\* 30, 40, maybe 50 of them, man. It be a whole bunch of them--they all go down to clean this one lot and they say if you don't go down and put your time in, it's kinda like a regular job, you don't get no funds. You know, like I work for you in a day and yet miss a day and that's understandable. Things like this here, you know, the job I have now pays more than WLCAC--- all right, I have been absent a day from work with permission, you understand, and there hasn't been a hassle. You could be absent from work a day for him or whoever is in charge there, you understand, and they will garnishee your whole check--keep all your money. You know, anything you ever made.

\* And that's hard, Jack.

\* Oh yes, definitely.

PB: What kind of jobs, what kind of pay, if you put them into the community, are really going to take care of business as far as you're concerned?

\* You mean what form of money?

PB: Are there jobs, for which many people in the community will qualify to do the job, that will pay enough, or is it just a poverty income?

\* Okay, before I found out about this job, I went down to the Post Office in my community and the man told me that I was a week late 'cause I could have got a job there as a postal clerk or something you know because you have to take a test to see if you qualify. Like why don't they tell you--like sending out letters out or something like that to let you know? Well, 'cause a lot of time jobs are open, it's just that people don't know about them.

\* On the testing thing, they might give you a test, you know, to a black person that for even high school students might be difficult to pass. If you don't pass that test, you don't get no job. See, they base the person on if they pass the test or not, but not on how good the individual works on the job, or would he be essential to the job--that test thing if you don't pass the test, you don't get no job. So you can't really base a person on how he did on the test because he might come up on the job which he will need, you know, most likely. Most black people will need a job based on that.

PB: That's a good point; we'll come back to that again.

\* And now they have training for the tests for the Post Office.

\* Let's say I was the person behind, you know, the employment for youth in Watts or even in the ghetto neighborhood altogether. You know, like that new bank they opened up on the corner of 103rd--even the bank they already have

there, they can have a youth working there. Like my P.O. (Probation Officer), you know, like I went down to the Teen Post administration yesterday morning and while I was filling out this application--come to stay up on campus with the Teen Post again, this lady named Pearl Smith asked my P.O. about--if Teen Post was to fund them, and pay the students for working there, could they employ these students. He said yes, you know. And I believe that would do a whole lot to the community. Any kind of fundmaking organization--anything to help anybody out. I mean you don't necessarily have to march up and down the streets. And for \$1.65 I wouldn't mind sitting back on my ass, you know, working at a bank or something. If I went walking up and down the street, man, it wouldn't even be worth it. I'd be working hard, slaving, shit, doing the same kind of work that a man in Jordan was doing--he was making \$3.50, the same man that got shot. We talked to him, didn't we, \_\_\_\_\_? This cat was making \$3.50, he's out there in the sun and he's standing in one place, working on pipes, you know, digging holes in the ground--which anybody can do if they had the right tools--you know, they get \$3.50 or better an hour. And then they got brothers and sisters walking up and down the streets sweating for an hour, they even got \_\_\_\_\_--they stand there in the same line everyday for \$1.65, doing the same kind of work.

This WLCAC program, okay, I can see this only to the sense where all of these cats, coming in, going out in junior high school just working for their little \$1.65--I can see, that's pretty good for junior high school students, but when you get to high school and start getting up into a higher stage of life, you know, you gonna need some money, man. You can't be working for no penny-pinch...Plus it's not even gonna help you. You know, it's not even helping me at all. That can't even buy me a good pair of shoes. It's not gonna work

out that way.

\* But there are jobs that can be given, if people who control everything, man, they gotta keep the show going so that they get their money. Over and all, \_\_\_\_\_ and you can say as far as the white man, okay, but when you come back to the black man and you look at him, look how far that's gonna set back him because he was set back before unemployment rate's highest figures were coming out, you know. So this is hurting the black man, double time.

\* You have Congress, or whoever is behind the support of the war, you know. Instead of withdrawing troops from Vietnam they still have billions of dollars when they have domestic problems, problems right here in the United States. I hear over the news (I don't know whether it's true or not) some kids die-- Biafran babies--big old water heads--they have a set-up where they can't even get the proper utensils to work on a large amount of these children at one time. Like you have to work on one out of every five lives, say--when all five lives could be saved only if they stop giving up money to foreign aid.

PB: How many of you are 18 or older? Are you registered to vote?

\* We have Republicans basically in office that supposed to be leading the country right now. Well, like it's your own personal opinion now--Do you feel that Democrats can handle themselves better under wartime expenses or let me put it like this: The amount of money spent by the Republicans during a war, I believe, is excessive.

\* It is!!

\* With Democrats in office, jobs are not hard to find, but then again there's not an overflow of money in one particular spot.

\* That's just how the Republicans is, you know.

\* They don't like to deal with the affairs in their country. In other

words, the Democrats, they cut a budget for NASA or North American--they rather do the affairs with the country inside itself instead of going over and having foreign affairs.

\* Like they cut that budget and they turn around and give them a billion dollars, like North American Rockwell--not Lockheed, but they were funded. They had it in the papers: November, 1970, North American Aviation was funded a billion dollars by the government and then they turn right around and then cut their budget. Now what kind of sense of values is that?

\* That's the way they is--that's what they're doing, man. Like 3 buildings in Watts--Watts Neighborhood Community (which is Mafundi), The House of Uhuru which is the "house of freedom," and the Watts Writers Workshop Theatre. They were funded 25 thousand dollars--they got a grant--and like what are they going to do with it? Nothing. All of them will get together in a little office and they gonna split it up and like, you get so much, John--Frank, you get this much. What they should be doing is, man, like bringing more jobs into the community--25 thousand, that's a whole lot of money. See, you gotta dig a hole to get to the bottom, you gotta start somewhere. You can't expect to get on a bus and drive. Now if you can get 25 thousand dollars one month, man, you can get 55 thousand the next month. If you got a righteous program going, man, and the man that got the money is getting over, he's gonna appoint you again, man. Because he knows it's gonna get hot down here and like if we don't get together and be satisfied with what they give us, we're starting to tear up something like we did back in '65. This is what I'm saying. If he sees it going right, like the man asking for more money, he can't do nothing but give it up. It might take a while but he'll give it up and that's a start: 25 thousand dollars--I mean you gotta start somewhere, man.

\* It's a lot of money to a certain extent.

\* I got a little comment to make. It's like starting with a "key" (kilo of marijuana)...

\* He's right, he's right. Starting with a "key", that's right. Like what he means is like when you get a "key" and you turn it over, man, every time you fold you're supposed to turn it over. If you don't fold and turn it back over, you gotta just keeping on turning it over. It's the same thing with this program out here. If they should get some righteous things going that are constructive, are going to be concrete things for the community, none of that shit they doing now, man. When I got out of school which was 4 or 5 years ago I was looking for jobs then. I had some bad (meaning "good") jobs...but it don't last all the time. Back in '65 when they had this little riot...

\* Well, black people, they was unemployed then, so I guess they felt that this country was built on the black backs of our ancestors and if we can't have a part of it, just gonna tear it down. So I guess that's the way they feel. So they shoot a couple of jobs on there--maybe the last year or two to cool them off and then they lay them off and then it's the same situation as the first.

\* It's gonna get greater because there are more people coming out of school. See this is what I'm saying, man, like the ones that came from school, in fact last week, what are they going to do?

\* Same thing in the movie productions. You know, like for an amount of time, the only time you seen a black man or woman in a movie was that maid, husekeeper. Then you see Sidney Poitier, now he's the star of the movie. I guess they feel that they shot him up, so black people are satisfied. Put a black person in a picture and since he's black, he represents the whole black

race. The whole black race. A lot of blacks don't dig that.

\* The police is the only ones having the fun on the streets, man. They do what they want to do. If he don't want to wait for a light, he can turn his siren on and go through a light, he can shoot at three, four niggers if he want to; it don't make no difference.

\* I have seen them rape women, man. Really.

\* I'm sure everybody here either seen or heard about that movie "Sweet Sweetback," well, they basically know what it was based on. Now just think, we know what's happening in the ghetto. A lot of people have seen the flick and know and they never seen anything happen like this. Now, the way I felt about this, who wants a black leader like Sweetback--who wants somebody like that? Go around \_\_\_\_\_ on everything he sees.

\* All the women...

\* Who wants leader like this; who needs...

\* I dug the sex scenes, you know.

\* I went to see the flick with this white lady sitting behind me and when the first couple of scenes of it--you see this black man with a towel around him and he comes up and he goes taking the shit right fast, you know. And this white lady, while he's taking the shit, wiping his ass, this white lady said "he only used one toilet paper," like that. I can dig the impression she got at that time. All black people, you know, wipe their ass with one piece of toilet paper.

\* Meanwhile, talking about job in the community, there's been a whole lot of white women coming out to Watts and a whole lot of Caucasians do come to Watts, man, that are social workers. Now, they say you have to have so much of a degree to be a social worker, but really you don't. It's not a necessity,

'cuz like if you have any kind of mind at all, all you gotta do is walk in there, read off the pamphlet what it is, ask a couple of questions--I mean who knows your people better than you do? I mean like you could come to my house, and like I can get my people together and we could run a little game on you because you're not hip to our way of life. Like I'm pretty sure, \_\_\_\_\_ or his brother was to come into my house and I started to run one of those nigger games on him they wouldn't fall for that shit because they know better. That's what I'm saying, the people that they have coming into the community, these are the things that we should be doing. We shouldn't have had them come into our community taking surveys with us--no shit like that.

PB: Do you mean Watts?

\* I mean wherever the blacks are, man.

PB: Does the black teacher necessarily relate to the community when you talk about Watts?

\* Most likely they are, because if they are black, they should have most of the ups and downs that black people have.

PB: But what about \_\_\_\_\_ (a black school administrator)?

\* I'm gonna define it if I can get a chance to...I went through that shit with \_\_\_\_\_. And like all \_\_\_\_\_ is interested in is this: he wants to keep his name clean, see where I'm coming from, he wants to give me the impression that he's helping his sisters and brothers and really he ain't doing shit, you know. All he wants to do is keep on being (an administrator) and keep on getting that fat check every two weeks, so what if the moon fell down, long as he gets his little hands on some of that money. You understand? I could be (an administrator); I'm willing to bet you, I know so much about my community, if I took over the school there would be no riots, everybody would



have a job, because I know what niggers want, man. I know what they want. That's what I'm talking about--but I have to pass a test.

\* \_\_\_\_\_ is heavy.

\* But he ain't expanding on his knowledge.

\* Who needs all this knowledge and don't want to share it? We supposed to ask them well, all right...

\* One thing, like if you think what \_\_\_\_\_ was like before he got his job (as administrator)--do you think he would have got that job if the people gave him the job, like maybe the Board of Education, or whoever gives that position--do you think he would have gotten the job if they had heard some reports about him, anything like the Black Panthers, or anything.

\* He had to beat around the bush, okay, but he's at the position, but yet and still he's not doing it--maybe he thinks they can always say we don't want you in this position, you know, you gotta leave, pack up and you not \_\_\_\_\_ no more. But then he's not really helping us 'cuz he's thinking of himself, you know. Long as he can put money in his pocket and he's black, he's satisfied. Once you are black and you overcome, you're overwhelmed.

\* I got mine; it's up to you to get yours.

\* Do you remember approximately the time when they had leadership programs over here? Well, at that time the people that were working for a leadership program was putting in a request for people at the school to have a BSU because at the time it did not have a BSU. He put up such a fight not to let BSU in that the want for BSU got even stronger, you know. Well, why in the hell he don't want BSU, when he's black like the rest of us? Why don't he want to see the black youth get over, you understand? And then in the following years they had a BSU. Now, this year, 1971, it was a request put in again for a BSU.

\* You know why the BSU got over, man? Because like the time me and \_\_\_\_\_ was going to school, we tried for the BSU at that time. I mean it was heavy then. You know what we had to do, man? We got together with everybody and said "don't eat no more cafeteria food," take cereals and milk to school--Am I wrong? For a while, about 3 or 4 months, they was eating Cheerios and milk... we wouldn't buy nothing from the school, man.

\* He got hip, man. Sure, he got hip. See, we started throwing eggs all over the campus and shit, man. He got hip so he started quieting down--you can have this brother; I'll let you do this, brother. And that's the only way you gonna get over is if you're showing him that you ain't jiving. If you say you mean business, that's the only way you gonna get what you want, man...if you take it. Take the bitter with the sweet.

PB: Do you think that community control, like community control of schools, community control of employment service, welfare, and so on, could that be the answer?

\* Well, the community would know what helps his own community rather than somebody that don't even deal with it.

\* Back to the same thing, who knows me better than I do?

\* If the community controlled a lot of what's happening in the school now, I believe you wouldn't have as many drop-outs.

\* It's people, man, that can do it.

\* You wouldn't have students jumping on teachers. You know, you wouldn't have all this. Because then in the first place, you wouldn't have this white so and so at the top of things.

PB: What do you think, though, that the financial problems are going to be like? In an area like Watts, the income is very low. Now what you're

really saying is control by the community, but money still has to come from outside the community.

\* Just about as much money in the community illegally as it is that the government is funding. Go back to that saying when you cop a kilo, you cop three or four kilos; you do your thing, you know, you make that much money-- that's dishonest money, so they say. Can you just go right off hand and tell me how much money the government put off into Watts so far?

\* I would like to see that black people own their own stores...

\* Sure, like the mobs...

\* Okay, now, dig this cat--what was it--Martin's--that they burned in '65-- most all those stores down there was owned all by white people.

\* When a white man, when he makes his money, he takes all this money with him, where is he going with it? He's not staying there where the store is-- he's going home with his money and bringing it into his own community, Beverly Hills. Where he works at, he's taking our money out of the community and (it's) gone.

\* Dig it. If there's a bank on 103rd and Compton, now I've asked them when they put this in the bank--what is it, a federal savings?

PB: It's a federal savings and loan.

\* Now they probably had that bank up there for about 4 or 5 years, just like they brought it, they can take it. It's the same thing going back to, like, about 4 years ago. Now, you see, Watts had a lot of oil at one time, you dig? Okay, weren't too many people hip to it. You see, I was always hip to it 'cuz I'd always be watching what be going on around my community. I'd be thinking about how can I get in; I want to get me some money. Oil pump, just one, on 92nd and Main, yeah, and they let it pump for about 3 years, man--

just that one pump. You know, you slide by the pump and ain't nothing gonna happen, lot of oil out the ground. Shit be going around you if you ain't hip, ---that's why I'm saying if we get something going, it should be basically black in the community, right on. Just like they move that bank in--they can move it out. Be 4 or 5 million dollars in it--dig it. Capitalism, man. That's what it's all about. That's the form that people use today, is capitalism. That's what it is.

\* Communism, is more or less, everybody is equal, you know like Howard Hughes is ducking and dodging because he's got all the funds, you know. Why should he have so much more when here's a family starving, you know, 15, 16 kids in the family and this baby is not even capable of going to school.

\* In a way Communism is beautiful, man, but in a way it's shitty, too, now.

\* Whatever you're supposed to be, economically, that means like the government, it owns all means of transportation, and all means of making money--it's not no free enterprise where somebody can go buy this industry and he makes his money off of us, you know, but yet and still he's paying taxes to the government, but as far as that, it's dead, you know. If you don't have it, the hell with you.

\* Let's bring it back to Watts...the jobs, communities...We ain't worried about them Russians, man. We worried about money in the area, jobs for niggers like these right here...let's open up a Teen Post, let's achieve something, man.

\* Right, but what it amounts to is the fact that you're not looking for something for the future, like everybody's sitting here talking about summer... Summer is like three months, and like 3 months out of the year don't mean too much compared to a period of 50 years. What you make working for the WLCAC, \$1.65 or whatever, and I figure some people would be happy if they thought they

had two thousand dollars...

\* More than that.

\* Well, that's what I mean, why would you get the job for one simple fact...Two thousand dollars for carrying that rake--what good is that going to do you as far...

\* Mentally...

\*...total skill. Because what it amounts to is you go out there stashing it up, you fool them right there, but then after summer is over what you gonna do? You haven't got a skill.

\* That's what I'm saying, it's all gonna start from somewhere. Look here, man, when I was in the Teen Post that was the grooviest thing happening because we were sort of bucks, you dig? And we would go way out to Burbank, man, and we would sit back and we would ask whitey about how did they start...How'd you get this, how'd you get that and they would come to Watts, man, and they would give us checks and things. This lady named Sue Welsh, she gave everybody a job with some of the money. Like it didn't last forever, but it was something to do, man. Instead of you striking matches and throwing some gasoline balls, you were going out to the community interviewing people in the homes and shit, man, find out what's happening, what's your \_\_\_\_\_, like is he working, blah blah this and blah blah that.

\* The Teen Post is only from 13-18. Do you expect both people from 13 to 18 to go after government, to go after EYOA for funds? Those teens are just to be going in there to be entertained or to learn, or to gather information to learn to be better grown-ups, you understand. And not to run Teen Post as it's not going to take a teenager to run Teen Post. It's gonna take a man, or woman. A man or woman; it's not going to take the teenager himself. He's

there to learn and it's the duty of the other to show this person.

\* Give me a quick example of what is there to learn.

\* What has been taught?

\* ...No, not has been taught, I said learned. I mean what could you actually say you learned as far as skills is concerned.

\* Oh man. I learned a lot, man. I tell you, me, as an example, I learned a lot.

\* I'm talking about one particular thing.

\* You benefiting yourself if you get a job, man.

\* Well, a couple of years ago they had a thing through the Teen Post that they would give you a job all year round. You work all year round but now government started cutting the money and now you can only work some.

\* It's the same amount of funds...the reason the government won't fund Teen Post during the winter, they feel that, okay, if a child has a part time job during the winter, he would drop out of school.

\* Nowadays kids want a job because they don't have no shoes, they don't have no clothes, you know, and therefore their pride. Yeah, hurting their pride 'cuz they can't get the things they want, so they stay at home and close themselves out.

\* If you give them a chance to get the shit that they want...

\* Like now, Mrs. Miller had everybody in Teen Post, but she couldn't get but 25 jobs! Then they cut it down to 12 and she had 41 people and they cut it down to 12. And the man said the program won't work. They didn't never give it a try, but it won't work. For 41 people doing different things like tutoring, good grooming, office stuff. They gonna tell the people it can't work and they haven't given it a try yet, but "it can't work."

PB: I'd just like to restate the point which I think is an important one, and that is that while I am a strong supporter of the Teen Post program--I'm not against that because as \_\_\_\_\_ says you should have something--one criticism I think that a lot of people have made of the Teen Post program, which is built into the way the government handles the program, is that it doesn't lead into anything that can be of longer-run benefit, instead of just trying to get together a job which might be like sweeping a floor, something like that which is just the equivalent of the WLCAC thing of going out and cleaning off a lot. What you should have is some sort of program that starts through the Teen Post but then can lead you into some sort of situation that could become a career or something long-run.

\* The Teen Post have a nice thing going at one time, man. Like they would select about 20 people and send them to Any Town. Now, Any Town was a place where you could go and meet different people and learn different things about peoples' different ways of life. See, I wouldn't mind being a probation officer, myself. Because, you see, I've been in so much hell myself, so I can just about tell a dude what to do and what not to do in order to stay out of trouble. And like you go into Any Town, man, there are gonna be people that are going to be younger than you are and they're gonna come up to you and ask you different questions about different facts of life, man. All you gotta do is just sit down and explain to them what you've been through and what he'll probably go through, man. Like \_\_\_\_\_, he'll probably listen to me before he'll listen to somebody else. I'll probably listen to \_\_\_\_\_ before I listen to somebody else. And like this is what I'm saying, man, you live with your own people.

\* So really, like WLCAC and Teen Post I think are essential to people that, like I said, (are) in school--in junior high, you know trying to make

something like...buying clothes, and like what I would like to see is more programs set up that would help the people that are out of school, trying to make it, maybe it's somebody that can't support themselves--their parents can't support them to put them in college or something. They don't have the money to go to college or something--these are the programs that should be set up.

\* You made a statement, man, you said what about benefits; what did I benefit from Teen Post. Well, actually, I just couldn't lay it on the table for you, it would have to take time, it would have to develop something. Okay, let's call this time period, since I was 13 till now. Okay, let's eliminate Teen Post--there was no Teen Post, just say, okay? All right, what would I have done during this time? It would have been worthless, you know.

\* How do you know it would have been worthless?

\* All right, Teen Post is the only...I'm an unskilled person, what could you do? Underaged...what could you do? What are you gonna do?

\* Okay, we don't have a Teen Post, say. How many guys do you know that made it, that's just about (age) 25 or 26 now?

\* Well, I'm saying, Teen Post has helped us, and I bet you those cats go back to say, "well, man, when I came up there was no Teen Post and believe me it was a bitch." It was different. It's easier than what it would have been. No, not dependent upon it, it's easier than what it would have been.

\* Yeah, but look here, it's different--you don't have the enthusiasm and you don't have the progressiveness as far as being in the Teen Post but you know for a fact that Teen Post has dropped down from what it was...

\* Yeah, it definitely has, because--all right, we'll say, right now, Teen Post hasn't had a lot of programs; the programs are not as interesting as they used to be, there are not a lot of people, the people are dead, everything is



dead. But that still does not cut short the fact that Teen Post wasn't there. What if Teen Post just wasn't there? What were you going to do? Steal, rob-- you wanted some money in your pocket, period.

\* Right, but were they jobs you figured you could keep?

\* How could I keep the job if I had no skill? You see, how could I? If you are talking about a foundation, you must have a skill or trade or something to...

\* They should have some kind of creative program where it benefits you later on, in spring, fall, and winter.

PB: Well, I had a question in mind that I will ask while you're considering your questions. You raised a point about you need a skill, to qualify for a job that's not just a menial job but something that has future to it and that's going to pay something. But earlier you were saying that the various skills centers, programs, and so on, you didn't think much of. Now, first of all in almost all of the skills training programs, whether they are vocational skills programs or general educational skills programs like you have in university, colleges and so on--there's a kind of process you go through--you start with a particular training routine, an educational routine, and you go through this for a period of time. And then you advance to the next level and to the next level--it's all a very organized thing. This is true in any skills training program that I know of and certainly is part of the university where it's necessary and essential that you adapt yourself to a certain kind of routine at one level and if you do it there, you go to the next level. There's always a certain amount of just work and routine involved. How are you going to get into the community a program that: first of all, provides the jobs which are not just temporary jobs, but real jobs. And in the second place, provides an

opportunity to get the skills to advance on those jobs. Particularly since along with the training, a lot of the education just isn't all that interesting. What I get from you very frequently, when you're talking about, let's say, the Teen Post program and other programs like training programs, you get to the point that may be true, "well, this isn't interesting"--doesn't hold your interest. But I am again raising a point to provoke you on this and that is that at a certain point don't you just have to, regardless of whether it is interesting or not, it just has to be done if you're going to get the skills so you could advance along the line?

\* You know what you gotta do? Okay, like, our work's already in Watts, man. Going back to WLCAC, going back to Watts Manufacturing, let's go back to the House of Uhuru, let's go back to Mafundi, now they got those jive ass programs going, man, already. Now they have the access to make it a bigger and better and greater thing, but what we should do, really, now that you said it like you said it, is go back and tell them, "hey, look, the program is beautiful, everything is cool like in the community, but you're not giving us what we want." See, if anybody can give it to you, it's them. It would be best to pressure them and say "hey, okay, we don't want rakes no more, man, you understand, we want computers." I'm serious...

\*It's not going to work.

\* Yes it will.

\* If you wasn't going to school, you have to have some type of education...

\* I would go to school if it's gonna put money in my pocket--to help my fellow brothers.

\* Why go to Compton College just to be in school for two or three years when they could bring the same shit off down here down in the community?

\* Hey, this is what I'm saying, man. You can go to school to be a probation officer. Okay, you have to have a certain degree, what is it, master's, okay, dig it. Okay, let's say an individual doesn't have funds or transportation to get way out to some college, man. They know this problem exists, all over the greater United States. Now, they have buildings in Watts, man, where they can bring information that you need and tutors that you need down into your community to give you what you want. You ain't gotta travel half around the world, man, just to get knowledge.

\* You can learn more out here (at UCLA).

\* There are brothers and sisters that have the greed, right? Let's say I had my masters degree, my doctor's degree, now the way I feel about my people, if the man came to me and said, look here, this is what I'm gonna do, I'm gonna still give you the same pay. You still get paid salary basis. All you gotta do is go down in Watts and do your thing down there. I go for that.

PB: What do you mean, "do your thing?"

\* Okay, why have a brother come way up here, when you can't? That's what I'm talking about, man. Now, Compton College is about the closest college I know out in the community, you dig?

\* Well, you already got your high schools and junior high schools suffering, man...I mean suffering badly, you understand?

\* I'm hip to this, man.

\* Due to the fact that people are trying to disrupt such and such a thing because they didn't make it. The older you get, the more demon a person can think.

\* We should take over Mafundi, man, where they have four or five rooms, dig? You gotta start somewhere, man. We can get people to come down to

Mafundi, man, at least three times out of the week to help the brothers and sisters get a little further in life, man, that would be cool.

\* You say, on the school basis, right, you mean have a professor.

\* Mafundi has rooms, man. Hey, I'm serious.

\* That's not the point, who's gonna pay the professor, who's gonna pay...

\* Okay, who has access to these kind of people? The brothers running WLCAC. Ted Watkins he has access, he has connections, now. He'll do it if we wants to.

\* I tell you, if you jam him hard enough, he'll give it up. I didn't say no spur of the moment thing, brother.

\* That's the whole thing on a platter.

PB: What do you think?

\* Well, that's not enough time. Let's start with a handful of people, you dig? You gotta tell the people what you want, man. Simple as that.

\* Where are the people that are willing to learn?

\* Are you willing to learn?

\* Definitely.

\* Well, all right. Well, you keep coming up here.

\* Like how we come up here and learn, well, they can bring it back to their community.

\* It took you a long time to catch on, brother. Now, you couldn't understand...

\* I could understand, man, 'cuz when I was your age I felt the same way, just a number, right on.

\* Like you said about the fact of bringing it back to the community--the House of, what, Uhuru, right?

\* Hey, that's a little too small, you can use Mafundi.

\* All right, Mafundi. Let's say if we had it our way we'd turn it into a school. I'm not saying you said this, I'm not saying you don't have to do it, I'm just saying, what if it was like this. Brothers and sisters would not have to come out here (meaning UCLA), but you know there are still people who would still try to stop that. Like you say, society, itself, he will hold it down. That's dead. 'Cuz if you have 20 brothers willing to learn, I bet you there are at least eight or nine brothers willing to stop it, trying to stop it.

\* What I'm talking about is this, man. You all talking about Watts, money, what we can do for Watts, the community. What I'm saying is this, brother, you gotta start somewhere, you understand? What you gotta do, man is, "back to the people" that can do these things, with the money. Those are the ones to hit first, man.

PB: Let me ask you a couple of things: Have you ever approached any of these local programs; now Mafundi has been functioning for a long time, many of them have been functioning since 1965 in the community.

\* And nobody has told them shit about what they want.

PB: That's what I'm saying...

\* They've been giving you what they want you to have.

\* They (WLCAC, etc.) got grants, money, shit.

\* You saying, barge in, take what you want, right?

\* What I'm saying is this, man. What you do, brother, is to form yourself a little committee and you have meetings, man, and you set up meetings with the people that have the access to the money and you tell them look, I live in Watts and I've been living here for so long; now these programs are skillful, man, it's cool, but see we don't want rakes no more, we want more constructive things--concrete things. Hey, if you keep jamming, believe me, it's gonna get

over. If people stop working and shit and start jamming, coming to them meetings, jamming with them questions, man, we don't want the shit no more. That's what I'm talking about, it's gonna get over.

\* All right, think to yourself as a big businessman, the man I would have to come to, to overcome, you're the one with the badge on. A big old businessman, this is Watts (referring to something in the room), this table is the rest of your investment, that's little Watts, now how in the hell are you gonna let this little place, this one little place, disrupt this whole table?

\* I'm gonna tell you something, brother, you're right. I think you understand where I'm coming from--this cat that controls WICAC, I mean the one that signs all the checks, the one that gives food stamps, the one that cashes the checks, the one that makes up the little troops that go marching down the streets and shit...this dude is giving you what he wants you to have. Now, in a sense, government is paying him to better you. But instead of you taking advantage of this man, you just gonna accept what he's giving you, what you've been accepting for four and five years, man. Now it's time for you to make a stop and this is how we're gonna be telling him: Okay, we went along with your little thing, now this is what we want. We want bigger and better things. We want bigger and better things, understand? Now he would listen--I'm not lying to you because he would listen, Jack.

\* I can't figure myself out, but I figured him out, brother.

\* I think one of the important parts of education is environment. Everything you said was cool except for one thing, I don't think he thought about it. Well, he might have thought about it, but, he probably thought it would work out, but a lot of times things don't work out the way you want it to, and you want everybody to be cool. Bring education back to Watts is all right

except for one thing. It's just like, you have a barrel full of rotten apples and all of a sudden they decided to take one and put it next to a good apple, and it only takes that one good apple...\_\_\_\_\_ therefore I think that instead of bringing computers into Watts, take the people and take them to the schools.

\* That will work, hey, I can dig that, too, man, but you'll have to convince him to \_\_\_\_\_ your transportation.

\* I'm not talking about bringing a whole bus load of people but I'm talking only those that are interested and see, I figure, for one thing, people are not going to give you a handout, you gotta charge.

\* Well, you gotta do something. You gotta hit somebody, man, to get what you want, you dig? If you tell this cat what you want, man, he can get it for you if you really want it.

\* He can get you the computer, but you can't find the transportation?

\* I got my transportation.

\* Well, another guy is saying well, I was going to school up at so and so school and what would happen, you see--too much publicity comes to Watts when things are happening. Usually when they happen it's a token thing--this cat here went to that Watts workshop and he made it, yeah, well what about the other 200 something guys that graduated too that didn't make it? They say, "well, we already got our token, man, here it is right here." Maybe one day he sit home and write a book or something and he might print it for you--see, it's all because of your environment, like they'll look at a person...

\*What are you suggesting?

\* I was suggesting you do like everybody else and go to the school to learn.

## **SURVEY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**



Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer's Initials: \_\_\_\_\_

Interview Schedule for Manpower Study (UCLA)

Name (Optional) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone Number \_\_\_\_\_

1. Age (last birthday) \_\_\_\_\_

2. Are you married or single?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Married (wife present)
- (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Married but separated
- (3) \_\_\_\_\_ Widowed
- (4) \_\_\_\_\_ Divorced
- (5) \_\_\_\_\_ Single and never married

3. Ethnic Background

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Mexican American
- (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Other Latin American (Pico-Union area)
- (3) \_\_\_\_\_ Black
- (4) \_\_\_\_\_ Other

4. How long have you lived in Los Angeles County?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Less than 1 year
- (2) \_\_\_\_\_ One year or more - Specify \_\_\_\_\_
- (3) \_\_\_\_\_ All my life (Skip to question 6)

5. Where did you live before you came to Los Angeles County? \_\_\_\_\_

6. How long have you lived at your present address?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Less than 1 year
- (2) \_\_\_\_\_ 1 to 4.9 years
- (3) \_\_\_\_\_ 5 years and over

7. Who is the head of your household?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ The person answering
- (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Father
- (3) \_\_\_\_\_ Mother
- (4) \_\_\_\_\_ A brother or sister
- (5) \_\_\_\_\_ Other relative
- (6) \_\_\_\_\_ Someone else - Specify \_\_\_\_\_

(Head of the household is defined as whoever provides most of the support for the household. Wherever the husband is present, we will assume that he is head of household unless it is indicated that he is disabled, even though he may be unemployed at the time and his wife may be working).

School Background

8. Are you attending regular school?

- (1) ☐ Yes - Ask Question 9 and skip 10  
(2) ☐ No - Skip to Question 10

9. What grade?

High School - Specify Name \_\_\_\_\_

- (1) ☐ 9th  
(2) ☐ 10th  
(3) ☐ 11th  
(4) ☐ 12th

College - Specify Name \_\_\_\_\_

- (1) ☐  
(2) ☐  
(3) ☐  
(4) ☐  
(5) ☐  
(6) ☐

10. What is the highest year of regular school you completed?

High School

- 9th ☐  
10th ☐  
11th ☐  
12th ☐

College

- 1st ☐  
2nd ☐  
3rd ☐  
4th ☐

11. In school, do you know to whom you would go (or have gone when you were in school) to get advice about jobs, careers, training, and so on?

- ☐ Yes - Specify whether the school counselor or a teacher or an administrator or whoever \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ No )  
☐ Not sure ) Skip to question 14

(If Yes, ask Questions 12 and 13 too)

12. About how often have you talked (or did you talk) with this person since you have been or when you were in school? \_\_\_\_\_

(Note: Skip the following question if the answer to Question 12 was "Never")

13. What sort of advice or information did you get at those times? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
14. Have you ever attended a class where jobs, careers, and similar things were discussed in class?  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_ Yes - Ask Question 16  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_ No - Skip to Question 17
15. Have you ever participated in a Career Day Program?  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_ Yes - Ask Question 16  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_ No - Skip to Question 17
16. Please describe briefly what kinds of jobs or careers or training programs were discussed (Note: Distinguish in the answer between a regular class or a special "one-shot" Career Day program): \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
17. Have you ever, to your knowledge, taken a test to show what kind of career you would be best fitted for?  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_ Yes - Ask Questions 18 and 19 and 20  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_ No - Skip to Question 21  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_ Not sure - Skip to Question 21
18. Did anyone discuss the results of the test with you?  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_ Yes - Ask Questions 19 and 20  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_ No - Skip to Question 21  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_ Not sure - Skip to Question 21
19. Did the test and the discussion influence your thinking about a career?  
(1) \_\_\_\_\_ Yes - Ask Question 20  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_ No - Ask "Why Not?" and insert answer below  
(3) \_\_\_\_\_ Not sure - Skip to Question 21
20. Please describe how: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Work History

21. What were you doing most of last week? (Working or going to school or something else?)

- (1) ☐ Working (If under 40 hours, specify hours: ) - Ask Ques. 22
- (2) ☐ Had job but not at work (that is, sick, on vacation, etc.) Ask " "
- (3) ☐ Looking for work - Skip to Question 25
- (4) ☐ Going to school - Skip to Question 25
- (5) ☐ Unable to work (that is, permanently disabled, etc.)
- (6) ☐ Other - Specify:

22. What kind of work do you do?

23. What does it pay per hour or per week?  per hour or  per week  
(Approximations okay)

24. How did you find that job?

- (1) ☐ School employment service (or counselor )
- (2) ☐ Public employment agency
- (3) ☐ Private employment agency
- (4) ☐ Employer (walk-in)
- (5) ☐ Newspaper ads
- (6) ☐ Friends or relatives - Specify whether friend or relative
- (7) ☐ Other - Specify:

25. (Starting backwards and taking every job ever held by the person being interviewed, ending with his first job if he can recall and describe it, get the information on the kind of work, what it paid, and how he found it, plus the approximate period the job lasted, for each one of those jobs. Be sure to distinguish in the description between a temporary or short-term job, like Summer NYC or Xmas vacation job at post office, and a job that was supposed to be permanent).

#1 Kind of Work:  Pay:

Approximate Date:  How Found:

#2 Kind of Work:  Pay:

Approximate Date:  How Found:

#3 Kind of Work:  Pay:

Approximate Date:  How Found:

(NOTE: Use back of this sheet if more space is needed for additional jobs; if answering is too difficult, try to list at least the three most recent jobs).

Contact with Public Agencies or Training Programs

(NOTE TO INTERVIEWERS: Many people will refer to a training program as a "job" if they were paid training allowances during that time. Be sure that you distinguish carefully between jobs and training programs and put each in the proper category).

26. How many times since you reached 16 have you received (1) counseling or testing, or (2) referrals to jobs, or (3) information about or referrals to a training program, from any of the following:

(a) A public employment service or service center

(1) Counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(2) Referrals to jobs: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(3) Information about or referrals to a training program

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(b) School counselor or placement office

(1) Counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(2) Referrals to jobs: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(3) Information about or referrals to a training program

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(c) Private employment agency

(1) Counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(2) Referrals to jobs: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(3) Information about or referrals to a training program

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(d) A friend or relative

(1) Counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(2) Referrals to jobs: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(3) Information about or referrals to a training program

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(e) Any other: Specify \_\_\_\_\_

(1) Counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(2) Referrals to jobs: \_\_\_\_\_ Approx. No. of Times

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

(3) Information about or referrals to a training program

Approx. Dates (Guesses Acceptable):

27. For each separate referral or information mentioned above, indicate below the nature of the information or referral received and your follow-up to it (NOTE: If the job was already mentioned in the answer to Question #25, just repeat the proper number of the job, for example, "Job No. 2").

(a) A public employment service or service center

(A) Nature of counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_

---

(B) What was the result, if any, of counseling or testing? \_\_\_\_\_

---

(C) Did referrals result in jobs? \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the jobs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting the job, as viewed by the person being interviewed):

(D) Did information or referral result in your getting into a training program? \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the training programs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting into the training program, as viewed by the person being interviewed):

(b) School counselor or placement office

(A) Nature of counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_

---

(B) What was the result, if any, of counseling or testing? \_\_\_\_\_

---

(C) Did referrals result in jobs? \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the jobs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting the job, as viewed by the person being interviewed):

(D) Did information or referral result in your getting into a training program? \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the training programs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting into the training program, as viewed by the person being interviewed):

(c) Private employment agency

(A) Nature of counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_

---

(B) What was the result, if any, of counseling or testing? \_\_\_\_\_

---

(C) Did referrals result in jobs? \_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the jobs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting the job, as viewed by the person being interviewed):

(D) Did information or referral result in your getting into a training program? \_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the training programs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting into the training program, as viewed by the person being interviewed):

(d) A friend or relative

(A) Nature of counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_

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(B) What was the result, if any, of counseling or testing? \_\_\_\_\_

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(C) Did referrals result in jobs? \_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the jobs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting the job, as viewed by the person being interviewed):

(D) Did information or referral result in your getting into a training program? \_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the training programs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting into the training program, as viewed by the person being interviewed):



(e) Any other: Specify \_\_\_\_\_

(A) Nature of counseling or testing: \_\_\_\_\_

(B) What was the result, if any, of counseling or testing? \_\_\_\_\_

(C) Did referrals result in jobs? \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the jobs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting the job, as viewed by the person being interviewed):

(D) Did information or referral result in your getting into a training program? \_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_ No (For every "Yes" answer, list below the training programs; for every "No" answer, list separately below the reason for not getting into the training program, as viewed by the person being interviewed):

(NOTE: Use reverse side if additional space is needed for any category)

(NOTE: Skip #28 and #29 if already answered in Question 27, but note question in #29 about whether they had completed training).

28. Have you ever been in a training program? (Note: This means a work training program outside of regular school, and so excludes a vocational course in regular school but includes a vocational course in night school)

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Yes - ask Question 29  
(2) \_\_\_\_\_ No - Skip to Question 30

29. What kind of training program was it, and did you complete it?  
If not, why not?

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30. What sort of general major did you take in high school?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Vocational or industrial arts - Ask Question 31
- (2) \_\_\_\_\_ College preparatory - Skip to Question 32
- (3) \_\_\_\_\_ Other - Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

31. What vocational courses did you take? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Career Goals

32. If you had a choice (regardless of whether you now think you would be accepted), what kind of career would you most like to have? (After school graduation if still in school): \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

33. What do you base that choice on? (Examples, test results, advice from friends or parents, experience, observation, TV or other media, etc.)  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

34. What do you think your chances are of getting the kind of career you want?

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ Very good
- (2) \_\_\_\_\_ Good
- (3) \_\_\_\_\_ Fair
- (4) \_\_\_\_\_ Poor
- (5) \_\_\_\_\_ Impossible
- (6) \_\_\_\_\_ No idea at all

(NOTE TO INTERVIEWERS: In the following question, probe to determine whether any of the following might be perceived as an obstacle, if the interviewee does not volunteer the information first:

- (a) A police record, either arrest or conviction or both
  - Misdemeanor (like plain drunkenness, disturbing the peace, simple assault (i.e., fists only)
  - Felony (all the more serious crimes - Narcotics offenses should be included here unless you have reason to think the court handled it as a misdemeanor, which is now possible on a first-offense marijuana rap)

(NOTE: Try to determine age when offense was committed so that we can get it erased if possible)

- (b) Racial or nationality discrimination
- (c) Lack of enough schooling
- (d) Difficulty in reading or writing
- (e) Location of jobs in relation to where he lives)

35. Please explain your answer in Question 34: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

(Use reverse side if necessary)

Knowledge of Labor Market

36. About how much, on the average, do you think you could make per year in a job like the one mentioned in Question 32? \_\_\_\_\_

37. To your knowledge, are any of the following things involved in getting or keeping a job like that:

- (1) \_\_\_\_\_ A high school diploma or GED
- (2) \_\_\_\_\_ A college degree (BA) or (AA) - Check which
- (3) \_\_\_\_\_ A postgraduate degree (Law degree, MD, MA, Ph.D., etc.)
- (4) \_\_\_\_\_ Membership in a union
- (5) \_\_\_\_\_ A license or permit from the State or some other government unit
- (6) \_\_\_\_\_ Special training program

38. Depending of what kind of job he mentioned, or kind of job he may have been trained for or expressed an interest in at some point, check the attached list of training programs or job openings and see if he has ever heard of any of them:

Heard about any?

- (1) No
- (2) Yes - Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

(NOTE: Skip questions 39 and 40 if his father is not at home, as indicated by earlier questions).

39. (If father at home) Has your father discussed jobs with you?

- (1) Yes \_\_\_\_\_
- (2) No \_\_\_\_\_

40. Would you be interested in following his same line of work?

- (1) Yes \_\_\_\_\_
- (2) No \_\_\_\_\_

If NO, why? \_\_\_\_\_

41. On this sheet, I have some job titles and possible descriptions. Would you look at the sheet and check off the description you think best fits the job?

(NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: If interviewee has trouble reading the sheet, note that fact here ( ) and read the descriptions to him).

42. We'd like to have your opinion on whether people in some jobs earn more, on the average, than people in other jobs. By average, we mean the average of all men in this particular job in the whole United States. (See attached sheet for Question 42)

Impact of Military Service

43. Have you ever been in the military service?

- (1) Yes - Ask Questions 44, 45, and 46
- (2) No - Skip to Question 47

44. Did you get any non-military training in the service that might relate to a civilian job?

- (1) Yes - Specify: \_\_\_\_\_
- (2) No \_\_\_\_\_

45. Do you know, or have you ever been told, whether you are eligible for payments under the GI bill, or other benefits, that would cover college or training programs or similar educational programs?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) Not sure

46. Did anyone in the service ever counsel you on finding jobs or training after discharge?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No
- (3) Not sure

Attitudes and Perceptions (General)

47. In terms of what you think is most realistic for you, which of the following possibilities most appeals to you.

Attachment for Question 41

Job Titles and Descriptions (Check one description only which you think is the correct one for the job title):

(1) Hospital Orderly

- ☐ 1. Orders food and other supplies for hospital kitchens
- ☐ 2. Helps to take care of hospital patients
- ☐ 3. Works at hospital desk where patients check in
- ☐ 4. Don't Know

(2) Machinist

- ☐ 1. Makes adjustments on automobile, airplane, and tractor engines
- ☐ 2. Repairs electrical equipment
- ☐ 3. Sets up and operates metal lathes, shapers, grinders, buffers, etc.
- ☐ 4. Don't Know

(3) Draftsman

- ☐ 1. Mixes and serves drinks in a bar or tavern
- ☐ 2. Makes scale drawings of products or equipment for engineering or manufacturing purposes
- ☐ 3. Pushes or pulls a cart in a factory or warehouse
- ☐ 4. Don't Know

(4) Social Worker

- ☐ 1. Works for a welfare agency and helps people with various types of problems they may have
- ☐ 2. Conducts research on life in primitive societies
- ☐ 3. Writes newspaper stories on marriages, engagements, births, and similar events
- ☐ 4. Don't Know

Attachment for Question 42

Jobs Earnings Comparisons

Who do you think earns more in a year; a man who is:

(a) \_\_\_ 1. An auto mechanic

or

\_\_\_ 2. An electrician

\_\_\_ 0. Don't Know

(b) \_\_\_ 1. A truck driver

or

\_\_\_ 2. A grocery store clerk

\_\_\_ 0. Don't Know

(c) \_\_\_ 1. A lawyer

or

\_\_\_ 2. A high school teacher

\_\_\_ 0. Don't Know

(d) \_\_\_ 1. A janitor

or

\_\_\_ 2. A policeman

\_\_\_ 0. Don't Know

(NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: Insist that the interviewee give you his top preference, even though he may think two or three are possible and appealing):

- (1) Finish off high school and go straight into full-time work (if not finished high school)
- (2) Finish off college and then go into full-time work (if not finished college)
- (3) Go into a special training program and then into full-time work
- (4) Go directly into full-time work as soon as possible (getting whatever training is needed on the job)
- (5) Go into regular work but have some time off with pay or reimbursement during the day to go to school
- (6) Go into regular work and go to school at night on your own time

(NOTE: For purposes of the above question, assume that some financial aids will be available to cover tuition and related expenses at school, either college or night school. List below what amount of financial aid, per month or per year, the interviewee considers as a minimum to cover his needs while in school:

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ per month or per year (check which)

48. About how much, on the average, do you think an American family makes during a year?

(NOTE: This refers to all families throughout the country, including those headed by white-collar or professional as well as blue-collar workers)

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ per year

49. About how much, on the average, do you think you should make in a permanent job to cover your basic needs and those of your family?

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ per year

(NOTE: For purposes of this question, assume a standard of living that covers all necessities like food for the whole family plus rent or mortgage payment in a standard apartment or house plus car expenses plus insurance and health coverage and a few comforts -- that is, a moderate standard of living above the poverty line but not luxurious. As concrete examples, you can define it thusly: "Like the way most of the people in South Gate or Huntington Park live, or like the way most of the people in Montebello or Monterey Park live").

50. We'd like to know, for statistical purposes, how many brothers and sisters you have at home, and how many are under 16?

Brothers: No. under 16 \_\_\_\_\_  
No. 16 and over \_\_\_\_\_

Sisters: No. under 16 \_\_\_\_\_  
No. 16 and over \_\_\_\_\_

51. General Income Information (NOTE: Do NOT ask for any income information directly, but check the following by observation or by inference from previous questions, or just your opinion, if any applies to the interviewee):

- (1)      Lives in public housing
- (2)      Household gets some or all income from welfare or pension
- (3)      Your estimate of probable range of family income (Do not ask):
- (a) Below \$4,000 a year
- (b) Between \$4,000 and \$6,000
- (c) Above \$6,000

52. Are there any other comments or statements you would like to make, on anything we haven't covered up to now:

[illegible]