

THE DUDLEY-STREET NEIGHBORHOOD:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF EMPLOYMENT ISSUES

by

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ABSTRACT

This study is a continuation of the work done in the Seminar on Urban Planning (MIT, DUSP Total Studio III, Course 11.316J) that focussed on the Dudley-Street Neighborhood. The Seminar centered around the definition of major issues and strategies that would help the client, Nuestra Comunidad Development Corporation (NCDC), to start its community development program. Among other topics, the Seminar's final report enhanced the importance of tackling the problems of job scarcity and low income for residents in the area. The present report presents the analysis of 15 in-depth interviews of different community leaders on the issues of employment, the causes and consequences of unemployment and underemployment for workers in the area -- within the context of the present economic recession. A close examination of the material from these interviews does not point to lack of working skills or education as the factor most responsible for the present conditions. Rather, it suggests a self-reproducing effect of chronically extended unemployment through its devastating socio-psychological consequences. These results are discussed in light of the Dual Labor Market Theory, with emphasis on the socio-psychological characteristics of secondary jobs. It is concluded that the promotion of

formal and informal networks of support in order to improve workers' attitudes and motivation during job searching and job tenure is a realistic and necessary approach to the solution of the problem. It is strongly recommended that the promotion of supportive networks not be substituted by the provision of training programs. These two lines of action are not interchangeable but optimally supplementary to each other. It is also recommended that worker-managed production units and community enterprises be promoted as a way of effectively channeling the efforts stemming from supporting networks and training. These three lines of action would optimize job opportunities for minority workers by recognizing their present needs and unique characteristics.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Abstract	2
Introduction	7
The Case	10
Methodology	12
Sampling	12
Respondents	13
Interviews	14
Results	16
A. Ethnographic profile	16
B. Employment status	19
C. Main causes/effects of unemployment	21
D. Job searching	25
Conclusions and Recommendations	28
A. Promotion of networks	31
B. Provision of training programs	32
C. Promotion of worker-managed firms	34
Bibliography	37
Appendix I: Census Tracts Map	38
Appendix II: Tables	39
Appendix III: Questionnaire	51

TABLES

	PAGE
Table 1: Racial Composition of the Area Population (1970-1980)	39
Table 2: Income in 1979	40
Table 3: Households with Income in 1979 by Income Type	41
Table 4: Families with Workers in 1979 by Workers and Mean Family Income	41
Table 5: Employed Persons 16 Years and Over by Occupation (1980)	42
Table 6: Employed Persons 16 Years and Over by Industry (1980)	43
Table 7: Employed Persons 16 Years and Over by Class of Worker (1980)	44
Table 8: Percent Distribution of Employed Persons by Occupation (1980)	44
Table 9: Percent Distribution of Employed Persons by Industry (1970-1980)	45
Table 10: Persons 16 Years and Over by Sex Race/Origin by Labor Force Status (1980)	46
Table 11: Persons 16 Years and Over by Sex by Labor Force Status in 1979	47
Table 12: Persons 16 Years and Over with Unemployment in 1979 by Weeks Unemployed	47
Table 13: Females 16 Years and Over with One or More Own Children by Labor Force Status (1980)	48
Table 14: Persons 18 Years Old and Over by Years of School Completed (1980)	48
Table 15: Persons 25 Years Old and Over by Race by Years of School Completed (1980)	49
Table 16: Workers 16 Years and Over by Means of Transportation to Work (1980)	50

" . . . a man's work is one of the things by which he is judged, and certainly one of the most significant things by which he judges himself. . . . A man's work is one of the most important parts of his social identity, of his self; indeed, of his fate in the one life he has to live."

From E. C. Hughes

In E. Liebow's
Tally's Corner, p. 60
1967

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, two of the most important problems confronting workers in the U.S.A. are the constant reduction of job opportunities and the dissatisfying nature of most available work. The increasing rate of unemployment during the last few years (4.9% to 8.1% and 7.1% in the country and, 5.3% to 11.2% and 5.6% in the State of Massachusetts, for the years 1970, 1975 and 1980) is a clear index of this situation which is particularly affecting the minority working poor.

The causes of these problems are economic, political and technological in nature. The economic policies of the last twenty years have encouraged corporations to invest abroad and, as a consequence, the creation of new jobs has been insufficient to meet the demands for work and income of the growing labor force. The changes in the occupational structure due to technological innovations in the production processes have continuously meant higher unemployment for the less skilled workers. In addition, the present recession has aggravated the situation by creating an unemployment stock filled with the young, the low-skilled and the minority working poor. Since they do not elicit the employers' enthusiasm for their hiring, the unemployed become virtually unemployable.

To further aggravate the situation, this status of marginality within the labor market becomes a social stigma that easily reproduces itself. The efforts of peers, relatives and close dependents of chronically unemployed workers to obtain a place in the labor market are undermined by a history of continuous failures. Skepticism is built up early in life and, hence, the starting impulse is usually weak and the likelihood of failure is high. The process is thus self-fed and self-reinforced.

This chain of negative events and attitudes usually traps low-skilled, low-income workers into a very restricted occupational bracket. Jobs available to them involve unskilled tasks, are typically low paid, offer poor working conditions, involve harsh and often arbitrary discipline, have low mobility and few incentives that encourage work stability (i.e., seniority system, on-the-job training, etc.). Consequently, these occupations are less attractive to workers because they allow no choice, they look alike and, they are usually not unionized. Dual Market theorists call these types of jobs "secondary jobs", as opposed to "primary jobs" which are well paid, present good working conditions, work stability, security, and chances for advancement. Here, equity and due process in the administration of work rules allow for workers' unionization.¹

¹ For a fuller discussion of the definitions, origins and dynamics of the secondary labor market, see Piore (1971); Harrison (1972), and Gordon (1972). For criticism of the theory, see Cain (1975) and Wacter (1974).

The quantity of workers that are forced into secondary jobs, as well as the severity with which this is done, are closely related to the swings of the labor market which, in turn, result from the swings of the economy throughout the country and from the constant reorganization of the productive processes. During a recession, the adjustment of the labor market to the economic and technological constraints lifts up the thin and rather elusive boundary between lower-range primary jobs and upper-range secondary jobs. The unskilled workers are laid off first due to the employers' need to keep the best of their labor resources; the ones that were most costly to train and would be more expensive to replace. As the skilled workers can be bumped down into less-skilled categories and the unskilled ones have no such options, during recessions the shortage of jobs is higher for lower-wage workers, and their actual rate of unemployment becomes higher than the average rate. Also, as recessions affect industrial sectors differently, the employment situation of the lower-wage workers within each sector varies accordingly. The urban goods-producing sector (durable goods, manufacturing and construction) is usually more strongly affected than the government-finance-service sector. The reason for this difference is that the consumption of services cannot be inventoried or as readily displaced as is the consumption of goods. As a consequence, interoccupational employment/unemployment differences between sectors become more marked.

The Case

The preceding general frame of reference is the context of the specific problems the Dudley Street Neighborhood workers face in their daily struggle for making their living. Most of them are in the category of minority working poor and, as such, they bear and share the underprivileged living and working conditions that result from the lack of opportunities to fight limited education, poverty and isolation; a sort of vicious circle that surrounds them.

In becoming aware of this situation, Nuestra Comunidad Development Corporation (NCDC), decided to attempt to decrease the disadvantages that the area residents have within the City of Boston's labor market.² As a first step towards this aim NCDC identified the task of exploring the workers' genuine skills and of assessing their opportunities for entering occupations more in accordance with their abilities. Special attention was to be lent to the process of downward filtering from primary to secondary jobs, for two reasons: a) because most workers in the area are concentrated in low-skilled, cyclically sensitive activities and,

² According to the 1980 Census, local residents are 45% Black, 20% white, and 35% have other ethnic origin; among them 32% reported to have Spanish origin. Their annual median income of \$8,695 is well below that of Boston's (\$13,200).

According to the 1980 BRA Household Survey, the unemployment rate is also higher, 7.5% compared with 5.7% in Boston.

b) because gaining an understanding of the factors operating in the transitional area between these two levels of the labor market seemed important in finding a way out for workers in stagnant conditions. The underlying assumption was that for each set of skills there is a corresponding set of job openings employing these capacities. Through a survey of a proportionally stratified sample among the different ethnic strata of the community, the residents' skills and their job opportunities were to be recorded and matched within the constraints of Boston's labor market.

However, after several meetings with NCDC officials and other sources, it became clear that a reasonably exhaustive listing of area residents from which to select the sample was nonexistent.³ Furthermore, NCDC had neither the human nor the financial resources to assume responsibility for compiling such a listing within a reasonable period of time. Consequently, the next feasible alternative was selected; that is, in-depth interviewing of

³ Data from the 1980 Census were not available during this project. Neighborhood organizations generally do not keep records of their membership or their constituency. The Polk's City Directory gives insufficient information for selection of individual workers for interviewing purposes. Finally the Police Listing of Voters is reputed to have at least a 10% error rate, and has not been updated since 1980. In short, no identifiable source for selection of workers to be interviewed was found.

Since data from the 1980 Census were released while this report was in final draft stages, selected information is included in tabular format in Appendix II.

members of the community who, because of their history of leadership and involvement in community affairs, could provide valuable information in order to draft a tentative analysis. This approach was to be utilized with an awareness that the information stemming from these sources, though reliable, carries the risk of being highly biased by the respondents' personal concerns and their degree of knowledge and/or commitment to employment-related issues.⁴

METHODOLOGY

Sampling

In order to assemble a list of people well informed about the neighborhood, a network sampling approach was used. This procedure, although a strictly non-probabilistic one, was expected to provide a good description of the groups and issues of concern, to an extent that would suffice for our general comparative

4

The respondents selected were asked to address issues concerning workers of the various constituencies in the neighborhood, with the exception of Hispanic concerns, which were to be separately addressed and evaluated directly by NCDC and the Hispanic Office for Planning and Evaluation (H.O.P.E.).

purposes. "Researchers that have used this method state that network sampling taps into ongoing interactional processes in the population. At least in theory, this suggests that network sampling, if repeated a sufficiently large number of times, would include most if not all the 'key people' in a community."(1)

A list of names was drafted from among board members of NCDC and members of the Neighborhood Coalition. The criterion for deciding whether a person was a qualified respondent or not was strictly his/her amount of experience in community work as well as involvement with the ethnic groups under study, not their positions of hierarchy within the organizations for which they worked. As these potential respondents were approached, they would either accept or refuse to be interviewed; but often they would suggest the names of other persons to be considered. Thus, additional names were added, provided the above described qualification criteria were met.

Respondents

From a total of twenty persons who were approached for interviews, five refused to participate, claiming ignorance with respect to employment issues. The actual group of respondents was composed of five women and ten men, who had been living in Boston, mainly Roxbury and North Dorchester, for at least five years prior to this study. Nine respondents had been working in community

settings for over five years; five others from three to five years; and only one had less than one year of community involvement. The respondents' main activities are of a diverse nature: arts, teaching, management, administration, ministry, neighborhood planning and tenants' organizations. For most of them, community work is an important means for earning their livings; only three reported this work as a secondary activity. Their distribution according to institutional enrollment is the following: seven in churches, four in service agencies, two in schools and two in neighborhood associations.

The respondents reported a drive to help their fellow residents through participation in social services, in community organizations and in educational institutions as their original motivation for having joined a particular aspect of community work. As time has gone by, their objectives have become more precise due to their exposure to the realities of daily life in the neighborhood.

Interviews

All interviews were conducted by the author at the interviewee's place of work and lasted two-and-one-half hours, on the average. The core frame for each interview was:

1. An assessment of the respondents' interests, concerns and commitments in respect to personal involvement in community work;

2. Estimation of the occupational qualifications of the workers in the area;
3. Opinions about the present employment conditions and possibilities for change, if any;
4. Opinions about the consequences this state of affairs has or may have for the resident population, and suggestions for future courses of action towards increasing employability and general economic conditions for the residents in the area, were volunteered by the interviewees.

The emphasis of questions varied according to the idiosyncracies and particular interests of every interviewee in an effort to keep as much of an open and informal atmosphere as possible. Notes were taken on answers relevant to each of these topics(9). (See appendix for questionnaire.)

As a supplement to the interviewees' replies, a set of qualitative field observations were carried out in order to obtain a more vivid image of daily life events in the neighborhood and of those issues addressed by the respondents. Thus, informal conversations were held with various residents; religious services characteristic of different ethnic groups were attended and the social atmosphere created by and around these groups was observed. Also, the extent of social interaction around specific places (i.e., corner stores, playgrounds, churchyards, repair shops, house entrance stoops, front yards, etc.) was observed during several days in a week's time.

RESULTS

As an exploratory study in which the figures given by the respondents were opinions and not data procured in precise statistical research, the estimates are presented in the form of a qualitative composite of the interviewees' opinions. These can be easily grouped into the following major topics:

- A. Ethnographic profile of the neighborhood;
- B. Employment status of the workforce;
- C. Main causes and effects of unemployment/underemployment in the area; and
- D. Job searching strategies used and considerations for future planning.

A. Ethnographic profile of the neighborhood

The Dudley Street Neighborhood has a multiracial population, a fact that all respondents considered an asset rather than a disadvantage. The relative racial composition of the local population has changed substantially within the last decade. The white population in the area has declined 76% and, to a lesser extent, the black population has also decreased by approximately 46%. These changes have been partially offset by a large increase of the Hispanic and Cape Verdean populations,⁵ who are the most

⁵ See Appendix II, Table 1 for details.

recent immigrant groups arriving in the area. Although both groups had similar socio-economic characteristics at the time they left their countries, once in Boston their economic achievements become rapidly different. Cape Verdeans find jobs and stabilize as residents sooner than do Hispanics. Both groups are in the process of identifying the area as their turf and, therefore, strengthening their sense of community.

Black and white neighbors already have a longer history as both Americans and as area residents. They identify with and join larger peer groups of their same race in nearby areas. Unlike immigrants, their struggles and commitments seem to be more immersed in broader conflicts of poverty and discrimination than in building up a reference point from which to start a new life. Their identification with the area is more the result of having lived there for a long period of time, thus feeling protective of their "territory."

The respondents averaged estimates for the four major ethnic groups in the neighborhood are: 15% white, 23% black, 30% Hispanic and 32% Cape Verdean.⁶ These groups account for three different languages (English, Portuguese-Creole and Spanish), four different bases for group interaction and also somewhat different attitudes and behavior with respect to work. Each group seems to be proud of its own ethnicity and, regardless of the segregating

6

This percentage distribution does not correspond to that in the 1980 Census. Census figures do not identify Cape Verdean as a separate ethnic category; instead, Cape Verdeans must classify themselves as Black, White, or Other.

and isolating tendencies that such pride usually implies, residents of all backgrounds do share a positive attitude toward neighborliness. Differences in work opportunities and income levels do not yet seem to endanger this attitude (Cape Verdeans have an average annual income of \$ 8,300, while for Blacks the average is \$ 6,600).⁷

The respondents considered this growing sense of solidarity toward fellow residents the foothold upon which improvement efforts could be based, as well as a fertile ground for community work. Social service agencies, block associations, religious groups and other assemblies of community residents are becoming a solid network of human resources. And it is these human resources that will supply the energy, hopes and desires necessary to overcome the destructive forces that have plagued the area during the last decade. It is this base of human potential in the neighborhood which allows the respondents to do their work with a common goal in mind: to get people to know and talk to one another in order to develop a constructive flow of communication and interaction. However, in spite of its apparent simplicity, this type of community work requires large amounts of energy and resources. Respondents reported having often found themselves smothered by a multitude of conflicting agendas which forced them to focus on details, sometimes diminishing the chances for exerting strong positive impacts.

⁷ These figures are estimates given by the respondents. For the 1980 Census' figures on income see Appendix II, Tables 2, 3 and 4.

B. Employment status of the work force

Local workers are concentrated within the category of general services. Female area residents most commonly work in secretarial, clerical, and domestic services, whereas men are generally factory workers, utility and repair workers and clerks. Department of Labor analysis indicates that a high percentage of the local population is in clerical, operative and service jobs. The respondents similarly estimated distribution of commonly held jobs according to major occupational categories to be as follows: laborers 35%, services 35%, clerical 21%, and transportation and communication 9%. This local occupational structure is quite different from the one for Boston, where the main categories include mostly professional and technical occupations.⁸

With respect to where the area workers go to work, the respondents estimated that 73% of the adult population work in the area and its surroundings, 15% work in the City of Boston and 12% work elsewhere. Usually women and the underemployed do not work outside the neighborhood. Subsequently this group has been generally neglected in statistical surveys.

According to the respondents, the majority of the labor force in the area experiences chronic unemployment or underemployment, perhaps with the exception of the Cape Verdean group. Manufacturing was considered the industrial sector most heavily

⁸ See Appendix II, Tables 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9.

affected by unemployment, followed by government, transportation and construction. However, none of the respondents offered quantitative estimates of the unemployment rate in the area; they preferred to focus on those problems which, in their opinion, cause unemployment among minority workers. Some of them emphasized the fact that official unemployment figures fall far short of the actual extent of unemployment⁹, primarily because of the large number of underemployed male workers not currently included in the unemployment statistics, and also, due to a significant number of underemployed and self-employed women in the area who are recorded as having an income but are not included or are considered as "dependents," when estimating the overall labor force against which unemployment rates are calculated.

It is the shared opinion of the respondents that employment issues involve more than the matching of skills with job opportunities. Somehow, these issues pertain to a larger range of problems in workers' lives. In their opinion, area residents need to be assisted in caring for themselves, their children, and their housing. Under the present circumstances these residents cannot positively change their personal situations.

⁹ See Appendix II, Tables 10, 11, 12 and 13.

C. Main causes and effects of unemployment/underemployment in the area.

The most important employment-related concern addressed by respondents centered around the personal limitations of the local residents, contributing to a high level of personal frustration and hopelessness accompanied by a lack of skills and education.

Most black residents have at most a G.E.D. high school equivalency certificate, while recent immigrants have insufficient English education and/or lack reading and writing skills in Spanish or Portuguese. Additional barriers are racial and ethnic discrimination, innadequate transportation¹⁰ and insufficient institutional assistance in job searching. All these factors are interrelated and contribute to the self-reinforcing experience of personal frustration.

Apathy, irresponsibility and carelessness are current patterns of behavior for most area residents. According to respondents, these aspects can only be understood in light of individual psychological functioning. Individuals manifest their psychological deterioration through increased insecurity and emotional stress which severely erodes their self-reliance and autonomy. Several factors have negative effects on the workers' motivations to search for jobs; the most commonly cited ones were lack of self-esteem, fear of the unknown, fear of rejection, lack of incentives, inability to compete and to fight for their own rights.

¹⁰ See Appendix II, Table 16.

Years of discrimination and of repeated failures in their attempts to stabilize their work lives, and the repercussions these failures have had in the sphere of their family lives have brought about a deterioration of the workers' sense of self-worth. This helplessness destroys any interest in improving their education and skillfulness which, in turn, severely restricts their access to better paid jobs, or to any job at all. Frustration, depression, hopelessness, low self-esteem, immobilization or violent rebellion are all aspects of the living tragedy of the unemployed and the underemployed.

An additional factor seen by some respondents as feeding into this process is the atmosphere of general pessimism about the present economic conditions; pessimism which seems to be readily perceived and internalized by the workers. "There are no jobs" is often the message transmitted to the workers by the media. At home and at school the same message is received. People feel insecure about their future and their fantasies about eventful failure in the work market are very likely to become realities. Sad or angry acceptance of turned-down applications are part of the cultural inheritance of most minority workers. Children and youngsters acknowledge what goes on around them and they begin to feel their expectations are unrealistic; pessimistic attitudes towards work begin to develop in a new generation. Political apathy was reported to result from this situation. Hopelessness, powerlessness and helplessness with respect to the job market

become easily transferred to other spheres of action where courage, self-esteem, trust and hope are crucial for success.

Another major factor identified by the respondents as restricting access by area workers to the available job opportunities is their lack of sufficient skills and education.¹¹

In the past, government policy makers' ongoing attempts to reduce employment problems have been based on a set of conventional assumptions:

1. That education and training will improve the quality of labor by increasing potential productivity in direct proportion to the length of schooling and/or training provided.
2. That by having educational credentials, access to jobs is automatically guaranteed, and,
3. That the increased potential productivity will be unquestionably rewarded through proportionally higher quality, better paying jobs and improvement in future employment status.

However, this overestimation of the importance of education and training has been even more skewed by the workers' personal and social circumstances which may constrain or facilitate access to a job (i.e., personal aptitudes, personality and opportunities due to social class or connections). It is not surprising, therefore, that evaluations of various training and educational

¹¹ See Appendix II, Tables 14 and 15.

programs and years of experience in the operation of public job placement institutions--especially the manpower programs of the 1960s--have demonstrated that the employment policies based on the above-listed assumptions have been insufficient to achieve a drastic improvement in the employment conditions; nor have they eliminated poverty. The fact is, that even though educational and training programs provide diverse possibilities for the personal growth and skill development of participants or may help the disadvantaged workers to find new jobs, these achievements cannot be successfully translated into increases in the workers' salaries, nor are they reflected by improvements in their employment statuses. As a result, "these programs tend to merely recirculate the poor among employers who pay low wages".

The efficiency of the labor market has traditionally been measured in terms of the productivity level of labor. The higher the level of productivity, the higher the degree of profitability for the firm. In order to obtain such a relationship of factors the educational system has been prompted to inculcate potential workers with certain personality traits such as perseverance, self-control, suppression of aggressiveness, discipline, timeliness, acceptance of outside authority and individual accountability. In so doing, public and parochial school systems have played an important role in preparing the lower-class students to fit conveniently right into the needs of the economic system.

However, the present collapse of the public school system has rendered it ineffective in such a traditional "preparatory" role. The crisis affecting education has become a major concern for community leaders and educators in the area. Rather than equipping students either to move beyond their economically limited options, or to function appropriately in traditional inner-city jobs, schools now are woefully inadequate. As a token example, 30% of public school graduates in the area need remedial teaching in English and Mathematics in order to apply to jobs requiring high school equivalency with a minimal chance to succeed. Further problems are generated by self-defeating attitudes and racial and ethnic discrimination.

D. Job searching strategies used and considerations for future planning.

Most of the area population uses informal channels of information to find their jobs. Thus networks of interpersonal relationships such as family, relatives, friends and peers of the same race are very instrumental in finding a job. Only a small fraction of the residents uses formal institutional services like private or public agencies and publications or classified ads. Knowing people and having personal contacts is highly valued. Workers prefer to wander around asking for jobs and offering their services directly. They are aware of the inequality and the

discrimination that exists in the labor market. "As they know that equal chances do not exist, the chances to get what they look for depend on who they know".

There is consensus among the respondents that the community organizations are not tackling the problems of employment in an appropriate way. "They could do more according to the resources they have, and they should do more according to their stated goals in helping the workers". For example, it is a well known fact that those workers looking for jobs for the first time tend to give up their search and rely on public welfare sooner than do experienced workers. New workers can get more income from welfare than from salaries currently offered in the job market at entry level. It should be possible to implement some sort of peer group support system that could guide the new worker in his search and maintenance of a job.

It became apparent during the interviews that it might be important to note the different attitudes concerning work that prevail within each of the ethnic groups in the area. One of these attitudinal differences is between immigrant (Cape Verdeans and Hispanics) and Black-American workers. Social linkages among the latter are very weak. They tend not to rely much on one another or on social assistance services. They prefer to be engaged in welfare programs because it gives them Medicare and money and free time to spend as they want. In the case of Orchard Park area residents, two jobs give them no benefits and less money

than the Welfare system. Welfare solves for women with children one of their most urgent and expensive needs: health care.

In the case of immigrant workers, on the other hand, peers, relatives and friends who are already working help them find "the job of the month". Their purpose is to become engaged in a job as rapidly as possible, regardless of the type of work. This type of relationship tends to reinforce social ties among immigrants of the same origin with the emerging result of functional self-reliant social units.

The respondents suggested that those activities in which the residents of the area have traditionally excelled could be a sound basis for starting new community business ventures and/or reorganizing the ones already existing in the neighborhood. It was emphasized that either one of these possibilities should build upon existing skills of Blacks in the area, such as child and elderly care, secretarial, building construction and auto mechanics. Similarly, these efforts could also profit from vocational experiences of Cape Verdeans, such as farming, cooking and cleaning services, sewing, carpentry, plumbing, fishery and shipyard work. All these ethnic-related skills were mentioned as important assets which could be utilized when organizing production units, cooperatives or small enterprises. Some respondents recommended commercial urban gardens or green-houses in order to take advantage of the vast amounts of vacant land in the neighborhood. The underlying objective most respondents had

in mind was developing a more autonomous and self-reliant community by taking advantage of the relative isolation of the neighborhood along with those vocations strongly rooted in the residents.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Given that the Dudley Street Neighborhood is a complex discrete planning unit, the findings and recommendations of this exploration into employment issues need to be understood in the context of both macro-level theories of employment and micro-level theories of workers' performance. As part of the City of Boston this area is affected by city-wide (and even country-wide) socio-economic and political events; thus life within the community is to some extent influenced and conditioned by circumstances occurring beyond its limits. In this respect, explanations about the causes of employment problems are found in the functioning of the American labor market in general, and its institutional expressions, in particular. On the other hand, the feasibility and viability of community efforts require the framework of the micro economic theory of the firm and that of the socio-psychological theories of individual behavior.

THE SELECTION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS PROPOSED LATER IN THIS REPORT HAVE BEEN BASED ON THE CRITERION THAT SOCIAL BENEFITS LEADING TO SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF WORK LIFE AND TO THE RECOVERY OF HUMAN VALUES, SHOULD HAVE PRIORITY OVER CONVENTIONAL MEASURES OF BUSINESS EFFICIENCY.

As the present economic system does not provide the required opportunities for a substantial improvement of the working conditions of the low-skilled workers, tackling employment problems at the local level requires that planning actions involve workers' active participation. It is not relevant to talk here about governmental intervention in the work market "to correct distortions in the system" (4) as it has been stated in proposals of National Employment Policies. Theoretically a single community cannot alter governmental decisions regarding fiscal and monetary expansionary policies related to major investments and to the creation of new jobs (mostly in the public sector). But some understanding of the relationship of these factors allows development of a neighborhood strategy based on the notion of comprehensive economic planning. According to this criterion, NCDC should proceed "from the bottom up" that is, from assessing the needs of the community, to organizing task-forces relating to developing new ventures, and then, to negotiating with local government (and if necessary with state and federal government) the financing of those identified activities that would create new jobs for the residents. These jobs should be "secondary" with

respect to skill requirements, but include "primary" aspects such as adequate payment, basic benefits, opportunities for personal improvement and relative stability. These measures will allow strengthening of the local labor force and rebuilding within the physically deteriorated neighborhood.

NCDC efforts to understand and assist the workers' needs should focus on work related issues within their areas of interaction; from the individual private domain of family life to the collective domains of associations and cooperatives. In this respect, the research suggests that the following set of actions are appropriate responses to the present needs of the community. All three may bring important changes in the quality of secondary labor markets which encompass most of the area workers.

- A. The promotion of formal and informal networks of support, meaning both the organization of new networks and the strengthening of existing ones.
- B. The provision of training programs that take into account the workers' vocational history, cultural backgrounds and expectations.
- C. The emergence of worker-managed (community) enterprises, which will entail workers' control over their circumstances (through self-organization of time, mode of work and adequacy of the workplace) as well as the provision of jobs more in accordance with the characteristics of minority workers.

A. The promotion of formal and informal networks of support, exchange and cooperation is intended to somewhat ameliorate the employment-related problems of the area workers. The relative isolation of the neighborhood, in spite of the heterogeneity of its population, permits organizational development with commitment of workers around common issues and interests which can be translated into operative tasks. These characteristics of network organizations assure people's genuine participation, a very important factor in the case of a mixed ethnic community. Organizing the existing variety of community groups, civic organizations, religious institutions, social clubs and individuals through networks allows the community to plan and react in a more cohesive manner.

The importance of secondary labor market networks is that they connect the private domain of family and peer groups to the public domain of job competence. It is through these networks that the individual worker is informed about job opportunities, obtains the necessary support to apply for an available position, and is introduced to the tasks (and rituals) performed in the work place. The precariousness of the living and working conditions of the low-wage working minorities within the existing economic system magnifies the need for these networks. Personal ties outside the marketplace take the form of friendship, kinship, neighborhood and mutual-aid networks. They can eventually supplement the labor market networks and become a strong supporting mechanism for needy workers.

The promotion of networks has several specific purposes:

- a) To improve the flow of information and support between primary and secondary labor markets by strengthening worker interaction outside the workplace. The assumption is that the information provided by minority workers holding higher positions would give the whole group a better chance for negotiating and mediating desired improvements. A workers' club or association would fulfill this purpose.
- b) To improve the terms of trade between corporate employers and area workers by developing a pool of job opportunities and skilled workers, specifically through use of "Job Fair" events in the neighborhood.
- c) To obtain outside institutional support to implement major development actions by strengthening NCDC linkages with other CDCs. Joint negotiations on special programs, such as publicly funded projects in the area, would create local jobs and would improve the quality of life in the community.
- d) To improve workers' attitude and motivation during job searching and job tenure by organizing groups for peer support and professional counseling services.

B. The provision of training programs to upgrade workers' skills and education, taking into account their vocational history,

cultural background and expectations. The implementation of this action will require modifications in current assumptions concerning work ethics and curricula design. What is usually considered "minorities' lack of work ethics" is a misinterpretation of their cultural values and of their reactions to continuous hardships and frustrations. Understanding the complex situation of low-income minority workers will enhance the changing of their attitudes and values with respect to work performance.

The technical requirements of job options, reasonably stated as a sound basis for typical programs' prevocational curricula, leave little chance for decisions supporting less trendy occupations. The idea of supplying exclusively those working skills that the economic forecast suggests as necessary may bring prospects for after-training employment but carry the risk of being biased in favor of the interests of leading enterprises rather than related to the workers' vocational interests and abilities. Therefore, it is advisable that the selection of skills to be provided by these training programs be directed towards the improvement of existing vocations.

NCDC should undertake the organization and implementation of training programs to be channelled through formal training centers and through "on-the-job" training agreements. Formal training centers, like OIC, are badly needed to serve the Dudley Street and other minority communities. The demand for program placement is

so high that OIC does not need to advertise its services, and its 1980 statistics reported 700 training enrollments, 2120 assessment cases and 600 people on their waiting list for 1981. The demand for trainees, from affiliated employers, is also high. About 50% of the trainees are employed immediately after training completion. The workers' response is considered successful; their average job retention rate fluctuates between 67% and 72%. "On-the-job" training agreements between NCDC and those firms identified as major employers of area workers is the less costly means for NCDC to tackle skills upgrading.

In both modes of training implementation, bi-lingual staff are needed to help workers in their own language.

C. The promotion of worker-managed (labor intensive) production units and community enterprises is a strong stand NCDC can take in order to build up a proper place for minority workers in the economy of the city. This measure would bring several benefits to the community: It would help promote economic development within the area which would bring along important "social externalities"; it would help workers to service the present wave of lay-offs through the creation of new jobs within the reach of their skills and occupational possibilities; it would also develop a more mature attitude of workers towards production awareness and work commitment, as opposed to mere economic aspirations.

Local economic development through worker-managed enterprises is a democratic answer to the problem of low skilled minority employment at an intermediate level of planning. The main idea is that workers' legitimation of their management authority derives from their productive capabilities and not necessarily from their share in the ownership of the enterprise.

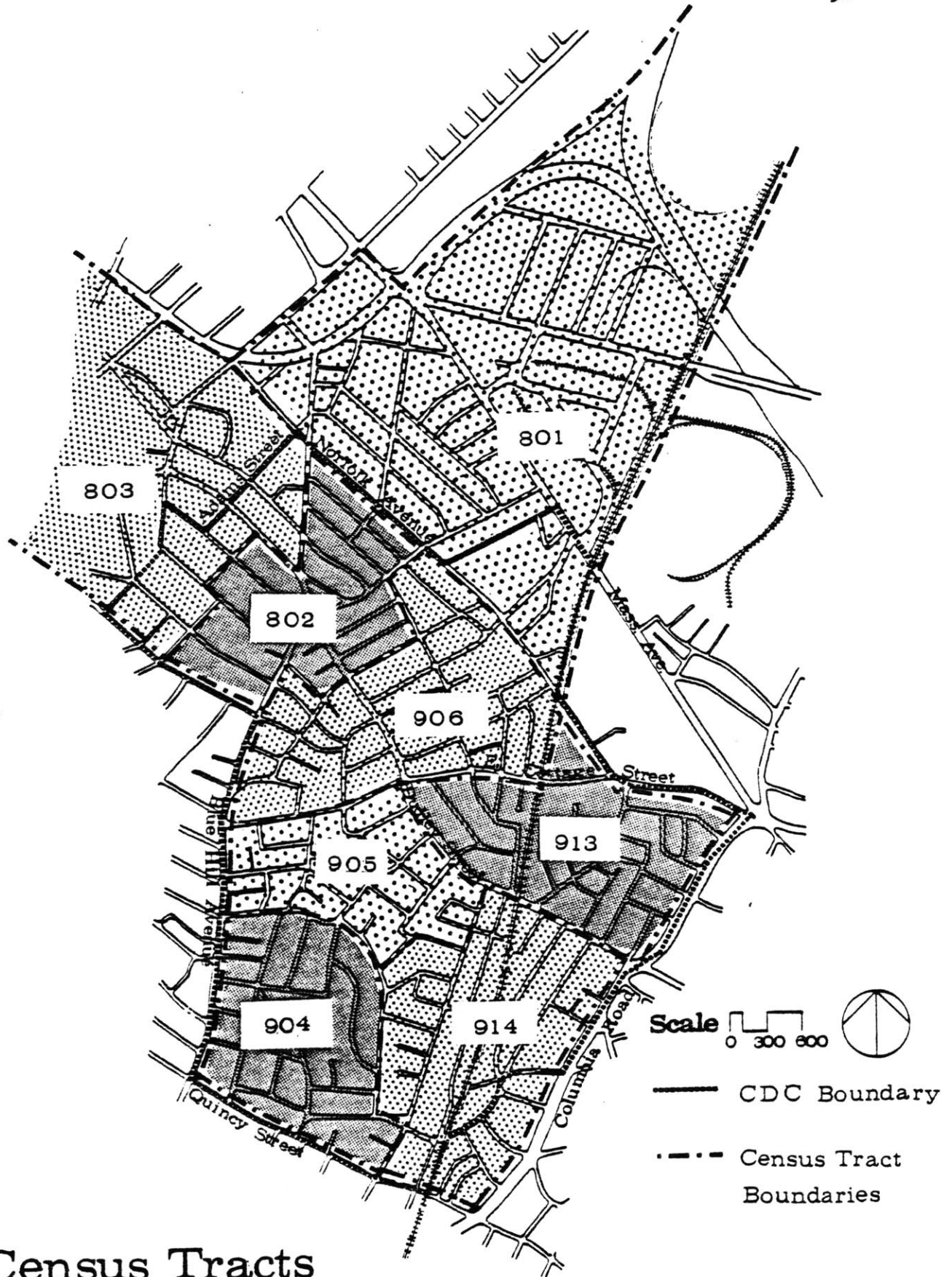
The viability of this proposal depends on the economic feasibility of each enterprise within the competitive conditions of the market place; on the quality of the institutional support the coordinated system of self-managed enterprises obtains; and, on the quality of social changes this type of organization can generate. It is difficult to implement such a system within a competitive market economy, but it is not impossible. The chances of success will increase as the workers' organizations become institutionalized in such a way that their access to financial and technical resources is facilitated. It is advisable to note that supporting agencies should not keep a strong operational control of the supported enterprises, because by doing so, they would threaten the desired economic and social effectiveness of workers' self-management. It is also important to note that social and economic limitations stemming from the present economic conditions are likely to portray this proposal as utopian and prompt decision-makers to dismiss it on that ground.

The placement of these enterprises should be decided after an analysis of alternatives; the best possible location may not necessarily be within neighborhood boundaries. It is important to keep in mind that revitalization of the area may result from the increase of resident's income, regardless of the physical location of the enterprise.

The strength of the starting impulse and the capacity for endurance of these community ventures will depend a great deal on the strength of the supporting networks and on the effectiveness of the implemented training programs.

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Census Tracts

Table 1

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE AREA POPULATION (1970 - 1980)

	1970	Percent of total	1980	Percent of total	Percent of change
WHITE	9,489	48.5	2,276	20.0	-76.0
BLACK	9,694	49.5	5,206	45.0	-46.3
SPANISH ORIGIN	(*)	(*)	(3,766 ***)	(32.0***)	(*)
OTHER	<u>378</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>4,081</u>	<u>35.0</u>	<u>+979(**)</u>
Total	19,561	100.0%	11,563	100.0%	-40.9%

Sources: 1970 and 1980 U.S. Census of Population

(*)(**) This difference may account for new immigrants, and for different criteria in self-classification (i.e., Cape Verdeans as others).

(***) People of Spanish origin who also classify themselves as white or Black.

Table 2

INCOME IN 1979

	Households		Families		Unrelated Individuals	
Less than \$2,500	409	9.8%	262	8.6%	325	20.5%
\$ 2,500 to \$ 4,999	657	15.8%	392	12.9%	384	24.2
\$ 5,000 to \$ 7,499	594	14.3	421	13.8	262	16.6
\$ 7,500 to \$ 9,999	497	12.0	393	13.0	194	12.3
\$10,000 to \$12,499	457	11.0	312	10.2	171	10.8
\$12,500 to \$14,999	268	6.5	190	6.2	75	4.7
\$15,000 to \$17,499	268	6.5	207	6.8	166	10.5
\$17,500 to \$19,999	182	4.4	155	5.0		
\$20,000 to \$22,499	126	3.0	110	3.6		
\$22,500 to \$24,999	140	3.4	99	3.2	6	0.4
\$25,000 to \$27,499	137	3.3	131	4.3		
\$27,500 to \$29,999	70	1.7	74	2.4		
\$30,000 to \$34,999	134	3.2	122	4.0		
\$35,000 to \$39,999	61	1.5	47	1.5	15	0.5
\$40,000 to \$49,999	105	2.5	88	2.9		
\$50,000 to \$74,999	35	0.8	28	0.9		
\$75,000 or more	15	0.3	15	0.5		
Total	4,155	100.0%	3,046	100.0%	1,583	100.0%
MEDIAN	\$ 9,499		\$10,520		\$ 6,065	
MEAN	\$13,022		\$14,186		\$ 7,023	

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 3
HOUSEHOLDS WITH INCOME IN 1979 BY INCOME TYPE

	Total		Mean
EARNINGS	2,887	30.6%	\$ 14,041
Wage or Salary	2,864	30.4	\$ 13,901
Non-farm Self-Employment	77	0.8	\$ 7,279
Farm Self-Employment	0	0.0	\$ 0
INTEREST, DIVIDEND OR NET RENTAL INCOME	616	6.5	\$ 2,021
SOCIAL SECURITY	740	7.8	\$ 3,401
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	1,484	15.7	\$ 3,807
ALL OTHER	<u>764</u>	<u>8.2</u>	\$ 3,961
Total	9,432	100.0%	

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 4
FAMILIES WITH WORKERS IN 1979 BY WORKERS AND MEAN FAMILY INCOME

	Total	%	Mean
NO WORKERS	811	28.0	\$ 4,628
ONE WORKER	915	32.0	\$10,507
TWO OR MORE WORKERS	<u>1,156</u>	<u>40.0</u>	\$25,276
Total	2,882	100.0%	

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 5
EMPLOYED PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER BY OCCUPATION

	Number	%
MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY		
Executive, Administrative, Managerial	241	5.5
Professional Specialty	337	7.7
TECHNICAL, SALES, ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT		
Technicians and Related Support	134	3.0
Sales	145	3.3
Administrative Support, incl. Clerical	868	19.8
SERVICE		
Private Household	37	0.8
Protective Service	137	3.1
Service, other	1,014	23.2
FARMING, FORESTRY AND FISHING		
	0	0.0
PRECISION PRODUCTION, CRAFT AND REPAIR		
	344	7.8
OPERATORS, FABRICATORS AND LABORERS		
Machine Operators, Assemblers, and Inspectors	621	14.2
Transportation and Material Moving Handlers, Equipment Cleaners, Helpers and Laborers	229	5.2
	<u>277</u>	<u>6.5</u>
Total	4,384	100.0 %

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 6
EMPLOYED PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER BY INDUSTRY

	Number	%
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, FISHERIES, MINING	0	0.0
CONSTRUCTION	105	2.3
MANUFACTURING		
Nondurable Goods	503	11.5
Durable Goods	551	12.6
TRANSPORTATION	204	4.6
COMMUNICATION, OTHER PUBLIC UTILITIES	114	2.6
WHOLESALE TRADE	121	2.8
RETAIL TRADE	505	11.5
FINANCE, INSURANCE AND REAL ESTATE	275	6.3
BUSINESS AND REPAIR SERVICES	167	3.8
PERSONAL, ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION SERVICES	254	5.8
PROFESSIONAL AND RELATED SERVICES		
Health Services	649	14.8
Educational Services	341	7.8
Other Professional and Related Services	293	6.7
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	<u>302</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Total	4,384	100.0%

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 7
EMPLOYED PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER BY CLASS OF WORKER

	No.	%
PRIVATE WAGE AND SALARY WORKER	3,319	75.7%
GOVERNMENT WORKER		
Federal Government	208	4.7
State Government	239	5.5
Local Government	542	12.4
SELF-EMPLOYED WORKER	76	1.7
UNPAID FAMILY WORKER	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	4,384	100.0%

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 8
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY OCCUPATION (1970-1980)

	Dudley Street Neighborhood		City of Boston		
	1970 ⁽²⁾	1980 ⁽³⁾	1970 ⁽²⁾	1980 ⁽¹⁾	
PROFESSIONAL, MANAGERIAL AND TECHNICAL	14.0	34.0	39.0	22.0	30.0
SALES WORKERS	4.0			6.0	3.0
CLERICAL	16.0			27.0	26.0
CRAFTSMEN	14.0	8.0	10.0	8.0	
OPERATIONS & TRANSPORT	17.0	22.0	26.0	4.0	3.0
LABORERS	5.0				
SERVICE WORKERS	<u>30.0</u>	<u>27.0</u>	<u>17.0</u>	<u>19.0</u>	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Sources: (1) B.R.A. Household Survey, 1980
(2) 1970 U.S. Census of Population
(3) 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 9
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY INDUSTRY (1970-1980)

	Dudley Street Neighborhood		City of Boston	
	1970 ⁽²⁾	1980 ⁽³⁾	1970(2)	1980 ⁽¹⁾
CONSTRUCTION	4.0	2.4	4.0	2.0
MANUFACTURING	32.0	24.0	24.0	14.0
TRANSPORTATION	4.0	4.6	3.7	6.0
COMMUNICATION	4.0	2.6	3.3	16.0
COMMERCIAL	15.0	14.3	18.0	7.0
FINANCE	5.0	6.3	8.5	
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	3.0	6.9	31.0	4.0
SERVICES	25.0	32.2	6.5	27.0
OTHER	<u>8.0</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>5.0</u>
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Sources: (1) B.R.A. Household Survey, 1980
 (2) 1970 U.S. Census of Population
 (3) 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 10

PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER BY SEX RACE/ORIGIN BY LABOR FORCE STATUS

	Male		Female	
	Number	%	Number	%
TOTAL:				
LABOR FORCE				
Armed Forces	7	0.2%	11	0.2
Civilian Labor Force				
Employed	2,218	53.7	2,166	42.5
Unemployed	361	8.8	212	4.1
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	<u>1,537</u>	<u>37.3</u>	<u>2,720</u>	<u>53.2</u>
Total	4,123	100.0%	5,109	100.0%
WHITE:				
LABOR FORCE				
Armed Forces	0	0.0	0	0.0
Civilian Labor Force				
Employed	539	52.8	598	50.8
Unemployed	100	10.0	34	2.9
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	<u>382</u>	<u>37.2</u>	<u>545</u>	<u>46.3</u>
Total	1,021	100.0%	1,177	100.0%
BLACK:				
LABOR FORCE				
Armed Forces	7	0.4	11	0.4
Civilian Labor Force				
Employed	1,041	53.0	1,095	43.0
Unemployed	126	6.4	125	5.0
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	<u>788</u>	<u>40.2</u>	<u>1317</u>	<u>51.6</u>
Total	1,962	100.0%	2,548	100.0%
AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, ALEUTIAN:				
LABOR FORCE				
Armed Forces	0	0.0	0	0.0
Civilian Labor Force				
Employed	23	72.0	9	23.0
Unemployed	0	0.0	0	0.0
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	<u>9</u>	<u>28.0</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>77.0</u>
Total	32	100.0%	39	100.0%
SPANISH ORIGIN (ANY RACE):				
LABOR FORCE				
Armed Forces	0	0.0	0	0.0
Civilian Labor Force				
Employed	563	54.7	470	35.0
Unemployed	85	8.2	61	4.5
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	<u>382</u>	<u>37.1</u>	<u>815</u>	<u>60.5</u>
Total	1,030	100.0%	1,346	100.0%

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 11

PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER BY SEX BY LABOR FORCE STATUS IN 1979

	male		female	
	No.	%	No.	%
IN LABOR FORCE				
WORKED IN 1979				
With Unemployment	505	12.2	475	9.3
No Unemployment	2,058	50.0	1,934	38.0
DID NOT WORK, WITH UNEMPLOYMENT	206	5.0	160	3.0
NOT IN LABOR FORCE	<u>1,354</u>	<u>32.8</u>	<u>2,540</u>	<u>49.7</u>
Total	4,123	100.0	5,109	100.0%

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 12

PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IN 1979 BY WEEKS UNEMPLOYED

	No.	%
UNEMPLOYED 1 TO 4 WEEKS	328	24.4
UNEMPLOYED 5 TO 14 WEEKS	440	32.7
UNEMPLOYED 15 OR MORE WEEKS	<u>578</u>	<u>42.9</u>
Total	1,346	100.0%

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 13

FEMALES 16 YEARS AND OVER WITH ONE OR MORE OWN CHILDREN BY LABOR FORCE STATUS

	No.	%
WITH OWN CHILDREN UNDER 6:		
In Labor Force	410	20.9
Not in Labor Force	521	26.6
WITH OWN CHILDREN 6-17:		
In Labor Force	491	25.1
Not in Labor Force	<u>536</u>	<u>27.4</u>
Total	1,958	100.0%

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 14

PERSONS 18 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

	No.	%
ELEMENTARY (0 to 8 years) THROUGH HIGH SCHOOL (1 to 3 years):	4,320	51.5%
HIGH SCHOOL, 4 years:	2,929	35.0
COLLEGE:		
1 to 3 years	692	8.3
4 years	225	2.7
5 or more years	<u>211</u>	<u>2.5</u>
Total	8,377	100.0%

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 15

PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY RACE BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

	No.	%
TOTAL		
ELEMENTARY (0 to 8 years)	2,029	32.0
HIGH SCHOOL		
1 to 3 years	1,330	21.0
4 years	2,166	34.1
COLLEGE		
1 to 3 years	419	6.6
4 years or more	402	6.3
Total	6,346	100.0%
WHITE		
ELEMENTARY	459	27.2
HIGH SCHOOL		
1 to 3 years	299	17.7
4 years	711	42.1
COLLEGE		
1 to 3 years	114	6.7
4 years or more	106	6.3
Total	1,689	100.0%
BLACK		
ELEMENTARY	581	19.5
HIGH SCHOOL		
1 to 3 years	803	27.0
4 years	1,110	37.2
COLLEGE		
1 to 3 years	242	8.1
4 years or more	245	8.2
Total	2,981	100.0%
AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, ALEUT		
ELEMENTARY	35	66.0
HIGH SCHOOL		
1 to 3 years	0	0.0
4 years	8	15.1
COLLEGE		
1 to 3 years	0	0.0
4 years or more	10	18.9
Total	53	100.0%

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

Table 16

WORKERS 16 YEARS AND OVER BY MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION TO WORK

	No.	%
CAR, TRUCK, OR VAN		
Drive Alone	1,298	31
Carpool	899	21.4
PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION	1,510	36
WALKED ONLY	423	10
OTHER MEANS	28	0.7
WORKED AT HOME	<u>40</u>	<u>0.9</u>
Total	4,198	100.0%

Source: 1980 U.S. Census of Population

SKILLS AND EMPLOYMENT ISSUES SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent's Name _____

Address _____ Phone _____

<u>Record of Visit</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Results</u>
		AM	
		PM	

My name is Marta Jaureguiberry. I am a graduate student in the Department of Urban Planning at MIT, and now working on my Master's Thesis. The goal of my thesis is to explore the skills and employment issues of Black, white and Cape Verdean area residents. My involvement with this topic grew out of an intensive Seminar on urban planning that focused on the Dudley Street Neighborhood. A product of this Seminar done for "Alianza Hispana" and its affiliated Community Development Corporation "NUESTRA COMUNIDAD", was a written report on a strategy for the development of the Dudley Street Neighborhood.

Nuestra's goal is the economic revitalization of the neighborhood. Its objectives are to promote community organization, to promote low and moderate income housing, to promote optimal Land Use and to promote the type of Industrial development that creates jobs and revenues for the community residents.

My Master's Thesis will be used by NUESTRA's Industrial Development Committee in order to help identify future business ventures of the type most likely to employ area residents.

NUESTRA has such information on Hispanics already, and wants to take Black, white and Cape Verdean employment needs into account when planning its projects.

I want to ask your cooperation in answering a 24 item questionnaire which will cover general employment issues. In addition, if you know of any studies done on this subject I would appreciate your sharing them with me.

As part of the study I would like to ask you some questions about you and your work for the community.

1. Which is your nation of origin?
2. How long have you been living in Boston?
 1. Less than a year
 2. One to two years
 3. Three to five years
 4. More than five years
3. What is your main activity or occupation?
4. How do you define the type of work you do for the community? Please explain. (type of work, role or position, agency/ies)
5. How long have you been working in community activities?
 1. In general
 2. In Roxbury-Dorchester area
6. Initially, what motivated you to work in community activities?
7. Presently, what are your goals and objectives in working in community activities?
8. In your opinion, what are the most important concerns facing your community? (unemployment, crime, housing)

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about the skills and employment issues of Black, white, and Cape Verdean area residents.

9. From studies done by your agency or organization, what would you say is the median education attainment of Blacks, whites and Cape Verdeans in the area? Describe in percentages:

Black	Male	Female	Young	Old
Some grade school				
Graduated grade school				
Some high school				
Graduated high school				
Some technical training				
Graduated technical training				
Some college				
Graduated college				
Graduate School				

White	Male	Female	Young	Old
Some grade school				
Graduated grade school				
Some high school				
Graduated high school				
Some technical training				
Graduated technical training				
Some college				
Graduated college				
Graduate School				

Cape Verdeans	Male	Female	Young	Old
Some grade school				
Graduated grade school				
Some high school				
Graduated high school				
Some technical training				
Graduated technical training				
Some college				
Graduated college				
Graduate School				

10. What specific kinds of vocational training are most represented among the population?

Black

White

Cape Verdean

11. Where do the workers living in the area go to work? Please give figures or percentages for each group.

Area	Black	White	Cape Verdeans
1. Dorchester			
2. Roxbury			
3. South End			
4. Jamaica Plain			
5. Boston			
6. Out of Boston			

12. What are some commonly held jobs, past and present, of the area residents?

Area	Black	White	Cape Verdeans
Past			

Present

13. What kinds of problems do the Blacks, whites and Cape Verdeans of this area experience in looking for work in Boston?

Blacks

Whites

Cape Verdeans

14. At what kinds of work have the Blacks, whites, and Cape Verdeans in the area excelled?

Blacks

Whites

Cape Verdeans

15. Generally, how many people work per household in the Black, white, and Cape Verdean groups?

Blacks

Whites

Cape Verdeans

16. How do the Blacks, whites, and Cape Verdeans in the area find their jobs?

	Black	White	Cape Verdeans
1.	Through family/friends		
2.	Through private agency		
3.	Through CETA		
4.	Through other agency		
5.	Newspaper or advertisement		
6.	Walk in and inquire/apply		
7.	Others		

17. What would you say is the number or rate of Blacks, Whites and Cape Verdeans without jobs?

Blacks

Whites

Cape Verdeans

18. What job sectors currently experience the most unemployment?

	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Cape Verdeans</u>
1.	Construction		
2.	Manufacturing		
3.	Transportation, communication and public utilities		
4.	Trade		
5.	Finance, Insurance, Real Estate		
6.	Services		
7.	Government		
8.	Self Employed		

19. What types of industries (i.e., manufacturing, service, retail, etc.) do the Blacks, whites, and Cape Verdeans in this area work in?

	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Cape Verdeans</u>
1.	Construction		
2.	Manufacturing		
3.	Transportation, communication and public utilities		
4.	Trade		
5.	Finance, Insurance, Real Estate		
6.	Services		
7.	Government		
8.	Self Employed		

20. Are there any specific companies that employ large numbers of the area workers? Please identify.

	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Cape Verdeans</u>
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21. What percentage of the Blacks, whites and Cape Verdeans without jobs are looking for work?

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Cape Verdeans</u>
0 - 20 %			
21 - 40 %			
41 - 60 %			
61 - 80 %			
81 - 100%			

22. What would you say is the average amount of time that Blacks, whites and Cape Verdeans presently without jobs have been looking for work?

Blacks	Male	Female	Young	Old
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

Whites	Male	Female	Young	Old
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

Cape Verdeans	Male	Female	Young	Old
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

23. Among those Blacks, whites and Cape Verdeans not looking for work, what are the major reasons that they don't look for work?

Blacks

Whites

Cape Verdeans

24. What was the median income in 1981 for Blacks, whites and Cape Verdeans?

	Male	Female	Young	Old
--	------	--------	-------	-----

Blacks

Whites

Cape Verdeans