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FOCUS

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Update on the Job Status of Blacks

Despite Gains of 1982-86, Gap with Whites Is Still Wide

Welfare to Work

Congress Moves in New Direction, But Legislation Faces Obstacles

New York's Fading Black Political Power

Leading Political Figures Discuss Reasons for Decline

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

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Framework II: Only "An Adroit Mix of Strategies" Can Succeed

In the few weeks since the Joint Center released *Policy Framework II: Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility,* an essay by the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice, we have been pleased by the favorable reaction the report has received in the media and in the black community. One nationally reknowned political commentator, David Broder of the *Washington Post,* wrote that the report "can be read with profit not only by the dozen white males who dominate the likely presidential field, but by others on both sides of the color line that still runs through American society." Veteran civil-rights leader Dorothy Height says it "should be required reading for every leader, policy-maker, educator, office-holder, and citizen in the nation." Many other favorable comments have been received.

While most writers and readers captured the essence of this compelling essay, an article in the *Washington Times* clearly did not. Its headline read: "Liberals Adopt Conservative Idea." Baloney! When did black self-help become the conservatives' idea? Helping ourselves has been a survival issue since we first set foot on these shores. As the report states,

> Action by government in addressing social and economic needs has been important, but it has been both recent and modest. Blacks made the transition from a largely impoverished mass of former slaves to a strong, vibrant community largely through the work of civil rights, cultural, fraternal, religious, social, professional, and service organizations in the black community. *Thus, black Americans have an unusually rich history of self-initiated contributions to our own well-being.*

So, what is new and worthwhile about this report? First, by reaffirming that family, education, and individual enterprise are central values in the black community, we can draw more explicitly and openly upon these values—and, move beyond the polarization that was beginning to develop between various groups in the black community on the question of "values." Second, by noting that some segments of the black community have been raised to middle class status, we identify a potential, valuable resource that may have been underutilized in an era when the government was the most effective instrument for black progress. As *Framework II* states, "Organizations at all levels, particularly locally based community organizations, need to address more vigorously the appropriate role and implementation of collaboration across class lines between blacks who enjoy some of the advantages of the society and those who do not."

Third, the report identifies actions that can only be taken by the government—such as restoring "the economy to include more jobs of moderate skill and decent pay that created the white middle class," and repairing "the deteriorated infrastructure of the cities."

What is new, in sum, is the balance of individual, community, and governmental responsibility. As John Hope Franklin and Eleanor Holmes Norton state in their introduction to the essay,

> "We believe that the one-sided emphases and single-minded approaches to black progress we often hear today are simplistic and utterly inadequate. Instead . . . we undertake to acknowledge and then work with the inescapable reality that blacks, whose progress has been artifically delayed by societal racism and official discrimination, must now find their way to equality in a far more troubled and rapidly changing context than other Americans faced. Given the depth of the disadvantage that still besets the black community, only an adroit mix of strategies that complement one another can have any chance of success."

Copies of *Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility* can be purchased for $6.95 from the Joint Center. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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New York's Fading Black Political Power

Leading Political Figures Discuss Reasons for Decline

by Toni Darney Schmiegelow

From the early 1950s through the late 1970s, if black leaders around the United States wanted to inspire blacks to do more politically, they had only to point to New York. In those years, New Yorkers could boast of electing an impressive list of political leaders (Adam Clayton Powell, Charles Rangel, Shirley Chisholm, Basil Paterson, Percy Sutton, and many more[1]) to national and local office. Beginning with the election of Hulan Jack as Manhattan borough president in 1953, New York politics offered a bright promise of steadily increasing political strength and influence.

Today, however, the early promise has failed to blossom. New York no longer is on the leading edge of black politics. For instance, though New York had the highest number of black elected officials in 1968, 12 other states elected more blacks to public office in 1985. Though New York has a 20 percent black population, only two blacks (and none from New York's major cities) are mayors and no blacks have been elected to statewide office. Michigan, Illinois, and California, three states with smaller black populations, have better records. The highest ranking black politician in New York City is Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins—who holds the position Hulan Jack held 34 years ago. In comparison to the promise of the past and the performance of blacks in other states, New York's once-shiny star has lost its glow. As a recent *New York Times* article said, "blacks here have made fewer strides politically than their counterparts in other big cities."

To explore the reasons for the decline of black politics in New York, Darney and Associates, the consulting firm I head, conducted interviews with eight prominent black elected officials as well as a renowned black political scientist: Congressmen Charles B. Rangel and Floyd Flake; Deputy Assembly Speaker Arthur O. Eve; Assemblyman and New York County Democratic Chairman Herman "Denny" Farrell; State Senator David A. Paterson; Manhattan Borough President David N. Dinkins; City Councilman Hilton Clark; a respected black politician who did not want his name used; and Professor Charles V. Hamilton, Wallace A. Sayre Professor of Government at Columbia University. The following is an edited summary of the interviews.

What happened between Hulan Jack's election (as Manhattan Borough president) in 1953 and David Dinkins' election (to the same office) in 1985? Why have there been no black mayors of major cities in New York State, and no blacks elected to statewide office?

Most of the interviewees pointed to demographics and the low voter registration figures as the major reasons why no blacks have been elected to statewide office or to city halls. "It is just sheer arithmetic," Professor Hamilton said. "The numbers aren't there. There simply are not enough black voters." Though this view is widely accepted, it should be noted that the 1.7 million blacks in New York City are 22.7 percent of its voting age population (VAP)—a significant voting bloc which compares favorably to the 352,000 blacks (15.9 percent of the VAP) in Los Angeles, which has elected Tom Bradley as mayor for four terms.

Another explanation, surprising and controversial, was volunteered by three of New York's leading politicians, Congressman Rangel, Assemblyman Farrell, and borough President Dinkins: the breakup of Tammany Hall. Although some studies have shown that political machines have hindered black political development, Farrell took another view: "The mechanics of the reform movement broke apart the machine, which had helped blacks." Manhattan Borough President Dinkins cited the example of Manhattan: four blacks who became borough president—Hulan Jack, Edward Dudley (1961-1965), Constance Baker Motley (1965-1966), and Percy Sutton (1967-1977)—ran for election as incumbents after having been appointed by Tammany Hall to fill an unexpired term. The first black to run as a non-incumbent, Dinkins, lost in his first two attempts (1977 and 1981) but won in 1985.

Congressman Rangel even speculated that a black would have been elected mayor because the machine had to balance the ticket to maintain its power. This view was supported by Professor Hamilton, the political scientist, who said, "I don't think there's any question that [Tammany Hall] helped. Ticket balancing, maintaining ethnic balances, that is what the machine is all about. You can look at Chicago. Harold Washington is not anti-machine. He is a creature of the machine. He

Ms. Schmiegelow is president of Darney & Associates, a black-owned firm whose political consulting services are targeted to black and Hispanic constituencies. She served as director of Congressional Relations at the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the Carter administration.

[1] Including state legislators George Miller, Frank Boyland, Vander Beatty, David Dinkins (now borough president), Thomas Fortune, and Arthur Eve; Councilmen Sam Wright, Fred Samuels, and Enoch Williams; Borough Presidents Hulan Jack, Edward Dudley, and Constance Baker Motley; State Supreme Court Judges William Thompson, Fritz Alexander, and Bruce Wright; and the New York State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus.

(Continued on p. 4)

New York's Black Political Power

(Continued from p. 3)

is merely trying to replace it with his machine. The machine *per se* is the traditional method for bringing in outside groups and that certainly includes the black community."

From our research, we have found that in many other states, e.g., California, there are "stages of development" which young people interested in the political process go through. For example, they go from working as campaign volunteers to working on senate, assembly, or congressional staffs, and eventually they seek elected office themselves.

> ***"The mechanics of the reform movement broke apart the machine, which had helped blacks."***
>
> ***—Assemblyman Farrell***

Do you agree that these "stages of development" are not present in New York?

Three respondents (Senator Paterson, Borough President Dinkins, and Councilman Clark) said that their own careers had progressed through the stages we had identified. This was particularly true for Paterson and Clark, whose fathers, Basil Paterson and Kenneth B. Clark, respectively, are still influential in New York and national politics. The respondents agreed that New York has no system for nurturing up-and-coming young politicians. The political jobs which are available compare unfavorably with jobs in the private sector and with political posts in other states, including California where assembly staff members earn $30,000 a year. By comparison, the average *total* staff budget for a freshman member of the New York State Assembly is only $30,000.

Geographic splits are always talked about in New York (e.g., upstate/downstate, Manhattan/ Brooklyn). Are there geographic splits in the black political community?

Most of the interviewees agreed that there are geographical splits, but they also emphasized that the splits are not unique to the black community. As Deputy Speaker Eve said, "New York politicians see their clubs, their areas as islands unto themselves. They will not cross county lines to support people outside of their own areas." Congressman Flake (who represents a Queens district) added an historical perspective: Manhattan politicians have tried to dominate black politics, and the current geographic splits are merely a reaction to their attempts to control.

Professor Hamilton said the political make-up of New York City, which creates five "mini-mayors" in the borough presidents, tends to "side-track candidates who were thinking about running for mayor [of New York City]." As a result, people have been forced to make political trade-offs for control of their own boroughs and have not created city-wide coalitions.

During the late 1960s, a fight over decentralization of schools occurred in New York City. What affect do you think the fight had on black political development?

Most respondents felt it had a positive affect on the growth of black political power, but some noted it splintered the black-Jewish coalition (which has remained apart since the late sixties, except in a few individual instances). As Borough President Dinkins said, the school decentralization issue "spawned many political figures. It taught us organization, Robert's Rules of Order, and how to give speeches. From there it was just a step to becoming involved in the political process." Professor Hamilton and others noted that the fight was damaging because it destroyed the black-Jewish coalition, which one respondent said was "mandatory" for a black candidate to win. One winning coalition was put together by Manhattan Borough President Dinkins, who was supported by 90 percent of blacks, 79 percent of Hispanics, 68 percent of Asians, and 50 percent of whites (primarily Jews). Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles and Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago won with similar coalitions, though the distribution of support was different.

During the "War on Poverty," New York City received more anti-poverty funds than any other city. What impact did this have on black political development?

All the interviewees, except Professor Hamilton and Councilman Clark, felt the anti-poverty programs had a positive effect. Clark said the programs "had the effect of de-politicizing the black community" by creating a "welfare mentality" of looking for a hand-out instead of organizing for substantive change that would benefit the entire black community. Professor Hamilton said: "A lot of attention which could have been turned to a mayoral campaign, or to capturing a seat, was centered on capturing 'soft-dollar' grants."

Concluding Remarks

Though a March 16, 1987, column by *New York Times* reporter Sam Roberts refers to "fragmentation" among New York's black politicians as one reason for their lack of progress, our interviews produced no evidence of this. It would appear that several factors, most prominently the lack of effective coalition-building (especially between blacks and Jews), have contributed to the turnaround in the fortunes of New York blacks. As more and more New Yorkers (black and white) begin to discuss these issues, as they have been doing in recent months, the prospects for coalition-building will grow and so, too, will the opportunities for blacks to recapture a leadership position in the front lines of black politics. ■

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **With Jesse Jackson's new presidential campaign strategy of de-emphasizing race, he faces the same problem as the other Democratic presidential contenders: how to ensure a high black turnout and win white votes at the same time.**
- **In a likely rematch between Mayor Wilson Goode and former Mayor Frank Rizzo, Philadelphia's black voters seem ready to set aside their criticisms of the incumbent and vote to reelect him.**
- **In the Baltimore mayoral race, a poor showing in the early polls led to the withdrawal of the sole white candidate—leaving Baltimoreans to choose between two blacks for the first time in its history.**
- **Across the nation, conservative political economist, Glenn Loury will take the No.2 position in the Department of Education; D.C. Statehood legislation got a boost from House Speaker Jim Wright; and veteran black Mayors Richard Arrington of Birmingham and Richard Hatcher of Gary face challenges to their reelection.**
- **Election update: In the April 7 general election, incumbent Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago was re-elected to a second term.**

Jesse Jackson's Gamble: De-emphasizing Race Issues

As more and more pieces of JESSE JACKSON's presidential campaign strategy are revealed to the public, **the ironic conclusion is that Jackson might end up sharing a common problem with other Democratic hopefuls: how to produce a heavy black voter turnout and win the white vote at the same time.** Sources close to Jackson report that this time around he does not intend to highlight race-specific issues, e.g., the second primary, delegate-selection, or affirmative action, as he did in 1984. **Like the other announced or potential Democratic contenders, Jackson has also agreed to heed Democratic National Committee Chairman PAUL KIRK's appeal to "love thy fellow Democrat" and to obey his four commandments:** 1) do not criticize personal characteristics of candidates; 2) do not invoke the "special interests" label against Democratic constituency groups—especially organized labor; 3) do not ever criticize the party or squabble over convention rules; and 4) do pledge to strongly support the eventual Democratic nominee...Instead of a race-specific campaign, **Jackson is stressing issues of economic populism which increase his appeal to farmers and low-income whites as well as to blacks.** In searching for common ground between blacks and whites, Jackson's decision to focus on economic issues seems to be a smart one: **a JCPS/Gallup poll in August 1986 found that blacks and whites agreed that "unemployment" and "the high cost of living" were two of the top three issues on the national agenda.** (Drug abuse was the third.)...However, by not campaigning on race-specific issues, is Jackson in danger of losing his support among blacks? Recent survey data, though it is not conclusive on this point, offers little encouragement for Jackson. For example, **while Jackson was the choice of 52 percent of blacks in twelve southern states in a March 1987 poll** (conducted by the Roper Organization for the *Atlanta Constitution and Journal),* **he had been the choice of 75 percent of southern blacks in an August 1986 JCPS/Gallup poll.** The *Atlanta Constitution and Journal* poll also showed that only 7 percent of white southerners and 30 percent of Hispanic southerners picked Jackson as their first choice...Overall, Jackson is running second to Gary Hart in the South and across the nation. A March 5th ABC/*Washington Post* poll showed Hart as the choice of 46 percent of respondents, followed by Jackson as the choice of 14 percent. Among southerners, the *Atlanta Constitution/Atlanta Journal* poll showed 35 percent favored Hart and 21 percent favored Jackson.

Meanwhile, **rumors persist that Mayor ANDREW YOUNG (D-Atlanta) is willing to participate in a "favorite son" movement to encourage black mayors of big cities to run for president on their home turf.** This would, of course, drain votes from Jackson and may prevent him from becoming the only or chief broker for black interests in next year's presidential contest. **Young has already announced he will not support Jackson in the primaries. Other black leaders on record as not supporting Jackson include Alabama Democratic Conference Chairman JOE REED, Birmingham Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON, Charlotte Mayor HARVEY GANTT, and Little Rock Mayor LOTTIE SHACKLEFORD. Most of this group did not support Jackson in 1984, but their constituencies did**...Though his strategy of de-emphasizing race may be sound, Jackson still faces huge obstacles in his attempt to attract whites to his camp—while not losing the support of the black voters who made his earlier campaign an historic event.

Rematch With Rizzo: Is Incumbent Goode Enough To Win?

The goodwill and high hopes that marked WILSON GOODE's historic 1983 election as Philadelphia's first black mayor have disappeared in the dark clouds of the MOVE bombing and the recent incidents of racial violence in the city. Perhaps sensing that these developments make the incumbent vulnerable, **former Mayor FRANK RIZZO is back in the running. In 1983, Rizzo and Goode fought a tough battle in the Democratic primary, which Goode won with 54 percent of the vote. This year Rizzo is running as a Republican—and appealing to white Democrats to crossover to the GOP to support him in the GOP primary and in the general election.** (The deadline for changing party affiliation is April 20, 1987.) This will increase Goode's share of Democratic voters in the primary because Democrats who crossover would not have supported him in any case. Yet, Rizzo's challenge is made stronger now than it was in 1983 because, in the general election, he can now count on the votes of the crossover Democrats who supported him in 1983 and also the Republicans who could not vote for him in the Democratic primary at that time...**Before he faces Rizzo, Goode must defeat his primary opponent, a liberal former Democratic district attorney named EDWARD RENDELL.** Already sparks are flying in this contest. One charge against Rendell, made public by former mayoral candidate CHARLES BOWSER, a black attorney, is that Rendell has reneged on a promise to stay out of the mayoral race in exchange for black support in Rendell's failed quest for the governorship last year. (The winner was Democrat BOB CASEY.) **In a widely circulated newsletter article, Bowser called Rendell a "liar" and castigated his black supporters as "Uncle Toms."**...With Rizzo pulling white Democrats out of the party, blacks will number close to 50 percent of the registered Democrats—up from 42 percent in 1983. If the turnout is as high as it has been in past elections (over 90 percent), Goode should win the primary. Two questions still must be answered, however. **First, are blacks willing to vote for Goode after the MOVE debacle? The answer appears to be "yes."** For one thing, Goode's primary opponent, Rendell, is not free of the MOVE taint: he was the district attorney at the time of the bombing and did nothing to distance himself from the Goode administration. But, more importantly, though Goode is still judged harshly for his MOVE-related actions (e.g., he "bungled" in his appointment of the police commissioner who approved the bombing, he "waffled" at the hearings of the independent panel of inquiry), the fallout seems to have been contained. **According to Dr. SANDRA FEATHERMAN, a Temple University political scientist, blacks' antagonism toward Goode is fading and black voters will unify behind him to prevent the defeat of Philadelphia's first black mayor (or the re-election of Rizzo, who has been accused by blacks of racism)...The second question is whether whites will support Goode.** In 1983, about 18 percent of white voters actually supported Goode, though about 25-30 percent told pollsters they did so. Some white support probably came from "anti-Rizzo" liberals. This time, says one political analyst, the liberal whites seem likely to vote for Rendell though Goode may get about the same percentage of white support as he did the last time...In the Republican primary, Rizzo, faces a weak opponent, JOHN EGAN, who was also the Republican nominee in the general election in 1983 when he lost to Goode...**If the mayoral race becomes a rematch between Goode and Rizzo, a large, unified black vote is likely to be the key to a Goode victory. Black Philadelphians may be up to the challenge: as Dr. Featherman, the political scientist, says, "they are among the most advanced and sophisticated black electorate in the country: registration is almost 100 percent, turnout is almost equal to white turnout, they split tickets effectively, and they know who their friends and enemies are."**...In a final twist, Charles Bowser, an unsuccessful black mayoral candidate in

1975 and 1979, has pledged to run as an independent in the general election if Goode is defeated in the primary. With blacks numbering 39 percent of the electorate, Bowser could run a credible race against the two white candidates, Rizzo and Rendell... **The primaries are set for May 19, 1987.**

Schmoke Takes Big, Early Lead in Baltimore

A WMAR-TV poll in early March carried the bad news to mayoral candidate ROBERT EMBRY that only 6 percent of the sampled voters would support his candidacy. Heeding the message, Embry quit the race a few days later—**thereby ensuring that Baltimoreans would create history in September by electing the city's first black mayor, either the incumbent (appointed) mayor, CLARENCE (DU) BURNS, or his opponent, State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE** (see the February *TL* for more on the candidates' backgrounds). At this early stage, Schmoke holds a towering 53 percent to 25 percent lead over Burns, with 22 percent undecided. Schmoke, whose enthusiasm for the city ("I believe in Baltimore") may rival that of departed Mayor (and current Governor) Donald Schaefer, had more support than Burns among blacks (65 percent to 16 percent), whites (40 percent to 35 percent), liberals (62 percent to 21 percent), moderates (46 percent to 28 percent), and conservatives (53 percent to 25 percent). **If Burns was looking for a silver lining to this message, there was none: the poll also showed that an endorsement by Burns' mentor, Governor Schaefer, would have "no effect on the decision of 78 percent of the sampled voters.** Burns' only hope is his highly praised political organization. Whether this is enough seems doubtful but Burns, who got his nick-name (Du) for his "can-do" spirit ("it's Du-able," is a phrase he often uses), no doubt will continue to believe that "it ain't over, till it's over."... **Both candidates have declared education to be a top priority...** For Baltimore's black population, which has been tantalized since 1971 by the prospect of a black mayor, the good news runneth over: **Embry's withdrawal removes the necessity of choosing between a white ally and two black candidates; Schmoke's ascendancy has been eagerly anticipated; and the choice between two blacks is a reversal of the conventional wisdom that "most assuredly, there must be only one serious black candidate."**...The primary will be held on September 15, 1987.

Glenn Loury To Join Reagan's Education Department

GLENN LOURY, a conservative black political economist, has beeen nominated as undersecretary of education, according to administration sources. Loury has been a vocal advocate of self-help among blacks. His views are said to complement those of Education Secretary WILLIAM J. BENNETT. **Loury opposes preferential treatment for minorities, arguing that disadvantaged blacks in America must help themselves rather than rely on government assistance to improve their economic and social situation.** While he does not deny the need for government programs, he stresses the importance of moral leadership among minorities and criticizes the black middle class and civil rights leadership for not providing it. In a 1985 *Washington Post* op-ed article, **Loury said: "The great barrier to progress for blacks today is not an 'enemy without' that denies opportunity to blacks because of racism, but an 'enemy within' that keeps our young people from taking advantage of the opportunities available to all Americans."** Currently a Harvard professor, Loury is being supported by conservatives such as Leslie Lenkowsky, president of the Washington-based Institute of Educational Affairs, who has called his appointment "magnificent." **The NAACP, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and other civil rights groups have said they will vigorously oppose Loury's confirmation in the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee hearings.**

ELECTION UPDATE: In a contest marred by bitter fighting among his three white opponents, Mayor Harold Washington easily won re-election to a second four-year term with 53 percent of the vote, according to early unofficial returns. Washington received about 99 percent of the black vote and 20 percent of the white vote. About 1.1 million, or 72 percent, of Chicago's 1.6 million registered voters cast ballots—less than the 80 percent who voted in 1983.

Across the Nation

ALABAMA. In mid-February, Birmingham Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON, Alabama Democratic Conference executive director JOE REED, Atlanta City Councilman HOSEA WILLIAMS, and potential presidential contender Rev. JESSE JACKSON **led a march in Montgomery of more than 2,500 protesters, mostly black, to protest the decline in the number of blacks holding key posts—primarily legislative committee chairmanships**—in the new state government elected last November. According to one Montgomery reporter, the protest has not produced any changes. He said "They flew in some people and Jesse showed up. But that was it. There've been no changes in committee assignments."

In other news, **Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington is up for reelection on October 13, with a runoff, if needed, three weeks later. Arrington is finishing his 8th year as the city's first black mayor.** Arrington, says a newspaper reporter, "would be a strong favorite no matter who emerged to oppose him, though it's hard to imagine him getting away without some white running against him." His most likely opponent is two-term council member Betty Collins. A conservative, Ms. Collins is from Birmingham's white, middle-class, eastern area. Arrington is a good bet for reelection because, first, the city's population has grown increasingly black—pushing 60 percent—and the mayor has a strong organization, the New South Coalition, that can deliver the black vote to him or to candidates he supports. Second, Arrington has made inroads into the white community. He gets a significant vote from Forest Park, "where yuppie types have moved in in the last 20 years and rebuilt old houses," says the reporter. "They're not the type to respond to race-baiting."

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. Statehood for the District of Columbia may be the surprise issue in the 100th Congress, if predictions by Speaker JIM WRIGHT and Majority Leader TOM FOLEY are to be believed. **Both have predicted that the House of Representatives will pass H.R.51, introduced by Congressman WALTER FAUNTROY (D), the non-voting delegate from the District of Columbia.** Prospects in the Senate are less certain, though Fauntroy claims that the Democrats' 55-45 majority in the Senate has created "a fleeting window of opportunity" for his bill. **The new legislation became necessary when the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment (enacted in 1978) expired in 1985 after failing to be ratified by three-fourths of the states, as required by the Constitution.**

FLORIDA. A potential candidate to oppose the re-election of XAVIER SUAREZ, Miami's first Cuban-American mayor, is ARTHUR TEELE, Jr. **Teele is a black attorney with ties to the Reagan administration.** His assets are that he is wealthy, that he might appeal to black voters in Miami's tripartite political factionalism (black, Cuban, Anglo), and that he is "well-connected downtown." (Teele is a member of the influential law firm of Sparber, Shevin, Shapo, & Heilbronner and is president of the National Business League, which was founded by Booker T. Washington.) **Teele, however, could be hurt among blacks by his Republicanism—especially if he runs as a Reaganite instead of as a moderate. He would also have trouble pulling Cuban votes from Suarez.** In addition, Anglos—non-Hispanic whites—aren't especially antagonistic to Suarez. The election is November 1, with a runoff on November 10. **Miami is 17 percent black.**

INDIANA. Inflammatory remarks by Michigan Congressman John Conyers have lit up the Gary mayoral race between incumbent Mayor Richard Hatcher and Calumet Township Assessor Thomas Barnes. **While attending a $1,000 per-couple fundraiser for Hatcher in early March, Conyers said, "The corporate structure always sends someone to test [Hatcher], but he has been victorious five times and I'm sure he will do it a sixth time. Where do those little opportunists spring up?"** Needless to say, Barnes and his supporters were far from delighted by Conyers' remark. State Rep. Earline Rogers blasted national black leaders "who parade into [Gary] every four years to endorse Richard Hatcher," and requested them to stop making negative comments about challengers they know nothing about. Barnes, in a letter to Conyers explaining why he was running, **requested an apology and asked, "who are you and what do you know about Gary?"**

MISSISSIPPI. Although blacks comprise 35 percent of Mississippi's population, **only 1 percent of the state's 100 state court trial judges are black.** Blacks in the state have long argued that the reason for such gross underrepresentation was the system of at-large county elections. On April 1, 1987, a federal district judge agreed with their claims. **In the first lawsuit challenging at-large judicial elections under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law** (aided by several other legal groups and black lawyers) **won two consolidated cases challenging at-large elections in Hines (Jackson) and Yazoo (Yazoo City) counties.** Lawsuits challenging at-large judicial elections are pending in Louisiana and North Carolina.

NEW JERSEY. As former Newark Mayor KENNETH GIBSON put to rest rumors he would throw his hat in the ring for the 10th district congressional seat held by PETER RODINO, **Newark councilman RALPH GRANT declared his candidacy for the seat in early March.** Grant was first elected to the Newark council in 1978 and was reelected in 1982 and 1986. **Also expected to run is Newark Councilman DONALD PAYNE, who was supported by Jesse Jackson in 1986 in his bid for the 10th district seat.** The 77-year-old Rodino said he would retire after completing his current term.

LAWRENCE M. LAWSON, formerly the first black mayor of the township of Neptune, was sworn-in in January to a seven year appointment to the New Jersey Superior Court. **Lawson is the first black superior court justice in Monmouth County's history.**

SOUTH CAROLINA. LESSIE PRICE became the first woman on the Aiken City Council. Price, a senior supervisor in the personnel department of DuPont, has been involved in politics nearly 15 years. During that time, she campaigned for former Governor RICHARD RILEY, former Lieutenant Governor NANCY STEVENSON, and for former city councilmember WILLAR HIGHTOWER. Price followed the route most black women take to elective office, i.e., working first in the campaigns of others. According to the Center for the Study of American Women, black women elected officials have more political experience when elected than do black men, white women, and white men.

Welfare to Work

Congress Moves in New Direction, But Legislation Faces Obstacles

by Katherine McFate

The desire to move welfare recipients off the welfare rolls and into the labor market is at the heart of the various "welfare reform" bills that are making their debut in the U.S. House of Representatives and in the Senate. After years of debating the merits of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), liberals and conservatives finally agree that government assistance to poor families should involve more than simply support payments.

Research and demonstration projects carried out in the past decade have generated a great deal of information that bears on this issue. From this, one can extrapolate the necessary (but perhaps not sufficient) elements of an effective welfare-to-work program.

The Key Elements

FOCUS ON LONG-TERM WELFARE RECIPIENTS. Analyses by Professors David Ellwood and Mary Jo Bane of Harvard University show that the majority of families that receive AFDC are on the welfare rolls for a total of less than 4 years. Many of these families leave the welfare rolls in less than 2 years without any special help. However, about a quarter of all AFDC recipients will spend 10 years or more on AFDC—and it is these families that receive the bulk of poverty program expenditures (AFDC, food stamps, and Medicaid). *A program aimed at reducing the size of the welfare rolls and the cost of AFDC must target long-term welfare recipients, not the individuals who will leave the system in a relatively short time even if they do not receive any special attention.*

REMEDIAL EDUCATION. Improving basic skills must be a central feature of any welfare-to-work program for the long-term AFDC recipient. Studies show that over 60 percent of all AFDC recipients are high school dropouts. Half of the AFDC recipients required to register for the Work Incentive Program in 1983 had math and reading skills

(Continued on p. 8)

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Legislative Prospects

Though welfare reform got off to a fast start in the 100th Congress, the finish line is not in sight. The House and Senate are on two entirely different tracks with no obvious points of convergence.

The House bill, sponsored by Congressman Harold Ford (D-Tenn.) and known as the Family Support Plan, is a comprehensive welfare reform package that includes all the items discussed in the main text of this article as well as new child support legislation. The price tag will be substantially more than the cost of existing programs.

The Senate bill, introduced by Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and known as Jobs for Employable Dependent Individuals (JEDI), seeks to create new financial incentives for the administrators of local Jobs Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and Work Incentive (WIN) programs, but basically leaves the current AFDC system intact.

The White House-supported plan, "GReater Opportunities through Work" (GROW), provides no added funds for remedial education or job training. Under GROW, states that do not force all AFDC recipients to participate in some kind of job search, training, or workfare activity would be penalized.

The welfare-to-work legislative debate is shaping up to be a struggle among Democrats in the House, and also between those in the House and their counterparts in the Senate. Ford's bill must make its way through four House committees before it reaches the floor. Kennedy's bill will have to wait for the Finance Committee to finish mark-up of trade and catastrophic health insurance legislation before a job training/welfare reform bill will be considered.

In the meantime, legislators and observers are waiting for Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) to unveil his own welfare reform package in the Senate and for Congressman Gus Hawkins to introduce his own version of a job training bill in the House. Each new bill will probably increase exponentially the amount of time required to reach a compromise within each chamber and in conference committees.

In fact, the finish line for welfare reform legislation may be getting further and further away.

Update on the Job Status of Blacks

Despite Gains of 1982-86, Gap with Whites Is Still Wide

by Margaret C. Simms

In December 1986, as the U.S. economy entered the fifth year of the current recovery, the unemployment rate for blacks was 14.5 percent—down from 15.1 percent in 1985 and 19.5 percent in 1983. Over the entire recovery (which began after the 1981-82 recession) blacks had a 19 percent increase in employment, with a net increase of 1.8 million jobs held by black workers for the four-year period. Black employment increased by 330,000 in 1986 alone. Job growth was much slower for whites, who only increased their employment by 10 percent over this four-year period (for a gain of 8.9 million jobs).

The recent gains have allowed blacks to recover only some of the ground that they had lost in the earlier recession, during which their unemployment rate rose from 13.0 percent in January 1980 to 20.9 percent in December 1982. The unemployment rate for 1986 was still over twice the 6.0 percent rate for white workers. Moreover, the labor force participation rate (see box for explanation) of black workers still lags behind that of white workers, so overall joblessness among blacks is even higher, relative to whites, than the unemployment rates imply. In addition, blacks are more likely to have part-time jobs for economic reasons and tend to hold lower status and lower paying jobs. Black families have fewer wage earners than white families, which further exacerbates the differences in earnings.

Part-time Jobs

Having a job does not mean having a full-time job. Some people choose to work part-time because they are combining market work with some other activity such as school or work in the home. This is more likely to be the case for youth and for women. However, not everyone works part-time by choice. Some do so involuntarily, because they are unable to find full-time work or because their regular (full-time) employer has reduced the work hours for economic reasons.

Looking at figures on part-time work, we find that black males were somewhat more likely to be working part-time than white males. However, the percentage of black women and black teens in part-time work was lower than that of their white counterparts. If we look only at involuntary part-time work, all black groups were more likely than their white counterparts to be working part-time. For adult men and for all teens, blacks were almost twice as likely to be working part-time for economic reasons than whites. Among women, blacks were about 1.5 times as likely to be working part-time involuntarily.

Longer Unemployment

An economist once said that six percent unemployment would not be so bad, if it meant that everyone was unemployed only six percent of the time. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Not only are unemployment rates higher among blacks than among whites, black workers are unemployed for longer periods of time. Of those who were unemployed in December 1986, about one-fourth of the whites and one-third of the blacks had been unemployed for more than 15

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Employment-to-Population Ratios, 1982-86

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Whites	58.2	60.0	60.8	61.3	61.8
Men	**72.0**	**73.7**	**74.4**	**74.4**	**74.6**
Women	48.2	49.6	50.4	51.4	52.3
Male Teens	**45.9**	**49.3**	**50.2**	**49.2**	**49.2**
Female Teens	43.7	46.3	46.9	47.2	48.3
Blacks	48.8	50.3	53.5	53.9	54.4
Men	**60.0**	**63.3**	**64.8**	**64.6**	**65.7**
Women	47.3	47.3	51.1	51.8	51.7
Male Teens	**19.5**	**21.3**	**24.7**	**27.0**	**26.6**
Female Teens	19.2	17.1	22.3	22.1	24.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, February 1987.

weeks. The longest periods of unemployment were for black men, who averaged nearly 22 weeks of unemployment.

Family Status

Being unemployed is also not so bad if you are in a family where others have jobs. Here again blacks are disadvantaged. Seven percent of all black families had no employed member in the household and 10 percent had at least one member who was in the labor force but did not have a job. Among white families, the rates were 2.2 percent and 5.9 percent, respectively.

The problems were more severe for female-headed families than for married-couple families. Three-quarters of husbands in both racial groups were in the labor force at the end of 1986. While black husbands had higher unemployment rates than white husbands (7.2 percent versus 3.7 percent), they were slightly more likely than the whites to be in families where someone else was working—which helps to stabilize family income. On the other hand, black women who headed households had lower labor force participation rates than white women who headed households in 1986. Furthermore, their unemployment rates were twice as high and they were less likely to have another member of the household working. These low employment rates partially explain the low absolute and relative economic status of families headed by black women.

Types of Jobs

The economic condition of families is not just a function of whether family members are employed or not. It is also a function of the types of jobs individual family members hold and what those jobs pay. As the table on this page shows, black workers who were employed at the end of 1986 were much more likely to be in occupations that paid low weekly wages, which compounded the fact that they had fewer workers in their families. Overall, the median weekly earnings of black married-couple families was $503, compared with $615 for white married-couple families. Black families headed by women had median earnings of only $267 in contrast with earnings of $320 for white female-headed families.

Occupational Distribution of Employed Workers,

December 1986, by Race and Gender

Men

Occupational Group	White	Black	Weekly Wages-Median
Managerial	**26.0%**	**12.9%**	**$608**
Technical	20.9	16.2	$437
Service	**8.7**	**18.3**	**$284**
Precision	20.6	16.1	$418
Operatives	**19.6**	**33.3**	**$332**
Farming	4.1	3.3	$220

Women

Occupational Group	White	Black	Weekly Wages-Median
Managerial	**25.3%**	**17.5%**	**$414**
Technical	46.4	38.3	$282
Service	**16.7**	**28.5**	**$191**
Precision	2.4	2.5	$277
Operatives	**8.2**	**12.9**	**$225**
Farming	1.0	0.3	$187

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings, January 1987.*

Still A Long Way To Go

An examination of the current statistics shows that while blacks have benefited from the economic recovery, they still have a long way to go before their labor market status approaches that of whites. Blacks are less likely to be employed, more likely to have part-time jobs when they want full-time employment, and they receive lower wages even when they are employed full-time. Moreover, structural changes in the economy (the types of jobs that are created and the industries in which job growth takes place) may have an adverse effect on many black workers. These issues will be taken up in a future issue of *Focus*. ■

Measure for Measure, Joblessness Still High

Three indicators are used by economists to measure status in the labor market. The most well-known is the unemployment rate, which shows the percentage of people who are unable to find jobs though they are actively seeking employment. A shortcoming of this measure is that it does not count those who are not looking for work.

Another measure is the labor force participation rate, which counts those who are employed or looking for employment. In recent years, black men have had lower rates of labor force participation than white men (72.2 percent versus 76.9 percent, in 1986), while black women have had higher labor force participation rates than those of white women (56.9 percent versus 55.0 percent, in 1986). Many people leave the labor force because they have given up on finding a job. In the fourth quarter of 1986 (October through December), over a million workers had been out of the labor force for about one year. Seventy-five percent of these these out-of-work workers were too discouraged to look for jobs because they felt they could not find them. Blacks, only one-tenth of the labor force, were 26 percent of these discouraged workers.

A third measure is the employment-to-population ratio or the proportion of a particular group that has a job. The box on page 6 shows the year-end employment-to-population ratios for whites and blacks for the past five years, covering the entire recovery period. As can be seen, both whites and blacks increased their rates of job-holding in the past five years. Among males, black youth and adults gained jobs at a more rapid rate than whites and the gap in the employment-to-population ratios fell. Among females, increases in job-holding rates were quite similar for both racial groups. Overall, the black-white employment gap dropped from 9.4 percentage points in 1982 to 7.4 percentage points in December of 1986. Even so, three-quarters of white men had jobs last year compared to only two-thirds of black men. Among teenagers, one-half of whites had jobs while only one-quarter of blacks did.

Welfare to Work

(Continued from p. 5)

below the ninth grade level. *It is estimated that as many as three-quarters of able-bodied, long-term AFDC recipients are functionally illiterate.* If these women are going to actively participate in a changing U.S. labor market, they must have a good basic education that will allow them to adapt to different work environments and learn new skills.

JOB TRAINING AND PLACEMENT. Most of the women who have been receiving welfare for a long period have had little or no contact with the labor market. These women will need job training to be attractive to private employers. *To be economically independent, they must learn skills that allow them to earn more than the minimum wage.* A woman working 40 hours a week for 50 weeks a year would need to earn at least $4.40 an hour to earn more than the poverty level for a family of three.

Most long-term AFDC recipients will also need assistance with job placement. Demonstration projects sponsored by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) have shown that many of these women are highly motivated and want to work, but simply do not know how to go about finding a job.

SUPPORT SERVICES. Evidence from the Supported Work experiments showed that three problems plagued AFDC recipients in work or training programs: child care, medical care, and transportation costs. *Given the high cost of child care today and the relatively low wages these women will command in the labor market, subsidizing necessary child care costs for some period after employment begins is a necessary part of making work an attractive (or even affordable) alternative to welfare. Extending Medicaid benefits for at least a year after employment begins is also an important component of the transition to work.*

Two other inequities in the current AFDC system, while not directly related to the welfare-to-work initiative, are also in need of reform. First, about half the states allow two-parent families in which both parents are unemployed to receive AFDC. In the other states, only a single parent can receive aid. This rule, at the very least, does not *encourage* the formation and stability of two-parent families, and may in fact *discourage* men from staying with their families during a period of hardship. *Extending the AFDC-Unemployed Parent (AFDC-UP) rule to all states should be a part of any comprehensive reform of the welfare system.*

Second, the amount of financial assistance a family receives is calculated on the basis of "standards of need" which are determined by the states.

Seven states (most of them in the South) have need standards that are less than 50 percent of the federal poverty level. *A common formula for calculating need standards based on local costs of living should be developed and applied across the country.*

The Bottom Line

Although reform of the AFDC system has picked up momentum in the 100th Congress, the commitment of legislators to a comprehensive reform package may be tested by the price tag that will accompany various initiatives. Both the Ford and Kennedy bills (see box) create financial incentives for states to place long-term welfare recipients in permanent jobs. Sponsors of both bills claim that though the legislation will result in an immediate increase in the costs of welfare programs, the long-run impact will be to save public money as former welfare clients become tax-paying employees. However, it is not clear that a fiscally conservative Congress will be willing to increase investments in the public assistance programs when the payoff may not be evident for a number of years. ■

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