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**Oakland Labor Force and Unemployment  
Trends: A Review of Available Data and  
Literature**

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The University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum is a partnership of the University of California at Berkeley; California State University, Hayward; Mills College; Holy Names College; the Peralta Community College District; and the Oakland community.

University of California at Berkeley  
Institute of Urban and Regional Development

DRAFT:

OAKLAND LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT TRENDS  
A Review of Available Data and Literature

by John D. Landis and Carmen Concepcion  
University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum

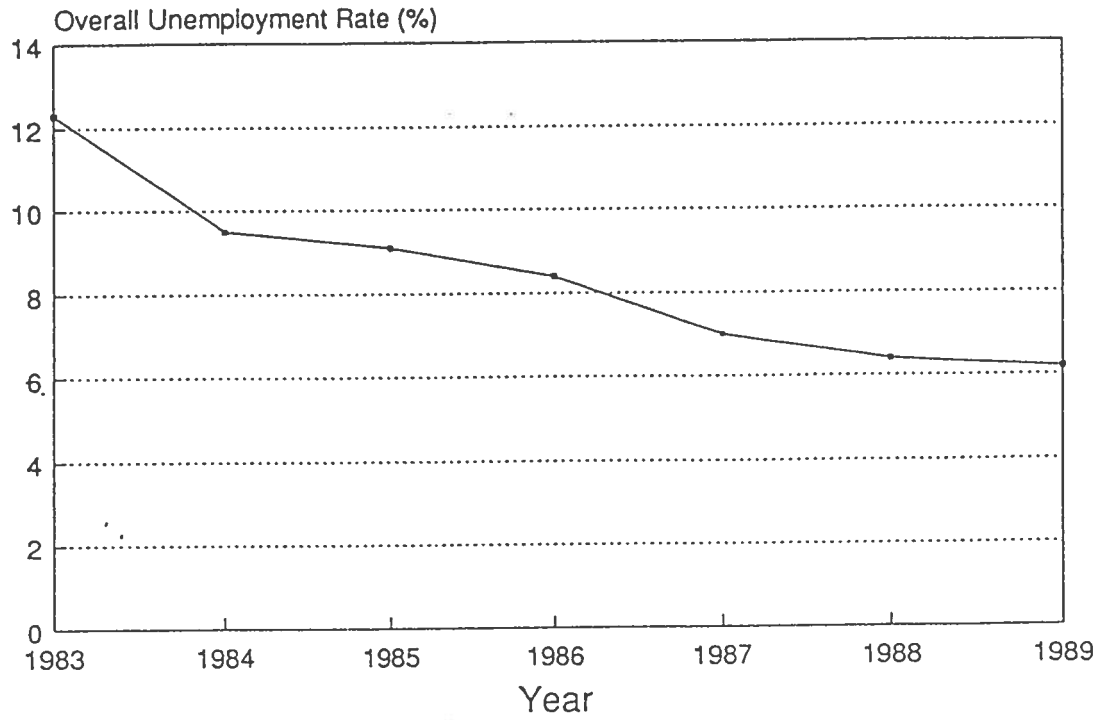
I. OAKLAND EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT TRENDS

Oakland's overall unemployment rate has declined significantly since the early 1980s (Figure 1, Table 1.1). Data collected by the Oakland Office of Economic Development and Employment for the state shows the city's overall unemployment rate declining from 12.3 percent in 1983, to 9.1 percent in 1985, to 7.0 percent in 1987, to the current rate, estimated at 6.2 percent.

As Oakland's unemployment rate has declined, so too has the differential between the city and other parts of the bay Area. For example, in 1984, Oakland's 9.5 percent unemployment rate was 1.7 percentage points above the statewide unemployment rate, and 2.3 percentage points above Alameda County's 7.2 percent unemployment rate. By 1987, the unemployment rate gap between Oakland and the state had narrowed to 1.2 percentage points, and the gap between Oakland and Alameda County had narrowed to 1.1 percentage points (Figure 2).

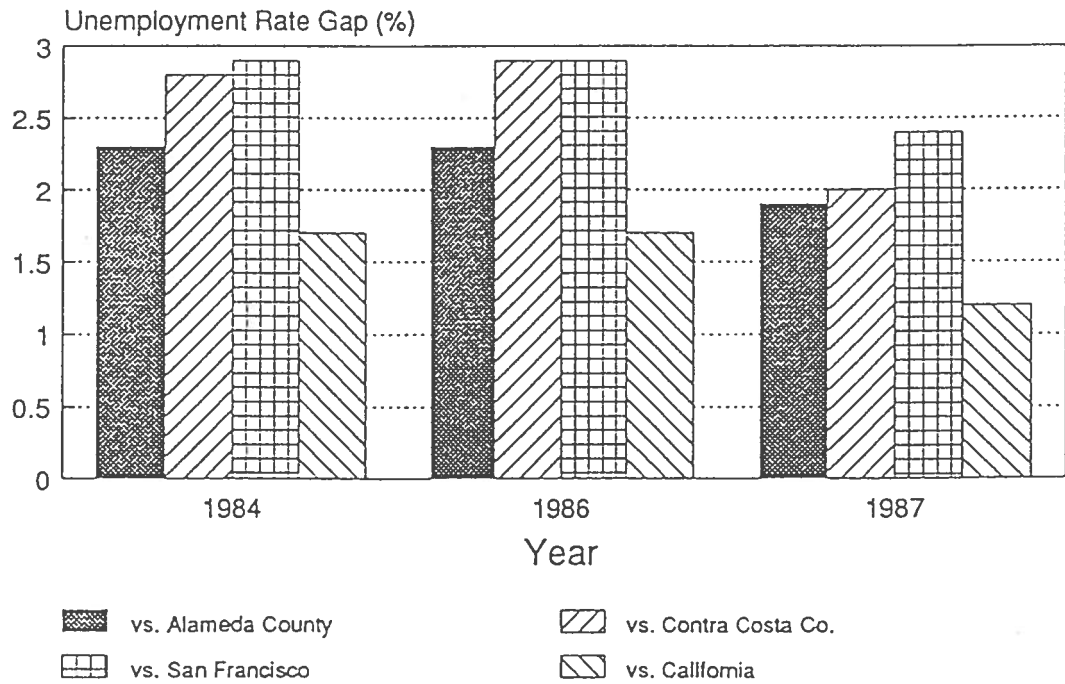
This improvement in the unemployment picture among Oakland residents can not be directly attributed to growth in the Oakland economy. According to a study of Oakland employment trends undertaken for the University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum, non-

FIGURE 1  
 City of Oakland  
 Overall Unemployment Rate: 1983-89



Source: Oakland Office of Econ. Dev.

FIGURE 2  
 City of Oakland Unemployment Rate "Gap"  
 vs. California & Selected Counties



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

Table 1.1 Unemployment Rates: Oakland vs. California & Selected Counties

Year	Oakland	Alameda County	Contra Costa	San Francisco	California
1983	12.3%				
1984	9.5%	7.2%	6.7%	6.6%	7.8%
1985	9.1%				
1986	8.4%	6.1%	5.5%	5.5%	6.7%
1987	7.0%	5.1%	5.0%	4.6%	5.8%
1988	6.4%				
1989	6.2%				

Sources: Oakland Office of Economic Development and Employment;  
U.S Bureau of Labor Statistics

Table 1.2: Oakland Employment by Major Sector: 1981, 1986\*

Sector	Total Employment*				Share of Total Economy		
	1981	1986	Change	%Change	1981	1986	Change
Agricultural Services	212	311	99	46.7%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%
Mining & Extraction	104	162	58	55.8%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
Construction	7,432	8,111	679	9.1%	4.6%	5.1%	0.5%
Manufacturing	28,551	25,368	(3,183)	-11.1%	17.7%	16.0%	-1.8%
Transport/Communications & Public Utilitiies	18,797	13,917	(4,880)	-26.0%	11.7%	8.8%	-2.9%
Wholesale Trade	14,951	14,731	(220)	-1.5%	9.3%	9.3%	0.0%
Retail Trade	26,825	24,619	(2,206)	-8.2%	16.7%	15.5%	-1.2%
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	13,584	14,506	922	6.8%	8.4%	9.1%	0.7%
Services	50,482	57,161	6,679	13.2%	31.4%	36.0%	4.6%
Total	160,937	158,886	-2051	-1.3%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%

Source: University-Oakland Forum

governmental employment in Oakland declined by 1.3 percent between 1981 and 1986, from 160,937 in 1981, to 158,886 in 1986 (Table 1.2). The largest employment declines were in the Manufacturing, Retail Trade, and Transport-Communications-Public Utilities (T/C/U) sectors. Among Oakland's major business sectors, only the Service sector, and the Finance-Insurance-Real Estate sector gained employment. By contrast, all major sectors in the economy of the San Francisco Bay Area, with the exception of T/C/U gained substantial employment over the same period. What this means is that the decline in the Oakland unemployment rate is primarily due to more Oaklanders finding jobs outside the Oakland economy.

## II. WHO IS OUT OF WORK IN OAKLAND?

Information on who is out of work comes from three sources: 1) the 1980 U.S. Census; 2) Unemployment insurance claim reports, as compiled for the California Employment Development Department, and; 3) 1987 and 1988 participant summaries for Oakland's Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) program.

### 1980 Census Profiles

Information from the 1980 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, although now almost a decade old, provides what is still the most comprehensive view of the characteristics of Oakland's unemployed:

- \* Altogether, 9.4 percent of Oakland's work force in 1980 was unemployed. This compared with a 6.7 percent unemployment rate for Alameda County. (Table 2.1).
- \* Unemployment in Oakland in 1980 was strongly correlated with race. For example, the 1980 unemployment rate for Blacks was 13.5 percent, while the 1980 unemployment rate for Hispanic Oaklanders was 11.7 percent. By contrast, the unemployment rate among white Oaklanders in 1980 stood at 5.2, while the unemployment rate among Asian Oaklanders stood at 5.9 percent. Altogether, 61 percent of Oakland's jobless residents in 1980 were Black (Table 2.2; Figure 3).
- \* Oakland's unemployed in 1980 were young, with unemployed blacks significantly younger than unemployed whites. Among unemployed blacks, for example, the median age in 1980 was 27, versus 32 for unemployed whites. Altogether, two out of every five unemployed Oaklanders in 1980 were between the ages of 16 and 24 (Table 2.2). In general, Black and Hispanic Oaklanders had higher unemployment rates than white Oaklanders in all age groups.
- \* Unemployment rates were highest among Oakland's teenagers (aged 16 to 19), averaging 25.1 percent in 1980. Here again, however, unemployment rates for Black and Hispanic teenagers (33.7 percent and 22.8 percent, respectively) were significantly higher than for white teenagers (13.8

Table 2.1: Unemployment Rates by Sex, Age, and Ethnicity: Oakland and Alameda County

Oakland	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Other
Female	8.4%	5.3%	11.1%	5.3%	11.2%	14.2%
Male	10.3%	5.1%	15.9%	6.5%	11.9%	9.3%
By Age						
All Ages (16+)	9.4%	5.2%	13.5%	5.9%	11.7%	11.9%
16-19	25.1%	13.8%	33.7%	17.0%	22.8%	18.7%
20-24	16.8%	8.5%	23.7%	7.3%	16.2%	18.3%
25+	7.2%	4.5%	10.0%	5.0%	9.4%	9.6%
Alameda County						
Female	6.7%	5.3%	10.9%	4.7%	9.8%	10.7%
Male	7.0%	5.1%	14.8%	4.9%	9.2%	6.5%
By Age						
All Ages (16+)	6.9%	5.2%	12.9%	4.8%	9.4%	8.4%
16-19	16.5%	12.8%	22.7%	14.4%	18.1%	19.9%
20-24	11.3%	8.3%	21.9%	8.0%	13.6%	5.5%
25+	5.2%	4.0%	9.7%	3.6%	7.2%	7.6%

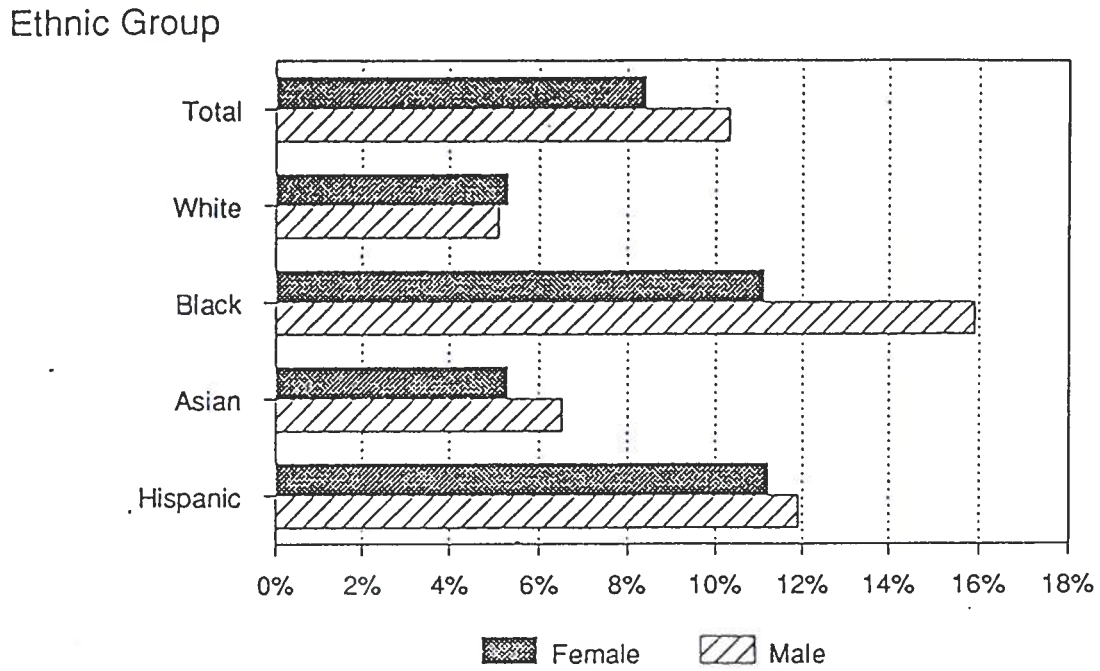
Source: U.S. Department of Labor, 1980 Census of Population Report 3:  
Social Indicators for Planning and Evaluation, Oakland City; Alameda County

Table 2.2: Characteristics of the Unemployed: Oakland and Alameda County: 1980

Ethnicity	Oakland	Alameda County
Total	14,820	37,894
White	22%	49%
Black	61%	30%
Asian	6%	5%
Hispanic	11%	15%
Other	1%	1%
Age Structure		
16-19	13%	16%
20-24	25%	24%
25-64	61%	58%
65+	2%	2%

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, 1980 Census of Population Report 3:  
Social Indicators for Planning and Evaluation, Oakland City; Alameda County

FIGURE 3:  
1980 Oakland Unemployment Rates  
by Ethnicity



Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor

FIGURE 4:

1980 Ethnic Comp. of the Unemployed  
Oakland vs. Alameda County



Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor

percent).

- \* Of the total number of Oakland teenagers in the workforce in 1980, three out of every four were minorities. This indicates that young minorities of school age tend to enter the labor force earlier than their white counterparts. To the extent that they drop out of high school to do so, this puts minority teenagers at a permanent competitive disadvantage.
- \* Regardless of race or ethnic group, the unemployment rate was higher among male Oaklanders (10.8 percent overall) than among female Oaklanders (8.4 percent overall).
- \* Chronic unemployment was a serious problem in Oakland, as 40 percent of the city's jobless were unemployed for 15 weeks or more.
- \* Comparing the unemployment picture in Oakland in 1980 to that in Alameda County reveals five significant differences. First, as noted above, the overall unemployment rate in Oakland was considerably higher than in the County. Second, while minorities accounted for only 51 percent of the County's unemployed in the 1980s, they comprised 78 percent of Oakland's jobless. Third, among those aged 16-19, the County unemployment rate was significantly lower (16.3 percent) than the Oakland unemployment rate (25.1 percent). Fourth, whereas two-thirds of teenagers in the labor force in Alameda County were white, only one-third of employed teenagers in Oakland were white.
- \* Side by side comparisons of the characteristics of Oakland's employed residents with those of unemployed Oaklanders reveal significant, but not unsurprising differences. Whereas 59 percent of the City's labor force in 1980 were minorities, 78 percent of the unemployed were minorities. Whereas teenagers comprised only four percent of the workforce, they accounted for more than 13 percent of the unemployed.
- \* Among all groups, but especially among Blacks, the problem of unemployment was paralleled by the problem of educational attainment. Whereas Blacks comprised 40 percent of Oaklanders over the age of 25, they accounted for -- percent of those over the age of 25 who had not finished high school. The proportion of Black teenagers who did not finish high school (23 percent) was almost double the proportion of white teenagers not finishing high school (12.7 percent).

Table 2.3: Ethnic Composition of the Employed and Unemployed Labor Force:  
Oakland and Alameda County: 1980

=====		
Oakland	Employed	Unemployed
-----	-----	-----
Total	142,699	14,820
White	41.0%	22.0%
Black	40.0%	61.0%
Hispanic	8.0%	11.0%
Asian	9.0%	6.0%
Other	1.0%	1.0%
Alameda County		
-----		
Total	514,727	37,894
White	66.0%	49.0%
Black	15.0%	30.0%
Hispanic	10.0%	15.0%
Asian	8.0%	5.0%
Other	1.0%	1.0%

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, 1980 Census of Population Report 3:  
Social Indicators for Planning and Evaluation, Oakland City.

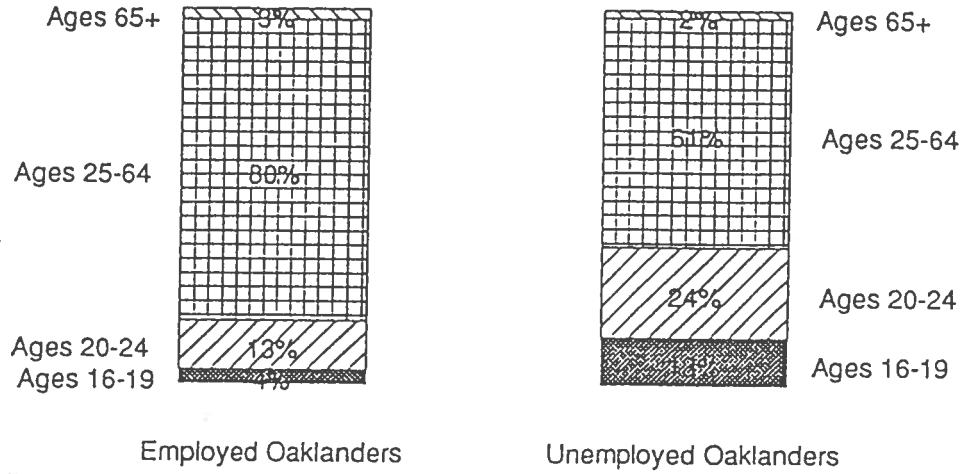
Table 2.4: Age Distribution of the Employed and Unemployed Labor Force:  
Oakland and Alameda County: 1980

	Oakland		Alameda County	
	Employed	Unemployed	Employed	Unemployed
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	142,699	14,820	514,727	37,894
16-19	4%	13%	6%	16%
20-24	13%	24%	14%	24%
25-64	80%	61%	78%	58%
65+	3%	2%	2%	2%
Male	75,458	8,652	285,392	8,652
16-19	4%	12%	5%	16%
20-24	11%	25%	13%	25%
25-64	81%	61%	79%	57%
65+	4%	2%	3%	2%
Females	67,241	6,168	229,335	6,168
16-19	4%	15%	7%	16%
20-24	14%	24%	15%	22%
25-64	79%	60%	76%	60%
65+	3%	1%	2%	1%

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, 1980 Census of Population Report 3:  
Social Indicators for Planning and Evaluation, Oakland City; Alameda County

FIGURE 5:

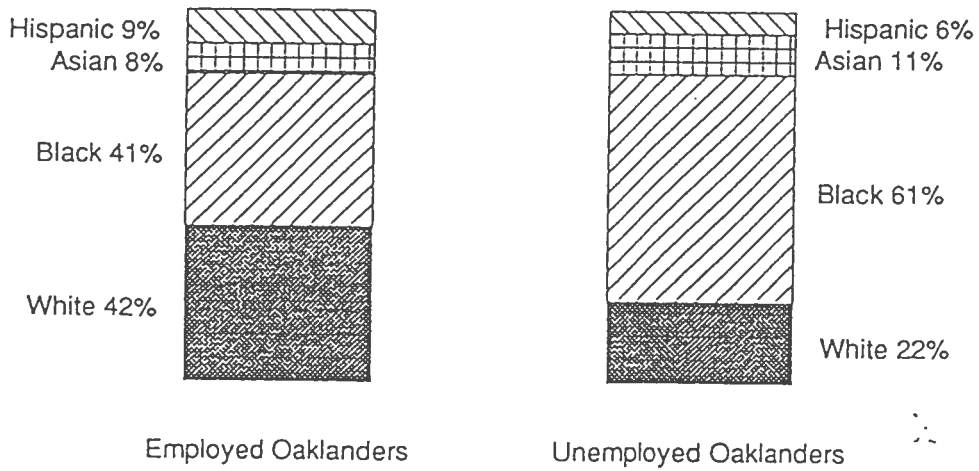
1980 Age Composition of Employed and Unemployed Oaklanders



Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor

FIGURE 6:

1980 Ethnic Composition of the Oakland Employed and Unemployed Labor Force



Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor

Table 2.5: Years of Schooling of Oakland Residents (25 Years and Older); by Ethnicity: 1980

Educational Attainment	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Other
Less than High School	28.54%	18.9%	33.4%	32.9%	53.5%	37.5%
High School Only	27.39%	25.6%	31.4%	21.0%	22.0%	36.0%
Some College	22.30%	21.4%	25.0%	20.0%	14.9%	29.3%
College Graduates	21.77%	33.8%	10.3%	25.1%	11.7%	28.6%
Total Percent	1	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Number	215,024	94,178	86,350	16,804	16,057	1,635

Source: U.S. Department of Labor

Table 2.6: Occupational Distribution of Oakland Residents by Ethnicity: 1980

Occupation	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Other
Executives, Managers, Administrators	11.0%	15.8%	7.6%	9.7%	5.2%	12.5%
Professionals	14.9%	23.2%	8.5%	11.5%	7.1%	17.0%
Technical & Related	3.6%	4.4%	3.1%	4.0%	1.7%	4.1%
Sales	8.5%	10.7%	6.7%	8.4%	6.0%	9.7%
Administrative Support & Clerical Service	22.2%	18.9%	26.9%	22.0%	15.8%	25.3%
Farming, Forestry & Fisheries	1.0%	0.9%	1.0%	1.1%	2.0%	0.0%
Precision Production	9.1%	8.8%	9.0%	9.0%	11.9%	10.4%
Machine Operators & Assemblers	6.6%	3.2%	7.2%	11.6%	14.9%	7.5%
Transportation & Materials Moving	3.3%	2.5%	4.4%	0.7%	4.7%	3.8%
Handlers, Helpers, and Laborers	4.6%	2.5%	6.0%	4.0%	8.7%	5.2%
Total Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Number	142,699	58,767	57,693	12,966	12,021	1,252

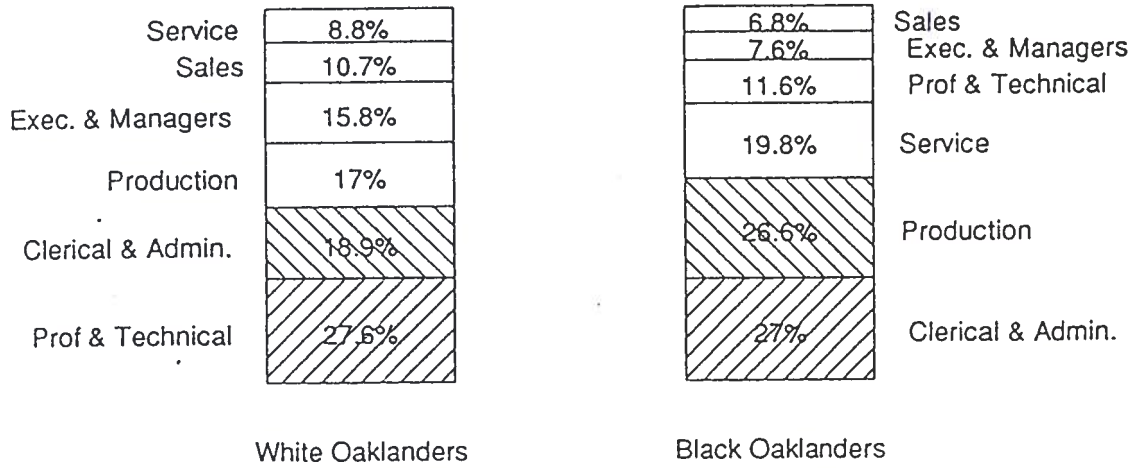
Source: U.S. Department of Labor

Table 2.7: Employment Distribution by Industry of Oakland Residents; by Ethnicity: 1980

Occupation	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Other
Agricultural Services	1.1%	1.6%	0.8%	1.0%	0.5%	1.3%
Construction	4.4%	6.8%	2.5%	3.4%	2.1%	5.0%
Manufacturing	14.3%	17.3%	12.4%	15.7%	6.8%	16.3%
Transportation/Communications/Public Utilities	10.3%	13.0%	8.1%	10.2%	7.3%	11.7%
Wholesale Trade	3.6%	3.0%	4.3%	3.5%	2.5%	4.1%
Retail Trade	14.1%	8.2%	18.5%	17.1%	20.1%	16.1%
Finance-Insurance-Real Estate	8.4%	7.6%	7.9%	9.3%	16.0%	0.0%
Services	36.6%	35.6%	36.2%	36.3%	47.8%	41.7%
Professional & Related Services	25.7%	12.5%	28.0%	45.3%	58.1%	29.3%
Public Administration	7.2%	5.4%	9.4%	1.6%	10.2%	8.2%
Total Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Number	142,699	58,767	57,693	12,966	12,021	1,252

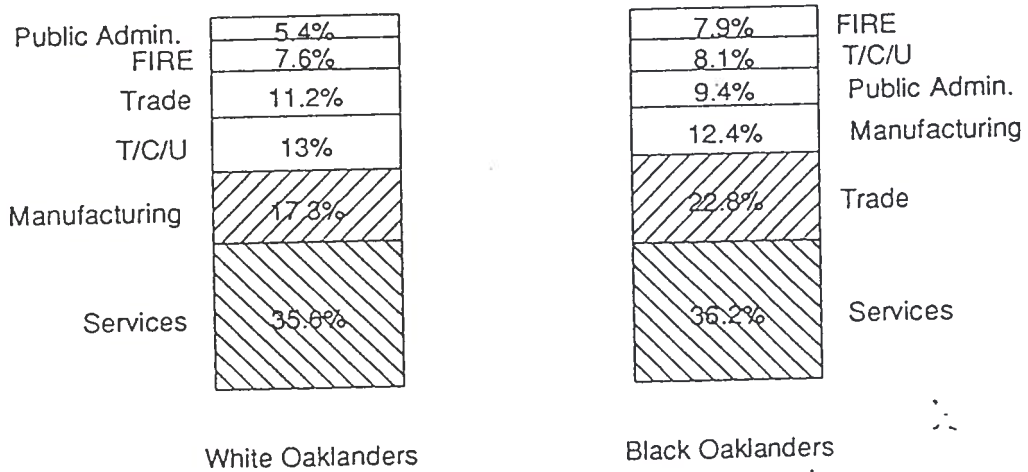
Source: U.S. Department of Labor

FIGURE 7:  
Occupational Distribution of  
Oakland Residents: 1980



Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor

FIGURE 8:  
Industrial Distribution of  
Oakland Residents: 1980



Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor

Table 2.8: Summary of Oakland\* Unemployment Claim Recipients: 1987

	Total Applicants		New Applicants		Renewals		Referred to Job		Placed in Job		Placement Rate	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	Gross	Net
Total	23,736	100%	14,691	100%	5211	100%	10,587	100%	4,330	100%	18.2%	40.9%
Male	13,501	57%	7,973	54%	3,234	62%	6,568	62%	2,653	61%	19.7%	40.4%
Female	10,235	43%	6,718	46%	1,977	38%	4,019	38%	1,677	39%	16.4%	41.7%
Under 22 Years Old	5,406	23%	3,688	25%	1,348	26%	2,046	19%	1,238	29%	22.9%	60.5%
45 Years or Older	2,792	12%	1,609	11%	565	11%	1,163	11%	479	11%	17.2%	41.2%
Total Minority	19,818	83%	12,235	83%	4,631	89%	9,313	88%	3,881	90%	19.6%	41.7%
Black	14,967	63%	9,122	62%	3,564	68%	6,945	66%	2,895	67%	19.3%	41.7%
Hispanic	2,645	11%	1,761	12%	598	11%	1,396	13%	611	14%	23.1%	43.8%
Other	2,206	9%	1,352	9%	469	9%	972	9%	375	9%	17.0%	38.6%
Handicapped	809	3%	445	3%	231	4%	356	3%	136	3%	16.8%	38.2%
Veteran	4,440	19%	2,158	15%	1,118	21%	2,181	21%	847	20%	19.1%	38.8%
Vietnam Veteran	2,235	9%	1,040	7%	632	12%	1,074	10%	417	10%	18.7%	38.8%
Disabled	434	2%	206	1%	140	3%	215	2%	73	2%	16.8%	34.0%

Source: California Employment Development Department: Oakland Office

Notes \* includes some recipients residing in the cities of Alameda and San Leandro

## Unemployment Insurance Claims

A second, and more contemporary profile of unemployed Oaklanders can be assembled from unemployment insurance claim reports, as compiled by the Oakland Office of Economic Development and Employment. Although more recent than Census data, this information has its own limitations. First, the data is not exclusive to Oakland residents. The Oakland Department of Economic Development and Employment also processes unemployment claims for residents of the city of Alameda, and parts of San Leandro.

Second, the data applies only to those who are recently unemployed, and are therefore eligible for unemployment insurance. It does not include those unemployment insurance has expired, or those who have left the labor force and are no longer actively seeking employment. In this sense, unemployment data provides a reasonable picture of the employable unemployed (based on having had a job in the past), and a much less complete picture of the hard-core unemployed.

Table 2.8 summarizes the data for 1987:

- \* 57 percent of the 23,736 persons who received unemployment insurance payouts through the Oakland Office of Economic Development and Employment in 1987, were men. Sixty-five percent were between the ages of 22 and 44, while 23 percent were under 21 years of age or younger. Only 12 percent were 45 years or older.
- \* 83 percent of those receiving unemployment insurance payouts in 1987 were members of minority groups. Sixty-three percent were Black, and 12 percent were Hispanic.
- \* Veterans accounted for 19 percent of those receiving unemployment insurance in Oakland in 1987. Only three percent of recipients were handicapped.

- \* There were 14,691 new applicants to the program in 1987. With respect to gender, race, and age, the composition of new applicants matched the composition of the total pool.
- \* There were 5,211 claim renewals in 1987. As compared to the pool of new applications, renewals tended to be disproportionately male (62% of renewals, vs. 54 percent of new applicants), and Black (68 percent vs. 62 percent).
- \* 10,587 claim recipients were referred to one or more jobs in 1987. As compared with the pool of total recipients, referrals tended to be disproportionately male (62 percent vs. 57 percent); members of racial minority groups (88 percent vs. 83 percent), and veterans (21 percent vs. 19 percent). Whereas 23 percent of all recipients were 21 years of age or less, only 19 percent of referrals were 21 years old or younger.
- \* 4,330 claim recipients gained employment in 1987. As compared with the pool of total recipients, new hires tended to be disproportionately males (61 percent vs. 57 percent), younger than 22 years old (29 percent vs 23 percent), and Black or Hispanic. Except for age, the composition of the pool of new hires closely matched the composition of referrals; with respect to age, new hires were disproportionately younger (23 percent of new hires less than 22 years old, vs. 19 percent of referrals).
- \* Gross placement rates (share of total recipients who gained employment) were highest for the young, and for Hispanics, and lowest for women, the handicapped, and disabled veterans. Net placement rates (share of referrals gaining employment) were consistent (at about 40 percent) across all the groups listed, except for the young: 60.5 percent of those who were 21 years old or younger who were referred to a job entered employment.

#### Job Training Partnership Program

Another source of information on who is unemployed in Oakland comes from the program and placement records of Oakland's Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) program (Tables 2.9 and 2.10). Although the JTPA program is much smaller than

unemployment insurance, in many ways it provides a more complete picture of who is unemployed. This is because many JTPA program participants have either been unemployed for long periods of time (and thus exhausted their unemployment insurance), or withdrawn from the labor force entirely. Still, JTPA is an entirely voluntary program, which means that participants are not necessarily representative of the larger population of Oakland's unemployed.

The JTPA is administered to two sets of participants: adults (those over 21), and young adults (those between the ages of 16 and 21). Table 2.9 profiles the participants in the adult JTPA program, and Table 2.10 provides a similar summary for the young adult program:

- \* Altogether 1,950 adults and 1,632 young adults participated in Oakland's JTPA program between July 1986 and June 1988. Fifty-five percent of adult participants were men and 45 percent were women. By contrast, only 41 percent of youth participants were males.
- \* Twenty-three percent of adult participants were sole heads-of-households in which dependents were present; ten percent of the youth participants were sole-heads-of-households in which dependents were present.
- \* Blacks comprised 71 percent of the adult participants and 69 percent of youth participants. Asians comprised 16 percent of adult participants and 21 percent of youth participants. Hispanics comprised only four percent and five percent, respectively, of adult and youth JTPA participants.
- \* 84 percent of JTPA adult participants had completed high school; only 15 percent were high school drop outs. Thirty-four percent of adult participants were veterans, 11 percent had some handicap, and 17 had limited English abilities.
- \* 46 percent of youth participants were currently enrolled in high school; an additional 30 percent had completed high school, and 17 percent had dropped out.

Table 2.9

Program Summary for Oakland Job Training Partnership Program:  
Adult Participants: July 1986-June 1988

	Total Participants		Total Terminations		Entered Empl.		Placement Rate	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	Gross	Net
Total	1,950	100%	1,531	100%	1024	100%	52.5%	66.9%
Male	1080	55%	897	59%	627	61%	58.1%	69.9%
Female	980	50%	634	41%	397	39%	40.5%	62.6%
Single Head of Household with Dependents	447	23%	538	35%	178	17%	39.8%	33.1%
22-29 Years Old	762	39%	602	39%	407	40%	53.4%	67.6%
30 Years or Older	1,188	61%	929	61%	617	60%	51.9%	66.4%
Total Minority	1,786	92%	1,411	92%	946	92%	53.0%	67.0%
Black	1,375	71%	1,081	71%	703	69%	51.1%	65.0%
Hispanic	74	4%	52	3%	33	3%	44.6%	63.5%
Asian	319	16%	269	18%	202	20%	63.3%	75.1%
Other	18	1%	9	1%	8	1%	44.4%	88.9%
Post High School	747	38%	580	38%	399	39%	53.4%	68.8%
High School Graduate	896	46%	707	46%	469	46%	52.3%	66.3%
Current Student	21	1%	14	1%	11	1%	52.4%	78.6%
School Dropout	286	15%	230	15%	145	14%	50.7%	63.0%
Handicapped	222	11%	160	10%	114	11%	51.4%	71.3%
Limited English	326	17%	272	18%	196	19%	60.1%	72.1%
Veteran	661	34%	579	38%	402	39%	60.8%	69.4%
Employment Status								
Employed	165	8%	129	8%	87	8%	52.7%	67.4%
Short-term Unemployed	352	18%	289	19%	209	20%	59.4%	72.3%
Long-term Unemployed	508	26%	402	26%	291	28%	57.3%	72.4%
Not in Labor Force	925	47%	711	46%	437	43%	47.2%	61.5%
Unemployment Insurance Claimant	189	10%	155	10%	120	12%	63.5%	77.4%
Government Assistance	667	34%	469	31%	270	26%	40.5%	57.6%
AFDC Recipient	387	20%	278	18%	151	15%	39.0%	54.3%
Food Stamp Recipient	378	19%	267	17%	148	14%	39.2%	55.4%
SSI/SSP Recipient	171	9%	114	7%	69	7%	40.4%	60.5%

Source: Oakland Office of Economic Development and Employment

- \* Nearly half (47 percent) of the 1,950 adult JTPA participants were not counted as part of the labor force. Another 26 percent had not been unemployed during 15 of the prior 26 weeks. Eight percent of adult JTPA participants held a job while in the program. Ten percent were drawing unemployment insurance while in the JTPA program. Among the youth participants, 76 percent were not counted in the labor force, 19 percent were unemployed, and 5 percent held jobs while in the program.
  
- \* 34 percent of adult JTPA participants and 56 percent of youth participants received some form of government assistance. Twenty percent of adult participants received Aid-for-Families-with-Dependent-Children (AFDC) assistance, and 19 percent were Food Stamp recipients. Among the youth participants, 44 percent were in households receiving AFDC, while 30 percent were in households receiving food stamps.
  
- \* 1,531 adult participants were terminated from the JTPA program between July 1986 and June 1988. This includes both those participants who formally completed the program, as well as those who voluntarily withdrew. Over the same period, 1,024 participants found employment. The gross placement rate (the share of total participants finding employment) for all participants was 52.5 percent. Gross placement rates were highest for Asians (63.3 percent), those receiving unemployment insurance (63.5 percent), Veterans (60.8 percent), those with limited English skills (60.1 percent), and those who had been unemployed for a brief period (59.4 percent). Gross placement rates were lowest for AFDC recipients (39 percent), Food stamp recipients (39.2 percent), single-householders-with-dependents (39.8 percent), and women (40.5 percent). Note that none of these categories are mutually exclusive. In general, participant age and schooling did not affect gross placement rates.
  
- \* Similar patterns held for net placement rates (the share of program terminations finding employment). The overall net placement rate during the period between July 1986 and June 1988 was 66.9 percent. Net placement rates were highest for those receiving unemployment insurance (77.4 percent), and those who had been previously employed. Net placement rates were lowest for single-householders with dependents (33.1 percent), and those receiving any form of government assistance.
  
- \* Among youth participants, the overall gross placement rate was 33.1 percent. Gross placement rates were highest for those who had graduated from high school (55.8 percent), and those receiving short and long-term unemployment (45.7 percent, and 47 percent, respectively). Not surprisingly,

gross placement rates were lowest for current students (24.3 percent), and those receiving some form of government assistance (27.4 percent).

### III. OAKLAND'S CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

#### Job Changes by Occupational Group

Other than the 1980 Census, little information is available to provide an occupational breakdown of Oakland's labor force. To generate such a breakdown we cross-classified Oakland employment by industry in 1981 and 1986 (using County Business Patterns data obtained from the U.S. Census; see Working Paper--), with a table of occupations by industry group, as compiled by the California Department of Employment Development (Appendix A). Such a cross-classification analysis allows us to estimate changes in the occupational distribution of the Oakland labor force between 1981 and 1986, and to analyze which industry changes account for which occupational changes.

Readers should realize that this analysis produces estimates of the occupational breakdown of Oakland workers, not a formal count or survey, as was undertaken for the 1980 census. By using a statewide industry-occupation table to estimate Oakland occupations, we assume that the occupational breakdown of Oakland industries is the same as the occupational breakdown for the same industries, calculated statewide. Functionally, this means that we assume that if 20 percent of industry x's employees are managers statewide, then 20 percent of the employment in Oakland's industry x will also be managers. Finally, readers should realize that this analysis presents a profile of the occupations of those who work in Oakland, not those who live in Oakland. To the extent that Oakland's employment base draws on

workers who live outside the city, this analysis is not the same thing as a profile of the occupational capabilities and training of Oakland residents.

Historically, Oakland's jobs base has been biased toward production workers (Table 3.1; Figure 10). In 1981, for example, of the 158,740 workers employed in the Oakland economy, 46,880 or 29.5 percent were classified as production workers. By 1986, production workers still accounted for 28 percent of Oakland's workers, despite large employment losses in the types of industries employing production labor.

After production workers, the next largest occupational group in the Oakland economy is clerical and administrative workers. In 1986, for example, clerical/administrative jobs accounted for 22.8 percent of Oakland jobs, up slightly from 22.3 percent in 1981. Significantly, however, the actual number of clerical and administrative jobs in the Oakland economy increased by only 37 between 1981 and 1986; rather, the relative rise in clerical workforce was due to job declines in other occupations.

Professional and technical workers are the third largest component of the Oakland workforce, accounting for 15.5 percent of workers in 1981, and 15.3 percent in 1986. In absolute terms, however, the Oakland economy, lost 848 professional/technical jobs between 1981 and 1986.

The 1980s saw the continuing shift of the Oakland economy from being one with a production-base, to one with a service. Thus, it is not surprising that the number of workers classified

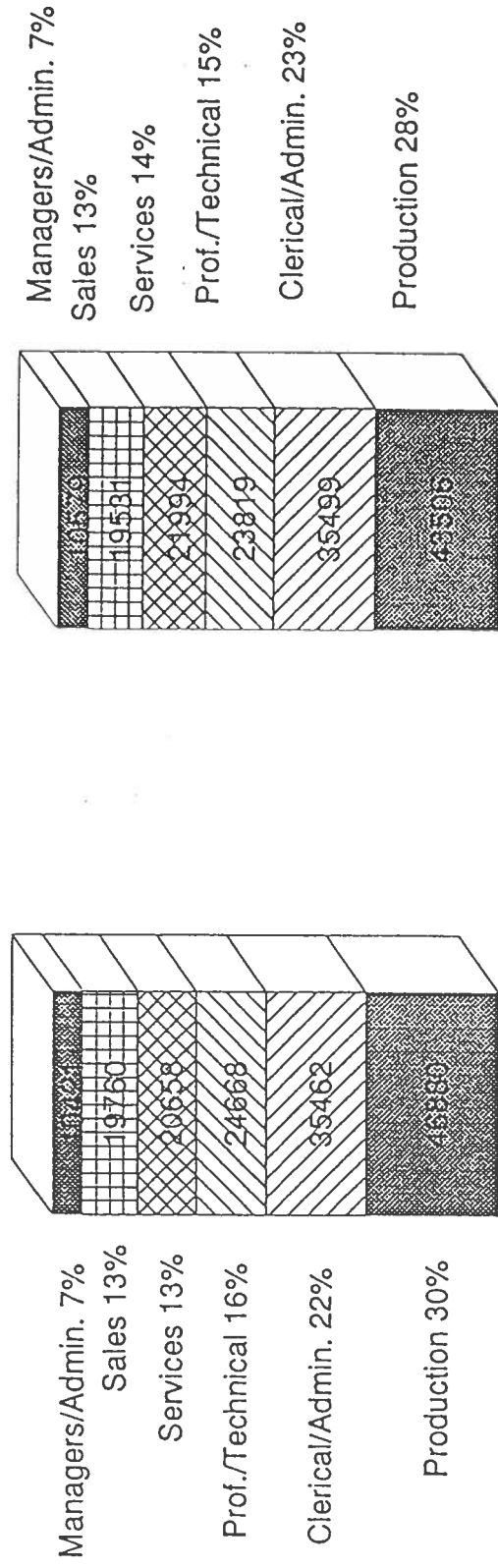
Table 3.1: Oakland Employment by Occupation Category: 1981-86

	Employment Totals				Employment Share	
	1981	1986	Change	%Change	1981	1986
Managers and Administrators	10,421	10,579	158	1.5%	6.6%	6.8%
Professional and Technical	24,668	23,819	-848	-3.4%	15.5%	15.3%
Sales and Related	19,760	19,531	-230	-1.2%	12.4%	12.5%
Clerical and Administrative Support Services	35,462	35,499	37	0.1%	22.3%	22.8%
Agriculture and Forestry	891	911	20	2.2%	0.6%	0.6%
Production and Related	46,880	43,506	-3374	-7.2%	29.5%	27.9%
Totals	158,740	155,840	-2900	-1.8%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Census, County Business Patterns; California Employment Development Dept.

FIGURE 10

# Oakland Employment by Occupation 1981, 1986 (excludes Agricultural Jobs)



1981 (Total = 158,740)

1986 (Total = 155,840)

as having service occupations increased during this period, from 13 percent of the employment labor force in 1981, to 14.1 percent of the labor force in 1986. In absolute terms, the number of service workers in the Oakland economy rose by 1,336 during this period.

But while the number of service jobs were increasing, the number of sales jobs were declining. Between 1981 and 1986, the number of sales jobs fell by 230, a decline of 1.2 percent. Despite this absolute decline, the share of sales jobs in the Oakland economy remained relatively constant at about 12.5 percent.

Managers and administrative personnel have traditionally been a small part of the Oakland workforce--accounting for less than 7 percent. Between 1981 and 1988, the number of managers/administrators expanded by 158, an increase of 1.5 percent.

What is perhaps most significant about the Oakland labor force is how little it changed between 1981 and 1986. All told, the occupational composition of the Oakland economy in the late 1980s was virtually the same as in the early 1980s--despite major employment gains and losses among industries.

Oakland vs. California (Table 3.2; Figure 11)

#### Occupational Changes by Sector and Industry

Behind the facade of steadiness, some large-scale employment shifts were happening within sectors and industries (Tables 3.3

Table 3.3: 1981-86 Change and Percentage in Oakland Employment by Occupation and Sector

Change in Employment by Occupation and Sector	Managers and Admin's	Prof and Tech'l	Sales and Related	Clerical & Admi'v Support	Service	Ag & Forestry	Product'n and Related	Total
Agriculture/Natural Resources	3	22	0	9	0	0	25	58
Construction	76	89	-6	65	4	5	446	679
Manufacturing	-234	-493	-117	-399	-56	2	-1886	-3183
Transportation/Communications/Utilities	-189	-929	511	-1145	-64	-10	-3054	-4881
Wholesale Trade	-19	-14	-52	-62	-4	-3	-67	-219
Retail Trade	-163	-132	-1278	-374	5	-9	-254	-2206
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	200	-20	295	166	121	54	107	922
Services	484	627	419	1777	1331	-19	1310	5930
TOTAL	158	-848	-230	37	1336	20	-3374	-2901

Percentage Change in Occupations by Sector	Managers and Admin's	Prof and Tech'l	Sales and Related	Clerical & Admi'v Support	Service	Ag & Forestry	Product'n and Related	Total
Agriculture/Natural Resources	47.8%	289.7%	-2.9%	80.5%	-20.2%	-54.0%	33.1%	56.0%
Construction	16.5%	18.3%	-3.8%	7.7%	7.1%	20.0%	8.3%	9.1%
Manufacturing	-14.0%	-17.4%	-9.8%	-11.0%	-11.7%	1.6%	-10.1%	-11.1%
Transportation/Communications/Utilities	-18.6%	-44.9%	62.9%	-22.7%	-9.9%	-32.7%	-33.2%	-26.0%
Wholesale Trade	-1.4%	-1.2%	-1.5%	-1.4%	-2.2%	-2.9%	-1.5%	-1.5%
Retail Trade	-9.1%	-15.4%	-12.1%	-15.2%	0.1%	-33.4%	-8.1%	-8.2%
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	12.8%	-1.0%	16.6%	2.3%	23.3%	26.0%	25.1%	6.8%
Services	19.1%	4.1%	23.8%	14.8%	12.3%	-5.0%	22.9%	12.2%
TOTAL	1.5%	-3.4%	-1.2%	0.1%	6.5%	2.2%	-7.2%	-1.8%

Source: County Business Patterns, California Employment Development Department

Table 3.4: 1981-86 Compositional Change in Oakland Employment by Occupation and Sector

Change in Employment by Occupation and Sector	Managers and Admin'srs	Prof and Tech'l	Sales and Related	Clerical & Admi'v Support	Service	Product'n Ag & Forestry	and Related	Total
Agriculture/Natural Resources	3	22	0	9	0	0	25	58
Construction	76	89	-6	65	4	5	446	679
Manufacturing	-234	-493	-117	-399	-56	2	-1886	-3183
Transportation/Communications/Utilities	-189	-929	511	-1145	-64	-10	-3054	-4881
Wholesale Trade	-19	-14	-52	-62	-4	-3	-67	-219
Retail Trade	-163	-132	-1278	-374	5	-9	-254	-2206
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	200	-20	295	166	121	54	107	922
Services	484	627	419	1777	1331	-19	1310	5930
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>-848</b>	<b>-230</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>1336</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>-3374</b>	<b>-2901</b>

Percentage Change in Occupations by Sector	Managers and Admin'srs	Prof and Tech'l	Sales and Related	Clerical & Admi'v Support	Service	Product'n Ag & Forestry	and Related	Total
Agriculture/Natural Resources	2.0%	-2.6%	0.0%	23.1%	0.0%	-0.8%	-0.7%	-2.0%
Construction	48.1%	-10.5%	2.8%	174.9%	0.3%	22.7%	-13.2%	-23.4%
Manufacturing	-147.8%	58.1%	51.0%	-1068.1%	-4.2%	10.6%	55.9%	109.7%
Transportation/Communications/Utilities	-119.3%	109.5%	-222.4%	-3063.4%	-4.8%	-51.7%	90.5%	168.3%
Wholesale Trade	-12.0%	1.6%	22.7%	-164.8%	-0.3%	-12.8%	2.0%	7.6%
Retail Trade	-103.0%	15.6%	556.6%	-1000.8%	0.3%	-44.4%	7.5%	76.1%
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	126.2%	2.3%	-128.2%	444.8%	9.0%	272.9%	-3.2%	-31.8%
Services	305.8%	-74.0%	-182.5%	4754.4%	99.6%	-96.4%	-38.8%	-204.4%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Percentage Change in Sectoral Employment by Occupation	Managers and Admin'srs	Prof and Tech'l	Sales and Related	Clerical & Admi'v Support	Service	Product'n Ag & Forestry	and Related	Total
Agriculture/Natural Resources	5.5%	37.9%	-0.1%	14.9%	-0.3%	-0.3%	42.5%	100.0%
Construction	11.2%	13.2%	-0.9%	9.6%	0.6%	0.7%	65.7%	100.0%
Manufacturing	7.3%	15.5%	3.7%	12.5%	1.8%	-0.1%	59.3%	100.0%
Transportation/Communications/Utilities	3.9%	19.0%	-10.5%	23.5%	1.3%	0.2%	62.6%	100.0%
Wholesale Trade	8.7%	6.2%	23.7%	28.1%	1.8%	1.2%	30.5%	100.0%
Retail Trade	7.4%	6.0%	58.0%	17.0%	-0.2%	0.4%	11.5%	100.0%
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	21.7%	-2.2%	31.9%	18.0%	13.1%	5.9%	11.6%	100.0%
Services	8.2%	10.6%	7.1%	30.0%	22.4%	-0.3%	22.1%	100.0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>-5.5%</b>	<b>29.2%</b>	<b>7.9%</b>	<b>-1.3%</b>	<b>-46.1%</b>	<b>-0.7%</b>	<b>116.3%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: County Business Patterns, California Employment Development Department

and 3.4).

Managers and Administrators: Altogether, the number of managers and administrators in the Oakland economy grew by 158 (+1.5 percent). As Table 3.3 shows, all of this increase occurred in three sectors: Services (+484), Finance-Insurance-Real Estate (+200), and Construction (+76). Four industry groups gained 100 or more managerial/administrative positions during this period (Table 3.5): Business Services (+412), Real Estate (+182), Non-bank Credit Agencies (+144) and Transportation Services. Four more industry groups, Heavy Construction, Misc. Services, Hotels and Lodging, and Social Services--each added 50 or more managers/administrative jobs between 1981 and 1986.

On the negative side, the number of managers and administrators in the Manufacturing, Transportation-Communications-Public Utilities, and Retail Trade sectors declined by a total of 586 positions between 1981 and 1986. Two industry groups, Banking, and Communications lost more than 100 managers/administrative personnel during this period, while an additional eight industry groups lost 50 or more managers (Table 3.4). significantly between 1981 and 1986. (+114) between 1981 and 1986

Professional and Technical Workers: Altogether, the number of professional and technical workers in the Oakland economy dipped from 24,668 in 1981, to 23,819 in 1986, a 3.4 percent decline. Most of this decline was due to broader job reductions in the Transportation-Communications, and Manufacturing sectors.

Table 3.6: Change in Employment of Professional & Technical Workers: Oakland: 1981-86

SIC CODE Industry Groups	Employment Change 1981-86
Leading Employment	1065
Losers	525
73 Business Services	260
89 Miscellaneous services	199
83 Social services	123
61 Credit agencies other than banks	116
06 Membership organizations	59
16 Heavy construction contractors	55
47 Transportation services	50
81 Legal services	40
65 Real estate	
72 Personal Services	
63 Insurance carriers	-83
59 Miscellaneous retail	-86
36 Electric & electronic equipment	-97
34 Fabricated metal products	-104
28 Chemicals & allied products	-112
35 Machinery, except electrical	-146
79 Amusement & recreation services	-168
60 Banking	-213
41 Local & interurban passenger transit	-395
80 Health services	-487
48 Communication	-569
82 Educational Services	-789
Total	-848

Source: County Business Patterns, California Employment Development Department

Table 3.5: Change in Employment of Managers & Administrative Workers: Oakland: 1981-86

SIC CODE Industry Groups	Employment Change 1981-86
Leading Employment	412
Losers	182
73 Business Services	144
65 Real estate	114
61 Credit agencies other than banks	82
47 Transportation services	60
16 Heavy construction contractors	53
89 Miscellaneous services	51
70 Hotels & other lodging places	35
83 Social services	31
62 Security, commodity, brokers & services	
86 Membership organizations	
53 General merchandise stores	-57
28 Chemicals & allied products	-58
82 Educational Services	-58
41 Local & interurban passenger transit	-62
35 Machinery, except electrical	-62
34 Fabricated metal products	-82
42 Trucking & warehousing	-93
59 Miscellaneous retail	-94
60 Banking	-105
48 Communication	-151
Total	158

Source: County Business Patterns, California Employment Development Department

Indeed, the number of professional and technical workers in these two sectors combined fell by 1422 jobs between 1981 and 1986. Among industry groups, major professional/technical job losers during the 1981-86 period included Educational Services (-789), Communications (-569), Health Services (-487), Local and Interurban Transit (-395), and Banking (-213). Four other industry groups--Amusement/recreational Services, Non-electrical Machinery, Chemicals and Allied Products, and Fabricated Metals--lost 100 more professional and technical workers during the same period (Table 3.6).

Opposing this trend, two sectors, Construction (+89) and Services (+627) gained a significant number of professional and technical jobs during this period. Employment gains were concentrated in six industry groups: Business Services (+1065), Miscellaneous Services (+525), Social Services (+260), Non-bank Credit Agencies (+199), Membership Organizations (+123), and Heavy Construction Contractors (+116).

Sales and Related: As noted above, the number of workers employed in Sales and related jobs declined slightly from 1981 to 1986, falling from 19,760 to 19,531. All of this decline could be attributed to falling employment in Oakland's Retail Trade sector (Table 3.3). In fact, were it not for the Retail Trade sector, the number of sales jobs in the Oakland economy would have grown by more than 1000 between 1981 and 1986. Altogether, there were six industry groups in which sales employment expanded by more than 100 jobs between 1981 and 1986 (Table 3.7):

Table 3.7: Change in Employment of Sales (and Related)  
Workers: Oakland: 1981-86

SIC COOE Industry Groups	Employment Change 1981-86
Leading Employment	741
47 Transportation services	331
73 Business Services	287
54 Food stores	179
62 Security, commodity, brokers & services	128
65 Real estate	86
61 Credit agencies other than banks	81
56 Apparel & accessory stores	75
75 Auto repair services & garages	43
64 Insurance agents, brokers & service	40
70 Hotels & other lodging places	
Leading Employment	-44
60 Banking	-59
79 Amusement & recreation services	-59
55 Automotive dealers & service stations	-60
42 Trucking & warehousing	-65
28 Chemicals & allied products	-80
63 Insurance carriers	-152
48 Communication	-182
52 Building materials & garden supplies	-608
59 Miscellaneous retail	-778
53 General merchandise stores	
Total	-230

Source: County Business Patterns, California Employment Development Department

Table 3.9: Change in Employment of Service (and Related)  
Workers: Oakland: 1981-86

SIC COOE Industry Groups	Employment Change 1981-86
Leading Employment	1198
73 Business Services	643
70 Hotels & other lodging places	161
83 Social services	131
65 Real estate	106
72 Personal Services	93
54 Food stores	57
86 Membership organizations	27
58 Eating & drinking places	26
47 Transportation services	10
75 Auto repair services & garages	
Leading Employment	-14
28 Chemicals & allied products	-15
34 Fabricated metal products	-18
20 Food & kindred products	-22
42 Trucking & warehousing	-45
59 Miscellaneous retail	-51
41 Local & interurban passenger transit	-66
53 General merchandise stores	-121
82 Educational Services	-327
79 Amusement & recreation services	-390
80 Health services	
Total	1336

Source: County Business Patterns, California Employment Development Department

Transportation Services (+741), Business Services (+331), Food Stores (+287), Security Brokers (+179), and Real Estate (+128). Among retail industries, only Apparel and Accessory stores, gained sales employment between 1981 and 1986.

Not surprisingly, the industry groups with the most sales job losses between 1981 and 1986 were almost all in the Retail Trade sector--General Merchandise stores (-778), Miscellaneous Retail (-608), and Building Materials (-182). One other industry groups, Communications, lost more than 100 sales jobs during the first half of the 1980s.

Clerical and Administrative Support: Curiously, the transformation of the Oakland economy from a production to service orientation, did not lead to an overall increase in the number of clerical and administrative support jobs. As Table 3.3 shows, this is mostly because tremendous gains in clerical employment in the Service sector (+1331), were almost exactly counterbalanced by large employment losses among clerical workers in the Transportation-Communication-Public Utilities (-1145), Manufacturing (-399), and retail Trade (-374) sectors.

This pattern of clerical job gains in the Service sector being almost exactly matched by losses in the T/C/U, Manufacturing, and Retail sectors plays itself out almost perfectly at the industry group level (Table 3.8). For example, Business Services, the industry group with the largest gain in clerical employment (+1696), is counterbalanced by the Communications industry, in which clerical employment fell by

Table 3.9: Change in Employment of Clerical and Administrative Support Workers: Oakland: 1981-86

		SIC	Industry Groups	Employment Change 1981-86
		CODE		
Leading	73		Business Services	1696
Employment	61		Credit agencies other than banks	725
Gainers	47		Transportation services	639
	65		Real estate	241
	89		Miscellaneous services	211
	62		Security, commodity, brokers & services	184
	83		Social services	142
	70		Hotels & other lodging places	122
	64		Insurance agents, brokers & service	111
	16		Heavy construction contractors	107
	82		Membership organizations	104
	81		Legal services	72
	75		Auto repair services & garages	60
	23		Apparel & other textile products	59
	27		Printing & publishing	55
Leading	36		Electric & electronic equipment	-50
Employment	52		Building materials & garden supplies	-57
Losers	20		Food & kindred products	-63
	79		Amusement & recreation services	-66
	17		Special trade contractors	-71
	67		Holding & other investment offices	-72
	35		Machinery, except electrical	-111
	28		Chemicals & allied products	-129
	59		Miscellaneous retail	-134
	34		Fabricated metal products	-136
	53		General merchandise stores	-194
	82		Educational Services	-245
	63		Insurance carriers	-258
	41		Local & interurban passenger transit	-259
	80		Health services	-323
	42		Trucking & warehousing	-357
	60		Banking	-757
	48		Communication	-1163
Total				37

Source: County Business Patterns, California Employment Development Department

1163. And while Non-bank Credit Agencies provided 725 more clerical jobs in 1986 than in 1981, the Banking industry provided 757 fewer. Similarly, the number of clerical jobs in the Transportation Services industry rose by 639 between 1981 and 1986, while the number of clerical jobs in Trucking and Warehousing fell by 357 over the same period.

For the clerical and administrative workers involved in these changes, this matched pattern of job gains and losses was indeed fortuitous. Practically speaking, it meant that clerical workers who lost jobs in declining industries could more easily find comparable jobs in growing industries.

Service Workers: The growth in the number of service workers in the Oakland economy during the 1980s was concentrated in just two sectors, Finance-Insurance-Real Estate (+121), and Services (+1331); service employment in other sectors either declined very slightly, or was flat (Table 3.3). Among industry groups, service jobs increased by 100 or more in five industries: Business Services (+1198), followed by Hotels and Lodging Places (+643), Social Services (+161), Real Estate (+131), and Personal Services (+106). On the negative side, three industry groups-- Health Services (-390), Amusement and Recreation Services (-327), and Educational Services (-121) each lost 100 or more service jobs between 1981 and 1986 (Table 3.9).

Production Workers: As noted above, production workers are the largest single occupational group in the Oakland economy. And as such, they bore the brunt of Oakland's transformation from a

Table 3.10: Change in Employment of Production (and Related)  
Workers: Oakland: 1981-86

SIC		Employment
CODE	Industry Groups	Change 1981-86
Leading	73 Business Services	915
Employment	16 Heavy construction contractors	811
Gainers	75 Auto repair services & garages	404
	23 Apparel & other textile products	386
	26 Paper & allied products	311
	47 Transportation services	179
	15 General contractors & operative builders	131
	27 Printing & publishing	118
	65 Real estate	111
	24 Lumber & wood products	106
	72 Personal Services	82
	13 Oil & Gas Extraction	79
	83 Social services	71
	54 Food stores	67
	39 Miscellaneous manufacturing industries	63
	70 Hotels & other lodging places	57
Leading	14 Nonmetallic minerals, except fuels	-52
Employment	82 Educational Services	-53
Losers	32 Stone, clay, & glass products	-57
	52 Building materials & garden supplies	-58
	79 Amusement & recreation services	-66
	53 General merchandise stores	-77
	55 Automotive dealers & service stations	-80
	76 Miscellaneous repair services	-82
	59 Miscellaneous retail	-101
	30 Rubber & miscellaneous plastics products	-110
	36 Electric & electronic equipment	-146
	28 Chemicals & allied products	-328
	25 Furniture & fixtures	-332
	35 Machinery, except electrical	-342
	20 Food & kindred products	-476
	17 Special trade contractors	-496
	48 Communication	-747
	34 Fabricated metal products	-1003
	41 Local & interurban passenger transit	-1164
	42 Trucking & warehousing	-1332
	Total	-3374

Source: County Business Patterns, California Employment Development Department

goods-to-service economy. Altogether, the number of production jobs in the Oakland economy fell by 3374 between 1981 and 1986--a 7.2 percent decline. These declines were overwhelmingly concentrated in two sectors, Manufacturing, which lost 1886 production jobs, and Transportation-Communications-Public Utilities, which lost 3054 jobs. Among industry groups, three industries lost more than 1000 production jobs each: Trucking and Warehousing (-1332), Local and Interurban transit (-1164), and Fabricated Metals (-1003). An additional six industry groups--mostly in the manufacturing sector--lost 300 or more production jobs (Table 3.10).

In contrast to the Manufacturing and T/C/U sectors, Oakland's Service and FIRE sectors actually gained production jobs during the 1980s. Among industry groups, two industries, Business Services (+915), and Heavy Construction Contracting (+811) gained added more than 500 production workers between 1981 and 1986. Seven other industry groups--including four manufacturing industries--added 100 or more production workers during the same period. The manufacturing industries running counter to the larger production-job-loss trends were Apparel and Textiles (+386 production jobs), Paper and Allied Products (+311), Printing and Publishing (+118), and Lumber and Wood Products (+106).

#### **A Closer Look at Industries and Occupations**

As the previous analysis makes clear, the vast majority of Oakland job changes between 1981 and 1986 could be accounted for

by a handful of industries. On positive side, the major job gaining industries--across most of the major occupational categories--were Business Services, Non-Bank Credit Agencies, Transportation Services, Miscellaneous Services, and Heavy Construction Contracting. On the negative side, the major job-losing industry groups included Trucking and Warehousing, Communications, Banking, Local and Interurban Transit, Amusement and Recreational Services, and Health Services.

Precisely who works in these industries? And by extension, where were the major employment growth opportunities, or employment decline problem areas?

#### IV. SUMMARY OF SUPPORTING STUDIES

While there has been no single comprehensive study of the Oakland labor market, there have been numerous smaller studies of individual sectors, companies, and areas.

The Port of Oakland Study: According to a 1982 study of the economic impacts of the Port of Oakland (undertaken for the Port), the Port is a major employer of Oakland residents in general, and minority residents in particular. Altogether, roughly 40 percent of the workers employed in the Port area were found to be Oakland residents. Moreover, about two of every five jobs in the port area were held by minorities. The same 1982 study also concluded, business activities related to the Port generated, either directly or indirectly, one-fourth of Oakland's total employment.

East Oakland: A study of the East Oakland area undertaken in 1985 by the Pacific News Service found that employment growth in that area had occurred primarily among service sector jobs. Such job growth was attributed to business growth in the adjacent Coliseum and Oakland Airport areas, and to the growth of related businesses in Oakland's downtown.

The study characterized existing East Oakland residents as disadvantaged for/in the changing job market. Many are blue-collar workers ill-equipped to enter the service sector, while others have few skills and no job experience.

Downtown Area: A 1987 study of the Downtown Oakland undertaken in the Department of City and regional Planning at U.C.-Berkeley,

found a growing mismatch between the jobs being created by the development of the office sector, and the skills of Oakland residents. The study concluded that minority jobs opportunities tended to be concentrated in lower-level support services and in labor jobs, while managerial jobs are dominated by whites. The research found that three of every four jobs in Oakland's City Center office project were going to non-Oaklanders, and that most of these jobs were in upper-level management positions. Moreover, the majority of Oaklanders working in the City Center held clerical positions.

Blue Cross Study: This study, undertaken in 1986 by Barbara Baran for the Labor Research Group, focused on the implication of the Blue Cross merger and subsequent relocation, for the company's Oakland labor force. Baran found that as a result of staff relocations, 735 jobs in Oakland were lost, a workforce decline of 30 percent. Most affected were professional, technical, and administrative positions. Stressing the importance of Blue Cross in the Oakland economy, and the susceptibility of the city's economy to major corporate decisions, the study found that the company included half of all insurance employment in Oakland in 1984, prior to its move.

Baran found that Blue Cross was typical of companies with clerical-intensive operations, in that its move was from central city to suburb. Such companies were found to be looking for suburban pink-collar labor: white, suburban housewives seeking to supplement a household income. By contrast, central city pink-

collar labor was found to be much more diverse, drawing on career women, ethnic minorities, and female-headed households. Baran's study concluded that women and minorities were the principal losers in suburban corporate relocations.

Entry Level Employees: A survey of entry-level employment opportunities undertaken in 1986 for the Oakland Private Industry Council, found that seven out of ten entry-level jobs in Oakland are in the trade or service sectors. Moreover, the more than half of all entry-level hiring was being undertaken by firms with or fewer employees. Although the specific type of entry-level job available varied significantly between large and small firms, in general, most entry-level jobs were low-skilled positions. Most of the entry-level job opportunities in Oakland were found outside the Downtown area.

The same study found that, increasingly, employers offering entry-level positions demanded previous work experience and/or specific skills. For almost half of the firms surveyed, prior work experience was found to be an important prerequisite. Although completion of high school was found to be a minimum educational requirement, many respondents also stressed the desirability of some level of college or vocational training.

Oakland Forum Small Business Study: A study of small business employment trends in Oakland undertaken for the University-Oakland Metropolitan Forum in 1988 by Michael B. Teitz and Andrea Morgan, found consistently strong small business growth in Oakland, regardless of industry or sector. Teitz and Morgan

found that the Oakland businesses which were the smallest were those in the service and retail sectors, and that these sectors typically have the highest proportion of ownership by minorities and women.

## V. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Although there is no single, comprehensive, up-to-the-minute study of Oakland unemployment, based on what data is available and current, it is possible to put together a reasonably consistent picture of who is out of work in Oakland, why, and perhaps, what to do about it.

1. Oakland has had, and continues to have at least two separate resident workforces. Oakland's white workforce is employed throughout the Bay Area, in a wide variety of occupations and positions. Among male white Oaklanders, the 1980 unemployment rate was 5.1 percent; for white female Oaklanders, the 1980 unemployment rate was 5.3 percent. In 1980, 68 percent of white Oaklanders were college graduates.

The picture for Oakland's minority workforce looks quite different. For Black and Hispanic male Oaklanders, 1980 unemployment rates stood at 15.9 percent and 11.9 percent, respectively; for Black and Hispanic female Oaklanders, 1980 unemployment rates were 11.1 and 11.2 percent respectively. Only 19 percent of Black Oaklanders were college graduates, while among Hispanic Oaklanders,

only four percent were college graduates.

2. The Oakland economy is in the midst of a continuing transformation from a state-serving, production-oriented economy to a Bay Area region-serving, business-oriented economy. The impacts of this transition on the labor market are very uneven. While there has been steady growth in opportunities for managers, and clerical, service, and administrative workers among expanding companies, at the same time, several large employers have left Oakland-- thereby displacing a large number of workers.

The transformation of the Oakland economy continues to disadvantage Oakland's minority workers. On the one hand, minority workers have suffered disproportionately in the loss of production jobs. On the other hand, minority workers do not seem to be participating on a proportional basis in the types of service and managerial jobs now being created in Oakland. Where minority workers are participating in the growth of the Oakland economy is in clerical and administrative support jobs.

3. Traditionally, the Oakland economy has always relied on imported labor. That is, many Oakland workers commute into the city from elsewhere in the Bay Area. This does not appear to be changing, and may, in fact, be worsening.

4. Although not conclusive, summaries from Oakland's Unemployment Insurance program and Job Training Partnership Program, together with data from the 1980 Census, indicate three separate-but-related types of unemployment problems for Oakland residents.

The first, and potentially most serious, is that a large number of adult Oaklanders are not in the labor force; that is they have never had a job. Those not in the labor force tend to be Black, male, and young. Their educational and skill levels are unknown.

The second problem combines weak labor force attachment with inadequate skills for a shifting economy. Oakland residents in this category are employable, have held jobs in the past, and can be more easily placed in new jobs. At the same time, the jobs they tend to be placed are not always "good jobs": such jobs are low-paying, offer little job security, and provide few advancement opportunities. As above, residents in this category tend overwhelmingly to be members of minority groups.

The third problem, and perhaps most insidious problem is that for many unemployed Oaklanders, finding a job may entail a reduction in the standard of living. Such persons typically receive some form of government assistance, and believe, often correctly, that the jobs that are available to them will pay less than their current assistance levels. This is particularly true for single-parent householders

currently receiving AFDC, who would be unable to afford child-care should they take a job.

None of these findings and problems are particularly new. Nor are they limited to Oakland. Throughout the older, central cities of the United States, minority communities are finding it increasingly difficult to adapt to shifts in the economic landscape (Kassarda, 1988). What is encouraging is that the jobs are there. New jobs continue to be created in central cities, and often in positions potentially accessible to members of minority communities. What is discouraging is that this potential is not being realized; and that for every day it is not realized, the gap between the skills and abilities of the unemployed, and the skills and abilities required of new workers seems to be growing.

As a nation, we have historically addressed these problems by asking the poor and unskilled to migrate: to move to where the jobs they are capable of doing are located. This is neither a feasible or desirable approach for Oakland. As the skill and educational requirements of Bay Area employers continue to rise, workers lacking the requisite job preparation will fall further and further behind. In periods of widespread and sustained employment growth--such as we are in now--this skill-jobs mismatch, is evident only for the most impacted groups. Should overall rates of employment growth decline, or should large sectors and industries experience sudden economic difficulties, these problems could get much worse.

